

MATERIALS TOWARDS
A
STATISTICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
TOWN AND ISLAND OF BOMBAY

BY
J. J. H. H. H. H.
VOLUME II. PART I. P. 1. 1. 1.

Under Government Orders.

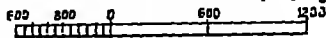
BOMBAY
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRESS,
1871.

BOMBAY TOWN AND ISLAND.

BOMBAY FORT

1771-1864

Scale 1200 Feet to an Inch

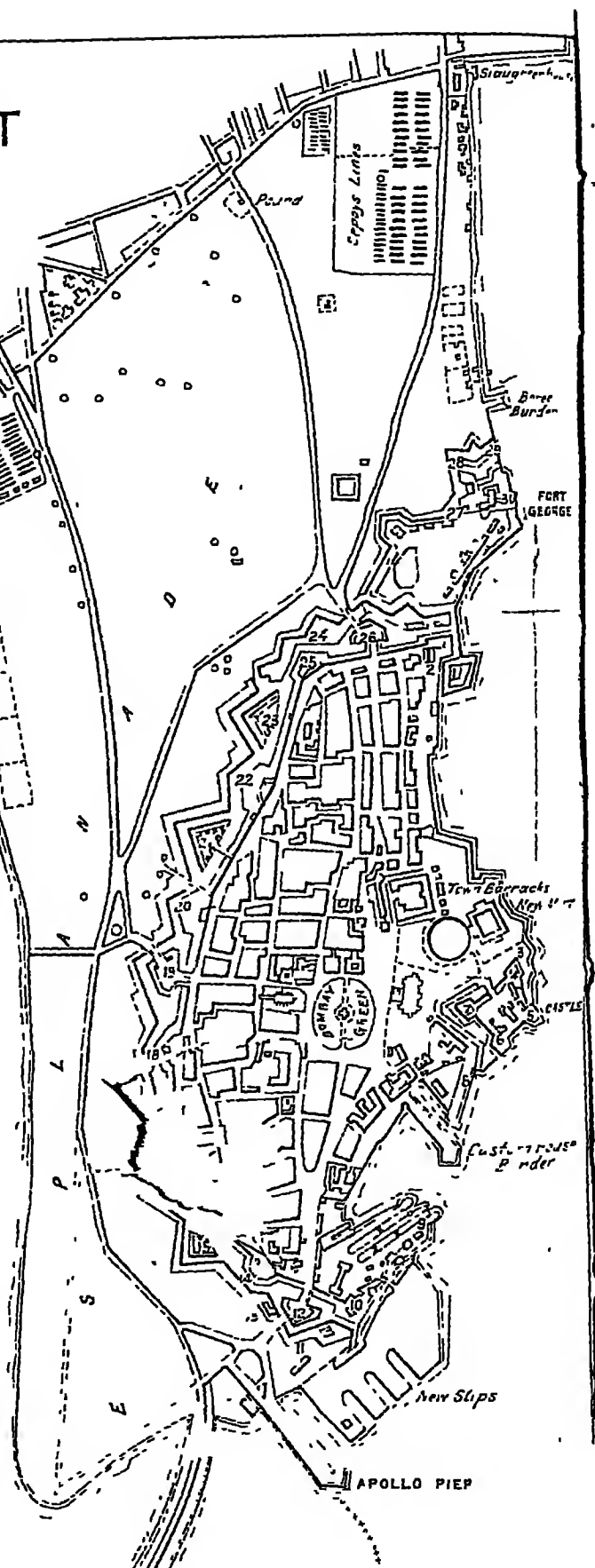


REFERENCES

- 1 New Lurette
- 2 Old Maroon Bastion
- 3 Grenadier Bastion
- 4 Flower Tree Bastion
- 5 Tank Bastion
- 6 Flag Staff Bastion
- 7 Crab Tree Bastion
- 8 St. George's Battery
- 9 Dock Bastion & Battery
- 10 Royal Bastion
- 11 King's Lurette
- 12 Apollo Gate Ravelin
- 13 Queen's Lurette
- 14 North-East Bastion
- 15 South-West Ravelin
- 16 Starhope Bastion
- 17 Grandis Ravelin
- 18 Church Bastion
- 19 Church Gate Ravelin
- 20 Moor Bastion
- 21 Hedge's Ravelin
- 22 Barian Bastion
- 23 Cumberland Ravelin
- 24 North Front Envelope
- 25 Francis's Bastion
- 26 Bazaar Gate Ravelin
- 27 Tank Bastion
- 28 Flag Staff Bastion
- 29 North East Bastion
- 30 Magazine

Castle

Fort George



CHAPTER II.

TRADE.

Section I.—Communications, 1702-1788.

COMMUNICATION between Bombay Sion and Máhim was for long carried on chiefly by boat. The following papers relate to the disposal of the ferry contracts :

The passage boats between Máhim and Sion were rented for one year at 103 Xeraphins and one latee per month from 1st August 1702 to 31st July 1703.¹

The Bombay Máhim and Sion passage boats were in February 1751 put up for a term of three years and rented by Bayramji Mánekji and Dhanji Kuvarji, the Bombay boat at Rs. 525 and the Máhim and Sion boats at Rs. 1971 per annum.²

The former term of rent having expired the farm was again let out in 1754. The Bombay diary of the 12th March 1754 has the following: This being the day appointed for letting out to farm the Bombay Máhim and Sion passage boats, it is agreed to rent the former on the same terms as last year. But the method allowed in the late contract in regard to the two latter, of admitting the farmer to levy a percentage on certain goods according to their value, being not only very irregular, as no one should collect any duties on the island but the Honourable Company, but also liable to many abuses and impositions, it is resolved that it be discontinued and freight collected only on passengers, cattle, and the quantities of goods brought over. The Board then adjourned to the warehouse to put the contracts up to farm.³

The Bombay passage boat was first put up for a term of three years and rented to Bayramji Mánekji and Dhanji Kuvarji at Rs. 390 per annum. The Máhim and Sion passage boats were next put up on the terms and conditions given below, and rented to Husan Allaudin and Mulla Dáud at Rs. 631 per annum.⁴

Articles of agreement made and entered into between the Honourable Richard Bouchier Esquire, President of the Governor of Bombay and Council on the one part and Codji Husan Allaudin and Mulla Dáud of the other part, for farming the said Honourable Company's Máhim and Sion passage boats for the term of three years to commence from the 11th March 1754 at the rate of Rs. 631 per annum :

1. That the said Codji Husan Allaudin and Mulla Dáud shall pay and make good to the said President and Council or their successors the said sum of Rs. 631 per annum for the term of three years in

Chapter II Trade.

Passage Boats,
Máhim and Sion,
1702-3.

Bombay Máhim
and Sion,
1751.

Bombay,
1754

Máhim and
Sion Boats,
1754

¹ Bom. Gov. Order 25th July 1702. See. Out L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 180.

² Bom. Gov. Diary 26th Feb. 1751. Pub. Diary 21 of 1751, 59.

³ Pub. Diary 27 of 1751, 89, 90.

Chapter II.

Trade

Passage Boats.

*Mahim and
Sion Boats,
1754.*

monthly payments of Rs. 52-2-33, the first of which payments shall be made on the 11th day of May next 1754, and so to be continued on the 11th day of every month ensuing, till the last monthly payment is made good, which shall be on the 11th day of April 1757, being one month after the expiration of this contract.

2. That the said Codji Husan Allaudin and Mulla Daud shall get their boat in readiness at all times when required for carrying the Government's despatches or messengers, and the Honourable Company shall pay their fare in case no other freight or passengers offer at that time, but the person who goes and comes with letters shall pay no freight.

3 That the farmer shall receive neither more nor less than the under-mentioned rates for the passage of persons or freight he may bring or carry to or from the other side, on penalty of forfeiting Rs. 50 for every offence, half to the Honourable Company and half to the person from whom he receives it, namely :

	Rate
For each person that goes and returns the same day ...	1
For each man with a load of provisions or goods, not mentioned in the following list ...	1½
For each cow or ox ...	5
For each buffalo ...	8
For each ass ...	13
For each goat ...	2
For each horse ...	40
For a batty mill ...	23
For a man's load of coir ...	33
For a man's load of cigars ...	33
For each bundle of 4000 Robalo Gallos or Sturgeons ...	12
For each bundle of 4000 Bombaloes (Bumameloes) ...	3
For each corgie of Pomphrets ...	1
For each corgie of the fish called Seers (Seers) ...	12
For a basket of fowls ...	23
For each basket of long pepper ...	12
For timber ...	—
For a wedding that goes and comes the same day ...	24
For each bundle of 100 pieces of wood ...	½

4. For security of the payment of the aforesaid sum of Rs. 631 per annum for the said term of three years in manner aforesaid, and for the due performance of the above articles, the said Codji Husan Alaudin and Mulla Daud do hereby jointly and separately bind themselves their heirs executors and administrators to the said Governor and Council and their successors in the penal sum of Rs. 12,000 current money of Bombay. In witness whereof they have hereunto set their hands and seals in Bombay Castle this 11th day of March 1754 and the counterpart hereof to remain with Codji Husan Allaudin and Mulla Daud. The said President and Council hath caused the common seal of the said Honourable Company to be affixed the day and year above mentioned.¹

The three years' term having expired the Bombay passage boat was again in March 1757 put up for three years on the former conditions to commence the 12th instant and rented to Bayramji Manekji for Rs. 593 per annum, or Rs. 203 advance on the former rent.²

*Bombay Boat,
1757.*

¹ Pub. Diary 27 of 1751, 91-93.

² Bom. Gov. Diary 4th Mar. 1757, Pub. Diary 80 of 1737, 66.

The Bombay passage boat being again in March 1760 put up for three years on the same conditions as before to commence the 12th instant, was farmed to Byránji Mánekji as the highest bidder for Rs. 501 per annum or Rs. 92 less than when last rented.¹

The Bombay passage boat was again in March 1763 put up for a term of three years to commence the 12th instant on usual conditions and let to the highest bidder Curwa Bhat (Khárya Bhat?) for Rs. 675 per annum or Rs. 174 more than what formerly let for.²

The Bombay passage boat was in May 1768 farmed out to Dhanji Kávasji for three years at Rs. 500 per annum or Rs. 92 less than the present lease.³

In May 1771 the sitting to lease the Bombay passage boat having been deferred until this day (the 21st) the several persons attending to bid for the same are now called in and the lease put up to public outcry for three years on the usual terms and conditions and Makan Bowáji being the highest bidder, it is let to him at Rs. 705 per annum, being Rs. 205 more than it was before leased for.⁴

The lease of the Bombay passage boat was in June 1774 put up for three years agreeable to the notices that had been affixed and on the customary conditions and was let to Sundarji Rámji for Rs. 1060 per annum, being Rs. 355 per annum more than it last let for.⁵

On the 4th March 1757 the Máhim and Sion passage boats were put up on the same conditions as before for three years to commence the 12th instant and rented to Bhiku Kámat for Rs. 1122 per annum, which is Rs. 491 gained on the old contract.⁶

The Máhim and Sion passage boats were on the 4th March 1760 put up on the former conditions and term of three years to commence the 12th instant and rented to the present farmer Bhiku Kámat for Rs. 1385 per annum or Rs. 263 more per annum than he now pays for them.⁷

The Máhim and Sion passage boats being on the 8th March 1763 put up for the term of three years to commence the 12th instant, were let out to Sokáji Kiláji and Ghulám Mohiuddin for Rs. 1650 or Rs. 265 more than what they let for before.⁸

On the 10th March 1766 the lease of the Máhim and Sion passage boats expiring the 11th instant, they were again put up on the usual conditions for a term of three years and let to Mánekji Kharsedji and Bayránji Mánekji for Rs. 1605 per annum, being Rs. 45 per annum less than last lease.⁹

This morning, the 30th March 1769, the Máhim and Sion passage boats were let out at public outcry to Bayránji Mánekji, the highest

Chapter II.

Trade.

Passage Boats.

Bombay Boat,
1763.

1768.

1771.

1774.

Máhim and
Sion Boats,
1757.

1760.

1763.

1766.

1769.

¹ Bom. Gov. Diary 4th Mar. 1760, Pub. Diary 34 of 1760, 162.

² Bom. Gov. Diary 8th Mar. 1763, Pub. Diary 40 of 1763, 165.

³ Bom. Gov. Diary 13th May 1768, Pub. Diary 50 of 1768, 299.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Diary 21st May 1771, Pub. Diary 67 of 1771, 403.

⁵ Bom. Gov. Diary 3rd June 1774, Pub. Diary 65 of 1774, 395.

⁶ Bom. Gov. Diary 4th Mar. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 66.

⁷ Bom. Gov. Diary 4th Mar. 1760, Pub. Diary 34 of 1760, 162-163.

⁸ Bom. Gov. Diary 8th Mar. 1763, Pub. Diary 40 of 1763, 165.

⁹ Bom. Gov. Diary 10th Mar. 1766, Pub. Diary 46 of 1766, 167-168.

Chapter II.
Trade.

Passage Boats.
1772.

budder for Rs. 1820 per annum, or Rs. 215 per annum more than they last let for. The lease to commence from the 1st of April next.¹

On the 31st March 1772 the lease of the Māhim and Sion passage boats was put to farm for three years on the usual terms and let to Ghulām Mohiuddm, he being the highest bidder, for Rs. 1750 per annum or Rs. 70 less than it was last let for.²

1775.

On the 28th March 1775 the lease of the Māhim and Sion passage boats was put up and let for the term of three years on the usual conditions to Kāmūti and Caitan Francisco De Penha for Rs. 2000 per annum or Rs. 1150 more than what it was last let for.³

1777.

On the 3rd January 1777 the Māhim and Sion passage boats were put up to farm for three years and leased to Muhammadali Tūrpuri at Rs. 2210 per annum. Two boats hitherto kept at Māhim at the Company's expense were ordered to be discontinued.⁴

1779.

The 22nd December 1779, being the day fixed for leasing out the Māhim and Sion passage boats, the Board after doing the Public Department business resolved into a Revenue Department and adjourned to the lower hall to lease out the Māhim and Sion passage boats. When the Board met for that purpose, it was suggested to them that allowing the farmer a small boat in addition to the large one would on many accounts make the farm more beneficial to the Honourable Company. The Board therefore agreed to it under the following restriction, which they ordered accordingly must be inserted as an additional clause in the lease, namely: That the farmer besides the large boat shall be permitted to keep a small one for the convenience of those persons who may choose to make use of it in preference to the large boat or out of the usual hours for the large boats passing or repassing; and to collect from such persons the stated fee for the large boat, besides a fee for the small one. But he must engage, under penalty of such fine as shall be inflicted on him by the Chief of Māhim, that the large boat shall always pass and repass at the usual hours for the accommodation of passengers and freight, and that no means shall be practised to oblige the people to make use of the small boat contrary to their inclination. This clause being explained to the bystanders, they were perfectly satisfied therewith. This additional clause in the lease having been thus previously requested and agreed to, the farm was put up and leased out for three years to Muhammadali Tūrpuri for Rs. 3170 per annum, being Rs. 960 more than the last.⁵

Street Traffic,
Sion-Parel Road,
1767.

The following extracts show the condition of the road between Bombay and Sion. The Bombay diary of the 9th June 1767 has the following: The Collector reports that the proprietors of some ground occupied for the road from Sion to Parel have not been paid for the same, nor had any other ground assigned them in lieu of it. It is therefore ordered that its value be made good to them.⁶

¹ Bom Gov. Diary 30th Mar. 1769, Pub. Diary 53 of 1769, 413.

² Bom Gov. Diary 31st Mar. 1772, Pub. Diary 60 of 1772, 335.

³ Bom Gov. Diary 28th Mar. 1775, Pub. Diary 67 of 1775, 284-285.

⁴ Bom Gov. Diary 3rd Jan. 1777, Pub. Diary 71 of 1777, 8.

⁵ Bom Gov. Diary 22nd Dec. 1779, Pub. Diary 7b of 1779, 680 and Rev. Diary 1 of 1779, 104-105.

⁶ Pub. Diary 49 of 1767, 382.

The Bombay diary of the 15th May 1770 has the following record of the Board's Consultation on that day regarding the Bombay-Sion road: A direct road from Bombay to Sion Fort is much wanted as the present one is only passable in the rainy season to Vadala Tank which is about one mile beyond Parel, by which means the only way of conveying cannon or other stores thither, should the same be found necessary, is round about by Māhim, and this too a very indifferent way. It is therefore ordered that a road be immediately set about accordingly. And this on account of the high and waste grounds from Vadala Tank to Sion, may be performed at an easy expense as the batty grounds, which will besides be taken up for it, produce only a *toka* of 3 *mudās* 12 *pharās* 10 *adholis* of batty for which a suitable allowance must be made to the farmers.¹

The following relates to the building of Sion causeway. On the 16th November 1799 the Chief Engineer Mr. Robert Nicholson writes to Government: We have altogether received Rs 8000 which is now nearly expended. I am of opinion that if Rs. 8000 more is allowed for this work (Sion causeway) the whole will be completed in about six months. It will then be 15 feet wide at the top and considerably above the highest spring tides. I have the further satisfaction to inform you that during the late severe storm, in which it may be supposed the water was very much agitated, not a single stone was displaced. The reason that it is impossible to fix a shorter date than six months for its completion, is that we are now so far advanced into the river that that part of the causeway which is not yet begun upon, can be worked at only for three tides in the month until it is considerably raised above the foundation. The above-mentioned sum is not wanted at once, but shall be drawn in such sums as the progress of the work may require. This further sum of Rs. 8000 was sanctioned by Government on the 19th November 1799, when they added that the work might be finished as substantially and speedily as possible.²

On the representation of the grand jury the Court of Sessions requested that Government be pleased to order that the public roads of the island in general and the streets of the town be properly repaired at the Honourable Company's expense. At their Consultation, the 26th August 1769, Government observe: The public roads are now repairing and the streets are under the care of the scavenger who must repair them; the charge to be defrayed by the land paymaster.³

The following papers contain various orders published in order to regulate traffic in the streets of Bombay: Letter from Mr. Alexander Callander Clerk of the Peace, to the President, dated Bombay Town Hall 15th January 1770. In consequence of a presentment made this day by the Grand Jury to His Majesty's justices in sessions assembled, they have ordered me to communicate to your Honour their recommendation that you will please to cause the proclamation—formerly issued forbidding the natives to drive their hackeries in a violent manner

Chapter II.

Trade.

Street Traffic.
*Bombay-Sion,
Road,
1770.*

*Sion Causeway,
1799.*

*Bombay Streets,
1769.*

*Violent Driving,
1770.*

¹ Pub. Diary 55 of 1770, 306-307. Forrest's Home Series, II 161-162.

² Pub. Diary 114 of 1799, 3000-3001. ³ Pub. Diary 54 of 1769, 637-638, 647-648.

Chapter II.
Trade
Street Traffic.
Violent Driving,
1770.

along the public roads to the great annoyance and damage of the other passengers—to be now republished. As it appears the penalty at present annexed to such transgression is an inadequate check, they recommend you will at the same time cause it to be increased from Rs 50 to Rs. 100 for the first offence.¹

On reading the above letter from the Clerk of the Peace recommending by order of His Majesty's justices that the publication for preventing the owners of hackeries driving them violently along the roads may be renewed on pain of them being fined double the sum before ordered to be levied, the Board resolved on the 26th January 1770 that the Secretary is ordered to comply with accordingly.²

Conveyance
Palanquin,
1774.

On the recommendation of the Bench of Justices the Board at their Consultation on the 29th March 1781 resolved to make it an Act of Government that no native inhabitant of this island shall be permitted to drive horses or mules in a wheel carriage of any denomination from and after the 14th day of April 1781 on pain of forfeiting the sum of Rs. 100 for every such offence. One-half of the sum is to be given to the informer and the other half appropriated to the support of the roads.³

The same day it was also ordered that no native inhabitant of this island be permitted to ride in a chair or palanquin within the garrison of Bombay, except vakils from country governments and strangers of distinction.⁴

The Board further ordered on the recommendation of the Bench of Justices that it be issued out in public orders and by publication that all carts and hackeries shall pass and repass by the Bazar Gate only; and that no carriage drawn by oxen shall be permitted to pass at either of the other gates excepting four-wheeled hackeries belonging to the European inhabitants and the carts employed on the Company's works for the service of the troops at Old Woman's Island or for cleaning the town by the scavengers.⁵

These prohibitory orders led to the following petition in April 1781 from the principal native inhabitants and merchants to Government: Your faithful and humble subjects—the merchants and traders of Bombay—most respectfully represent to your Honors that they feel themselves most sensibly hurt and aggrieved by an edict issued under the 5th of the present month of April, forbidding any of your faithful subjects aforesaid to use carriages drawn by horses or mules, also Bengal chairs, and prohibiting them from entering the town in their hackeries by any way but the Bazar Gate. By which order your petitioners are impressed with the greatest grief and concern. Formerly, Honourable Sir, your petitioners made use of carriages drawn by bullocks with bells round their necks; but the gentlemen objecting

¹ Pub. Diary 55 of 1770, 85.

² Pub. Diary 55 of 1770, 84.

³ Pub. Diary 83 of 1781, 237-238. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 179-180.

⁴ Pub. Diary 83 of 1781, 237. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 180.

⁵ Pub. Diary 83 of 1781, 237-238. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 150.

to them as frightening the horses, the bells were abolished; on which your petitioners presented a petition to Mr. Hornby who directed them to furnish a list of such persons as were entitled to distinction, and he would give orders accordingly, and at the same time advised your petitioners to use horse conveyances as more serviceable and better in every respect. But your petitioners, anxious to avoid giving offence, did not give in the list as directed by Mr. Hornby, but followed his advice relative to horses which appeared highly eligible in many points, since a horse could be managed without a servant and cause less dust than bullocks, which is known to be very disagreeable to all gentlemen. Formerly your petitioners possessed no property in gardens or plantations at a distance from Bombay so that they could visit them on foot without trouble. But when that property was taken from them at Malim and when your petitioners also bought the Company's plantations that were put up to sale, it was found very inconvenient to visit them in person. This change was attended with so great loss that a quarter part was not recoverable. In like manner it was found that bullocks did not answer, as one trip was to them a heavy labour, so that of necessity recourse was had to horses. Nor were they adopted from motives of vanity, or from a desire of equalling the European gentlemen, but from this conveyance great ease and convenience have been experienced as well as saving. For bullocks are more expensive and not so durable. By this new order your petitioners will be subjected to great expense, and should they be indulged, would not transgress the bounds of respect, from regard to their own credit. Great multitudes drive carriages but the petitioners presume to hope that they shall not suffer for the transgressions of others. It is likewise ordered that your petitioners should go and come by the Bazar Gate only, at which the press of carts and people is already so severe that there is great danger of accidents and will now be still greater. Such of your petitioners as live in that part or have business that way do now go by that gate. Your petitioners are concerned that this restriction relates solely to them, as many other carts are suffered to pass and such of them as live near the gates will experience great difficulty and inconvenience, not to mention the great discredit into which the merchants of Bombay will be thrown in all other countries when the news is spread abroad, which will be the cause of great grief and shame to your petitioners. On which consideration they humbly and earnestly pray that they may be suffered to enjoy the ancient privilege of passing and repassing. Your petitioners with respect to the abolition of Bengal chairs and palanquins humbly beg your Honour to consider that, as traders and merchants, they are by no means desirous of squandering their substance or of putting themselves to the expense of those conveyances from motives of ostentation; nor are they used but by persons whose business being of an urgent nature, are troubled with disorders or weakness disabling them from walking; or in case of indisposition when advice is given to take the air and any other conveyance would be fatiguing and prejudicial; so that this part of the edict might be a cause of great loss and damage to the affairs of your petitioners. Your faithful subjects and humble petitioners, Honourable Sir, thus presume to lay their case before you firmly persuaded of your indulgence from the relationship in which they stand; for to

Chapter II.

Trade.

Street Traffic.

*Conveyance
Bylars,
1784.*

Chapter II.

Trade.

Street Traffic.

*Conveyance:
Bylan,
1784.*

whom else should they either represent their grievances or from whom expect relief; which should your Honour procure them, they will as in duty bound ever pray.¹

In the meanwhile Government received the following presentment of thanks from the Grand Jury to the Bench of Justices, dated Bombay Town Hall 28th April 1784: We the jurors of our Sovereign Lord the King on our oaths do present that having for a long period of time seen with particular regret, notwithstanding the repeated presentments of this jury, the great inconveniences resulting to society from the unlimited use of horse-carriages among the native inhabitants of this island, and the distressing consequences to the community in general from the enormous price of every article of life, it is with uncommon pleasure we now observe the abuse of these two important points has been a principal object of reform under the present Government. We are convinced nothing but the prohibition of the first, and the great though proper reduction in the price of the latter, could have effected that relief, which we are now fully sensible has been afforded. And we therefore, the jurors for our Sovereign Lord the King, as in duty bound think it highly incumbent on us to express our particular acknowledgments to the Bench of Justices who framed the necessary regulations to effect this very useful reform and to the Government whose sanction has so strongly confirmed them.²

On receipt of the aforesaid petition from the merchants and a copy of the presentment, on the 4th May 1784, the President laid them before the Board. The Bombay diary of that day has the following entry: The President lays before the Board the translate of a petition from the principal merchants of this island praying that the late regulations respecting the natives not using palanquins or horse hackeries may be countermanded, and that the restrictions of passing in hackeries by any of the gates excepting the Bazár gate may be taken off, which is read; also a letter from the Clerk of the Peace accompanying the copy of a minute of the Bench at the last Quarter Sessions, with a copy of a presentment of thanks from the Grand Jury at the same Sessions, expressive of the sense they entertain of the attention which has been paid by Government to the presentments which have at different times been made, and particularly that with respect to the horse hackeries. The Board having taken into consideration the above petition with the papers sent up by the Bench, do unanimously resolve to reject every part of the former except that respecting the gate, and as our granting them an indulgence may not be attended with any particular inconvenience, it is resolved that in future the native inhabitants be permitted to pass and repass in their hackeries at the Church Gate as well as at the Bazár Gate; this indulgence to be continued to them only whilst they do not abuse it, and not to extend to carts except those already licensed.³

Bombay-Sálsette
Ferries,
1775.

Regular ferry communication with Sálsette was established in 1775 and with Thána in the following year. The Bombay diary of the 26th

¹ Pub. Diary 83 of 1784, 326-328.

² Pub. Diary 83 of 1784, 329.

³ Pub. Diary 84 of 1784, 321-325. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 180; Forrest's Home Series, II, 317-318.

September 1775 has the following entry: It being necessary that proper ferries should be established between the island (of Bombay) and Salsette for the accommodation of passengers on the public service and the transportation of horses and stores; it is resolved that a small boat and a punt be constantly kept at Māhim for that purpose under the direction of the Custom Master with a tindal and four lascars in constant pay, and that the boat be supplied from the marine and the punt contracted for on the cheapest terms by the Māhim custom master. Care must, however, be taken that these boats be not employed in any manner that can give just cause of complaint to the farmer of the Māhim and Siou passage boats.¹

On the 23rd April 1776 the Board observe: As we are of opinion the establishing regular passage boats between this place and Thāna will be convenient to both islands and be of some advantage to the Company; it is agreed to establish them accordingly and to farm them out to the highest bidder on the 30th of this month.²

On the 6th May 1776 Messrs. Mostyn and Garden report that they have leased out the Thāna passage boat for three years at Rs. 1805 per annum.³

The Bombay diary of the 30th September 1778 has the following notice: Received (30th September 1778) per *patamar*, a letter from the Chief and factors at Thāna, dated the 28th instant, in which they advised their having leased out the passage boats between that island and the continent for Rs. 2955.⁴

The 3th December 1779 being the day fixed upon for farming out the Thāna passage boat, the Board adjourned to the lower hall when it was put up and leased out for three years to Jevan Hebbāji and Hirāji Gangāji at Rs. 1325 per annum.⁵ The following were the terms of this contract:

Articles of agreement entered into between the Honorable William Hornby, President and Governor, and Council of Bombay on behalf of the Honorable United English East India Company on the one part, and Jevan Hebbāji and Hirāji Gangāji inhabitants of Bombay on the other part, for farming the passage boat from hence to Thāna and back again for the term of three years at Rs. 1325 per annum to commence from 8th December 1779:

1. That the said Hirāji Gangāji and Jevan Hebbāji shall pay or make good to the said President and Council or their successors the said sum of Rs. 1325 per annum for the said term of three years in monthly payments of Rs. 110-1-67, the first of which payments shall be made within two months from the date hereof and so to be continued on the 8th day of every month ensuing till the last month when the whole shall be made good which shall be on the 8th day of January in 1783, being one month after the expiration of this contract.

Chapter II. Trade.

Bombay-Salsette
Ferry,
1775.

Bombay-Thāna
Ferry,
1776.

1778.

1779.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 26th Sept. 1775, Pub. Diary 68 of 1775, 663-664 Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 51.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 23rd April 1776, Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 206 Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 53.

³ Bom. Gov. Diary 6th May 1776, Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 388.

⁴ Pub. Diary 74 of 1778, 646.

⁵ Rev. Diary 1 of 1779, 98 and Pub. Diary 76 of 1779, 610.

Chapter II.
Trade

Bombay-Thána
Fermis,
1779.

2. That the said Jevan Hebbáji and Hiráji Gangáji shall provide proper boats and people at their own expense during the said term of three years, which boats shall not be navigated to any other ports than Thána and back again to Bombay, and that a boat shall proceed to Thána every day at a certain hour to be appointed by the Bombay custom master.

3. That the said Jevan Hebbáji and Hiráji Gangáji shall moreover get their boats in readiness at all times for carrying the Government despatches, military or marine officers or messengers to either of the aforesaid ports with a reasonable baggage freight-free and the persons who go or come with letters to or from any of the country powers on said passage boats shall pay no freight.

4. That all the Vanjára merchants that come to this island shall pay no freight for themselves but only for the goods they bring hither or take away with them which they are not to export on any other vessel than said passage boats.

5. That the said farmers shall receive neither more or less than the undermentioned rates for the passages of persons or the freight of goods they may bring or carry to or from the aforesaid ports on penalty of forfeiting Rs. 50 for every offence, half to the person from whom they receive it:

						Rs.	qr.	rs.
For every per-on	...	...	...	...	..	0	0	50
Do. cow	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Do. horse	...	...	...	...	...	1	0	0
Do. buffalo	...	...	...	...	..	0	2	0
Do. dupper (dular pig) large	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	50
Do. do small	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	25
Do. goat or sheep	...	...	...	...	..	0	0	25
For all goods, every Bombay <i>lhandi</i>	..	..	..	..	...	0	1	0

The above rates are to be taken only from the 1st November to the 31st May, and for the remainder of the year, namely from the 1st June to the 30th October, the undermentioned prices:

						Rs.	qr.	rs.
For every person	...	...	...	...	..	0	0	75
Do. cow	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
Do. horse	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	0
Do. buffalo	...	...	...	...	..	0	3	0
Do. dupper (dular pig) large	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	75
Do. do small	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	33
Do. goat or sheep	...	...	...	...	..	0	0	38
For all goods, every Bombay <i>lhandi</i>	..	..	..	..	...	0	1	50

6. The security for the payment of the aforesaid sum of Rs. 1325 per annum for the said term of three years in manner aforesaid and for the due performance of the said articles by the said Jevan Hebbáji and Hiráji Gangáji, Sadásiv Raghunáthji and Piláji Hebbáji inhabitants of Bombay do hereby bind themselves their heirs executors and administrators to the said Governor and Council and their successors in the penal sum of Rs. 3975 current money of Bombay, and in witness thereof they have hereunto set their hands and seals in Bombay Castle this 8th day of December 1779, and the counterpart thereof to remain with the said Jevan Hebbáji and Hiráji Gangáji, the said President and Council have caused the common seal of said

Honourable Company to be affixed the day and year above mentioned. Signed sealed and executed (where no stamped paper is procurable) in the presence of Mr. James Hatley and Mr. Samuel Martin.¹

The following extracts relate to the treatment of passengers and the rates of passage money by the Company's ships: On the 12th January 1704, the Court of Directors observe the complaints against the commanders of their ships for ill-usage of the Armenians and other merchants (passengers) by extorting large sums from them for passage money, and direct that special regard be had to prevent the like for the future; that the Council on the place determine all such differences, according to the rules of justice and equity, and protest against such commanders.²

In their letter to Bombay, the 5th April 1776, the Court write: As the commanders of the ships freighted by the Company now pay to their owners £15 instead of the sum of £10 for each passenger as formerly; and in consideration that the price of every necessary is greatly increased, we have permitted the commanders to receive, but on no consideration to demand, a larger sum than as undermentioned for the passage and accommodation at their table of persons proceeding to India at their own expense in the following stations, namely:

	£
A General Officer	200
A Member of Council or a Colonel ...	150
A Lieutenant-Colonel	120
Senior and Junior Merchants and Majors	100
Factors and Captains	80
Writers Lieutenants and Ensigns ...	70
Married ladies at the abovementioned rates according to the station of their husbands.	
Single ladies the same as Writers; and a	
Cadet	50

The like sums are to be paid for passengers homeward bound who are under the necessity of coming to England for the recovery of their health, and you are to order such persons to be received on board and properly accommodated on the abovementioned terms.³

In their letter to Bombay, the 20th January 1779, the Court write: The commanders of our freighted ships are still permitted to receive, but upon no consideration to demand, a larger sum than the undermentioned for the passage and accommodation at their table of gentlemen proceeding to, and returning from, India at their own expense in the following stations,¹ namely:

	£
For a General Officer	200
For a Member of Council or a Colonel ...	150
For a Lieutenant-Colonel	120
For a Senior or Junior Merchant or Major	100

Chapter II. Trade.

Ship-
Commanders'
Extortion,
1704.

Passage and
Table Rates,
1776.

1779.

¹ Bom Gov. Diary 14th Dec 1779, Rev. Diary 1 of 1779, 99-101.

² Court to Bombay 12th Jan. 1704 paras 6 and 7. Comp of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 4.

³ Pub. Dep Court's L. Vol. 9 of 1772-1777, 260-261. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 52-53.

⁴ Pub. Dep Court's L. Vol. 10 of 1778-1782, 129. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 57.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Passage and
Table Rates,
1776

Bombay Diary of the 20th August 1783 refers to the Company's orders dated 16th May 1761, with a list of the rates of passage money established for their servants according to rank.¹

On the 4th January 1786 the Court write: We confirm our former orders for the commanding officer of the cruisers on the Surat stations on the subject of passage money. The same must be observed by his successors.²

Sailing
Directions,
1779

The Court of Directors also provided for the improvement of navigation by issuing the following orders; (a) for keeping official logs and (b) for surveying the west coast of India. In para 37 of their letter to Bombay, the 27th May 1779, they write: We further direct that you make it a condition on granting passes to vessels navigated by Europeans that on the return of every such vessel a copy of every part of the log-book or journal of the voyage which shall contain any material information for the improvement of navigation shall be delivered to our Master Attendant who is to examine the same with the original and to report such remarks as occur thereon for your information. Such parts of log-books and journals as shall contain information worthy of our attention, together with such charts and plans as may be obtained, must be regularly sent to us by the first ship that sails to England in a box packet apart marked Charts and Journals.³

Marine Survey,
1783.

With a view to gain perfect knowledge of the soundings on the bank to the westward of Bombay the Court write to Bombay on the 8th March 1786. As it would be extremely useful for our ships bound to Bombay in thick weather to have a perfect knowledge of the soundings on the bank to the westward of Bombay, we direct, whenever the season will admit, you do employ one of our vessels in executing this service. We would have the vessel proceed along the coast from Bombay to Surat, determining carefully the latitudes and longitudes of the various points as well as of peaks and hills inland with explanatory views of the land, taking all altitudes for determining the time by chronometer every hour, and taking the bearings and altitudes of the land by the Hadley at such time.

From Surat we direct the vessel to cross over to Gopnath (Gopnath) Point on the coast of Gujarât and along that shore towards Vâgnagar, and to cross back from thence towards St Johns (Sanjîn) determining the exact position of the outer extremity of the shoals. From sight of St Johns the vessel will stand back towards the coast of Gujarât a little to the westward of their former track and continue their traverse in that manner backwards and forwards between the coast of Gujarât and the coast of India, noting very particularly the depths and qualities of the ground till they reach Dru Head by those traverses, taking altitudes for determining the time by chronometer as often as possible and always.

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 20th Aug 1783. Comp of Standing Ord. Vol 2 of 1759-1788, 60. Court to Bombay, 16th May 1761, is not traced (1892).

² Comp of Standing Ord. Vol 2 of 1759-1788, 65.

³ Pub Dep. Court's L. Vol 10 of 1778-1782, 162. Comp of Stand Ord Vol 2 of 1759-1788, 57-58.

taking at such times the bearings and altitudes of the remarkable lands at sight.

From Din Head the vessel ought to continue her traverses in like manner to the outward edge of the bank as far southward as 17° north latitude till they find no soundings in that latitude, and then confine her traverses southward to the limits of the bank standing back to the northward whenever she loses soundings.

Let what is done be done completely and nothing left undetermined in this space. If any doubt arises let them repeat their observations in such part that an implicit confidence may be safely placed in their work when finished.

When this work is finished we direct that a particular examination be made of the Laccadive islands and the various banks between them and the coast of Malabar, a knowledge of which would be very useful and ought to be ascertained by close traverses from the coast to the islands in the same manner as before directed, taking altitudes for the time by chronometer as frequently as possible. When the vessel cannot anchor during the night she must make short tacks to remain near the same place she was in at dark. In the course of this voyage it will be proper to determine the relative position of the Laccadives Minicoy (called Keley by mistake in the charts) and the Head of the Maldives

These services we hope may be executed completely in the course of one year's season. By the time this service is executed, we suppose the person whom you employ for that purpose will have made himself completely qualified for the charge of the chronometers. And that, by their repeated returns to Bombay, their rate will be well ascertained. We then direct that two or more of your small vessels be employed to ascertain the situation of the numerous banks and islands in the southern passage from the Maldives to Madagascar, as an accurate knowledge of those hitherto much neglected seas is essential to the security of the navigation of the Company's ships. In the course of this voyage great attention should be paid to the variation, as the longitudes of the lines of equal variation will be very useful to all ships passing those seas, and as this service cannot be executed in one season we recommend that on the return to Bombay attention be had to determine the longitude of as many places as can be conveniently done.

In case of any accident unfortunately happening to the box chronometer, it must not be put into the hands of any artist in India but returned to us. We are informed the pocket-chronometer can be repaired at Calcutta.¹

The following papers describe the postal arrangements between Bombay England and Madras towards the end of the last century. In 1787 on the 31st July the Court write to Bombay: In order to carry the purposes of Mr. Baldwin's appointment into effect, we have formed a plan which has been approved by His Majesty's Post Master

Chapter II. Trade.

Marine Survey,
1788.

Overland Post,
1787.

¹ Comt to Bombay 8th Mar. 1786 paras 23-29, Pub Dep. Court's L Vol. 11 of 1783-1786, 316-319 Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 63-65.

Chapter II.
Trade.

Overland Post,
1787.

General. In consequence thereof we have given directions to our Governor General and Council of Bengal that on the 30th November annually they de-patch one of the Company's armed cruizers to Suez with orders to call at Port St George where she is not to remain more than two days; from thence she is to sail to Bombay where likewise she must not remain more than two days; she is then to proceed to Suez from whence Mr. Baldwin will return her with the Company's despatches to India agreeably to such orders as he may receive from us.

Private letters to and from India may be permitted to be forwarded with the Company's packets. But we strictly enjoin you to make the private letters a separate parcel from the Company's packet, and not to include in the latter any letters from individuals. Both the packets must come directed to the Court of Directors and, after taking those belonging to the Company, we shall send the other to the General Post Office here from whence they will be distributed.

We direct that the packets be made up in tin boxes and the direction to us stamped thereon, taking care that the boxes be well soldered. We think this precaution may obviate the necessity of the quarantine to which all packets made up in cloth are subject.

On or before the 10th of June annually we have determined to send our despatches for India from hence, after which time there might be a risk of disappointment as the cruizers ought to leave Suez by the 10th of August.

We have received only one letter from Mr. Baldwin since his arrival in Egypt which was dated the 19th January last at Alexandria. From the then unsettled state of affairs there, he has not made any final settlement with the Beys and Bashaws for opening the communication through Suez to the English, but appeared confident he soon should. He had however appointed Hâji Demish, a native of Cairo, his agent at Suez and James Wilferman, a German, his agent at Alexandria.

The plan has been communicated to His Majesty's Post Master General who has been pleased to promise his concurrence for the conveyance of the letters from London to Leghorn and from Leghorn hither.

Having thus communicated to you all the particulars of our plan we shall trust to your carrying it into effect as far as the same may depend upon you.

In the preceding paragraphs we have given you directions for carrying into effect the arrangements we have made for securing a regular intercourse between England and the British possessions in India. Upon further consideration of the recent accounts of the present state of Egypt, we think proper to direct you to postpone carrying these directions into execution till you receive further order from us.¹

Letter from Mr. John Morris to Andrew Ramsay Esquire the President and Governor, dated Bombay 1st April 1788: Permit me to entreat your indulgence for a few minutes to inform you that so far back as January 1787, the late Honourable President desired me to take charge of the Madras post and to announce myself to the public as

Post
with Madras,
1788.

¹ Court to Bombay 31st July 1787 para 24-31, Pub Dep Court's Letters Vol. 12 of 1787-1790, 71-74. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol 2 of 1759-1766, 71-73.

Post Master, for which station he was pleased to promise at a future period to allot a salary with the appointment in due form from the Honourable Board. But as the circumstance appears to have entirely escaped his memory, and as my absence from the Presidency precluded me from renewing my application before his departure, I am necessitated to apply to you for relief, which, I trust, you will grant so far as you may think me deserving of it. I have paid particular attention to the business ever since the above mentioned period and have met with the approbation, both of the Government of Madras (at whose request a person was appointed at Bombay) and the Post Master General there, which I understand from good authority they were pleased to express to the late Honourable President. When I first undertook this office, the *kásids* (messengers) were by no means regular in arriving from Madras, which occasioned me to entertain others here at Bombay, in order that the packets might be returned on the appointed day. To each pair so employed I was obliged to advance Rs. 60, being the usual postage of *patamars* which to this period has been the means of my losing by the appointment. As the appointments at Bengal and Madras have met with the sanction and approbation of the Honourable Company, I should conceive they would have no objection to its being instituted here, where the utility of it is equally obvious. I therefore beg leave to subjoin for the approbation of your Honourable Board the plan that has been concerted between the Post Master General at Madras and myself, for the conducting this office which was transmitted to your Government in December 1786 by the Governor and Council of Fort St. George. Should you be pleased to favour this plan, I would, with submission to your Honourable Board, beg leave to propose that it be made known by your Secretary to the public as receiving your sanction, when I have no doubt but the merchants and traders residing on the island and at subordinates will make it the general road of their correspondence. I have forgot to mention in the former part of this address that the Post Master General at Madras has charged me with one-half of the expense of the *patamars* ever since the late Honourable President wrote to Sir Archibald Campbell that he had appointed me to take charge of the post office at this settlement.¹

Mr. Morris' plan for establishing a regular post between Madras and Bombay, 1st April 1788: The Honourable the Governor and Council at Fort St. George having resolved that an attempt should be made to keep up a regular and constant communication between that settlement and Bombay, on the principle of its being attended with both a public and private benefit, the following plan was accordingly prepared and laid before them, which meeting with their approbation, was immediately carried into execution:

1. That there shall be stationed at each Presidency 4 pairs of *kásids* (messengers).

2. That the first pair shall be despatched by the Government of Madras the first Wednesday in the month, and be directed to proceed to Bombay by Haiderabad and Poona.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Post
with Madras,
1788.

¹ Mr. John Morris to Govt. 1st April 1788, Pub. Diary 92 of 1788, 274-276. -

Chapter II.

Trade.

Post
with Madras,
1788.

3. That the second pair shall follow on the third Wednesday, and so to proceed in regular routine, despatching them every other Wednesday till the four pairs are in employ.

4. That as soon as the *kásils* can be procured at Bombay, they shall be returned from thence on the second and fourth Wednesday of every month, by pursuing of which method, a constant and regular communication will be kept on foot.

5. That such individuals as choose to avail themselves of this mode of conveying letters to and from each Presidency, are to pay when put into the office, for a single letter Rs. 2, for a double letter Rs. 4, and for a triple letter Rs. 6. Packets, according to their weight, at the rate of Rs. 4 per ounce.

6. That the *kásids* undertake to deliver the packets entrusted to their charge for either settlement within 25 days, and to return within the same period with other despatches, unless detained by Government on account of their packets not being ready.

At a Consultation, the 3rd April 1788, Government resolved: Read the above letter and plan annexed from Mr. John Morris. As we are sensible of the public utility of an established intercourse between this Presidency and that of Fort St. George, we are ready to give every support of Government to the plan concerted by the Post Master General at Madras, and we approve of Mr. Morris officiating in that capacity at this Presidency. But as we have reason to believe that the receipts on account of the postage of letters will considerably exceed the expenses of the undertaking and leave a handsome compensation to the Post Master, and as it behoves us to prevent as studiously as possible every increase of expense to our Honourable Employers, we cannot acquiesce in allotting a salary to the Post Master. If it should appear after the experiment of a year that the advantage accruing from the concern is inadequate to his trouble, we shall take his request into further consideration on his laying his accounts before us. We resolve that the plan before us for establishing a regular post between Madras and Bombay be publicly announced at the Presidency and subordinates; and in order to render such an office of further utility, that all private letters to be received or transmitted be there deposited, and that a fee of one anna postage be collected upon each.¹

¹ Pub. Diary 92 of 1788, 274-277. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 184. Forrest's Home Series, II, 347.

Section II.—Supplies, 1676-1803.

The following extracts relate to the supply of provisions, one of the greatest difficulties which early Bombay had to deal with.

Regarding the Portuguese hindrance to the grain supply the Surat President and Council write to Bombay on the 4th November 1676: We observe what you write touching the Portuguese prohibiting all provisions brought from Salsette. We would not have you take it to heart or be anyways discouraged at their malicious practices, but send what vessels you can down to Mangalor and Bassalor (Barcelor) to lade rice there for the supply of the island. So you must do yearly that the Portuguese may see we have as little occasion to make use of them as they of us. We call naught else to mind at present but commend you to the Almighty's protection.¹

Two weeks later, the 21st November 1676, Surat again writes: Touching the granary for corn, we hold it so necessary that the island cannot be safe without it; wherefore we confirm our former direction therein. You need not be overhasty to buy the corn all at once for then the price will rise exceedingly upon you. You must procure it at the cheapest time in the year for then the Company will not lose thereby. If you could serve yourselves anywhere else than from the Portugal country we should be much better pleased, for they will assuredly raise the price upon you, and we suppose you may be furnished cheaper from Bassalor (Barcelor) by the Company's vessels than from any other place.²

As regards a rice supply from Kánara the Surat President and Council write to Bombay on the 4th January 1677: In prosecution of our former resolves for supplying the island and garrison of Bombay with rice that we might not be beholden to our unkind Portugal neighbours, we have thought good to appoint the following vessels to sail down to the Kánara country where rice is cheapest to be procured, the *Revenge*, the *Good Hope*, the *Phoenix* if not sent to Maskat, the *Moody's ketch*, and the *Hough Despatch*.³

Three weeks later, the 26th January 1677, Surat again writes: Our design of sending down a fleet of small vessels to Mangalor to lade rice was grounded upon your advice unto us that your ill-disposed neighbours the Portuguese had issued forth proclamations to prohibit all provisions to be transported from Salsette and their other territories. Now upon receipt of this your opportune advice that you shall be able to furnish yourselves at as cheap rates and more conveniently, we have concluded to send down the *Good Neighbour* only.⁴

On the 22nd February 1677 the Chief and factors at Mangalor write to Bombay: Being enordered by the President and Council to provide 300 or 400 *khandis* of rice for the use of your garrison, in

Chapter II.

Trade

Grain Supply,
1676.

Kánara Rice,
1677.

Mangalor Rice,
1677.

¹ Surat to Bombay 4th Nov. 1676, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 213-244 Forrest's Home Series, I. 109-110.

² Surat to Bombay 21st Nov. 1676, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 259. Forrest's Home Series, I. 110-111.

³ Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 3 of 1677-1700, 2.

⁴ Surat to Bombay 26th Jan. 1677, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 3 of 1677-1700, 6-7.

Chapter II.
TradeKārwār Rice,
1677.

pursuance of their commands we have contracted for such a parcel, and have now laden on the *Malabar Coaster* 854 parcels whose contents and cost please to read in the enclosed invoice, which give our factory credit for; the rest shall be sent you per the *Good Neighbour* a few days hence.¹

In their letter of the 28th March 1677 the Kārwār Chief and factors write to Bombay: We have laden on the *Pharna* 371 parcels of rice for the use of your garrison, being thereunto enjoined by the President and Council.²

Regarding the rice supply received from Kārwār the Surat President and Council on the 26th April 1677 write to Bombay: We take notice of the 1407 hales of rice the *Good Neighbour* hath brought you from Kārwār; the freight of what rice she should bring thence we long since concluded at Rs. 10 the Surat *khandi*.³

On the 2nd July 1677 the Bombay Council write to Surat: We have calculated the freight of the *Good Neighbour's* rice from Mangalore, she bringing 140 hales, which according to the rate the *Malabar Coaster* held out, makes 1428½ *pharās*, which at 8 *pharās* to the Bombay *khandi*, rice being never weighed here but measured by the *phara* is 177 cwt and 7½ *pharās* equal to 2669 Surat *mans*. This at 22 mds to the *khandi* makes cwt 121 and mds. 7 Surat. At Rs. 10 per *khandi* the total is Rs. 1213-6-36, which please to pay the owners of the *Good Neighbour* and pass it to the island's debt.⁴

Grain Stores,
1683

Regarding storehouses, on the 16th November 1683 the Court of Directors write: We hope you are well supplied with storehouses for paddy rice and other provisions. We have ordered our President in Council to take care always to lay in such stores there that may be a security to our island and raise some profit to the Company towards the excessive charge they have been at in bringing the island to what it is.⁵

In a letter to the Surat President and Council, the 7th April 1684, the Court resume: Care must be taken concerning the workmen employed in building any granaries that shall be wanting for preserving the store of rice and paddy we have now appointed to be constantly kept at Bombay. Which fabrie we think may best be built five or six storeys high, 27 or 28 feet wide from outside to outside, each story to be 6½ feet in depth, and a post under the middle of every girder perpendicular one over another from a stone basis from the ground, and another right over that to the garret (floor), without which supports no girder of any reasonable scantings will bear at such a length. For the situation, they should be placed as near as you can out of gunshot of any enemy you may have in the road. Order and uniformity in buildings enhance not the price, and yet are more useful and comely. This we recommend to your contrivance. We think a granary on four collateral sides of a square yard or quadrangle,

¹ Surat Fact Out. L B 3 of 1677-1700, 27.² Surat Fact Out L B. 3 of 1677-1700, 30.³ Surat Fact Out L B. 3 of 1677-1700, 31. Forrest's Home Series, I. 113.⁴ See Out L B 4 of 1677-1787, 39.⁵ Court to Bombay 16th Nov. 1683, Pub Dep. Court's L Vol 1 of 1681-1695, 59.

after the manner of the bridge house granaries in Southwark, is an useful and handsome form having a large pair of gates to come in at, which when shut all are in safety. But we cannot prescribe to you exactly in these things; you must have respect to the ground you have to build upon and the ease of labour in receiving and delivering with some regard of order and conformity with those buildings you have already erected.¹

In the same letter the Court add: Compel all our early ships that you do not employ for pepper, to fetch rice and coir (coir), the rice for Bombay the coir for Surat, from Mangalor and other places, that we may not hereafter pay them demurrage for lying idle in Swally Hole as we have formerly done.²

In connection with a dispute between two grain-sellers, in their letter to Surat on the 15th July 1686 the Bombay Council write: Your Excellency has been pleased to write about Gangadās Madan, a Bania merchant, being hindered selling his rice by Girdhardās. We have had the said merchant and Girdhardās before us, and do find that Girdhardās did no such things, but that Gangadās had all the freedom imaginable in disposing of his rice and that neither Girdhardās, the Modi, nor any of the Right Honourable Company's servants that had rice were permitted to dispose of any till the foreign merchants had disposed of theirs. This was done to encourage merchants to bring grain to this island. The said Gangadās did declare that he never was before the Deputy Governor to ask any license, so consequently could not be denied.³

Bombay Deputy Governor and Council's letter to the Surat General and Council, 13th August 1686: We have about 80 *mudās* of batty or unhusked rice in store, and about 80 more we may expect this year. The old batty which we had in store was decayed, and sold before we received your directions and shall dispose of no more. We will take care what in us lies to make provision of cattle, pursuant to your orders.⁴

Bombay letter to Surat, 14th December 1686: Some men we are forced to lend to go for Mangalor for rice, that commodity being very dear on this island, and people are afraid of the Malabārs, but not many men go.⁵

Bombay letter to Surat, 17th January 1687: Your Excellency gave us order that, in case we saw occasion, we should lay in four or five months' provision from the Modi. Now the Modi is so very low in cash that he cannot supply us with a month's provision, nor hardly sufficient for the frigate *Hunter's* occasions. The truth is he has run out much, but he insists upon the debt that is due to him in the rebellion and could he be paid, he should again be in cash to supply us.⁶

Bombay letter to Surat, 19th January 1687: There is a prospect of some vessels going down the coast for rice and provisions for this

Chapter II.

Trade.

Grain Stores,
1683.Mangalor Rice,
1681.Free Trade
in Grain,
1686.Old Rice,
1686.Dear Rice,
1686.

1687.

¹ Court to Surat 7th April 1684, Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 80-83.

² Court to Surat 7th April 1681, Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 80.

³ Bombay to Surat 15th July 1686, Sec. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 1.

⁴ Sec. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 8.

⁵ Sec. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 38.

⁶ Sec. Out. L. B. 1 of 1677-1687, 30.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Dear Rice,
1657.

place. Considering batty is already risen to Xeraphins 48 and 50 per *muda* and likely to be suddenly dearer, we think it may not be amiss if the *Ruby* frigate be let out or sent down to convoy some of the vessels if your Excellency approves thereof, which may add something towards the bearing her charge she has at and will greatly encourage the bringing trade and provisions to the island. For this we crave your Excellency's speedy answer that no time may be lost on the design if concluded on. This frigate is now on the shore in order to her sitting for the sea. We hope she will be off in two or three tides when she shall be ready on all occasions that may offer.¹

Bombay letter to Surat, 26th January 1687. The *Ruby* frigate is fitted and graved to go on any voyage you please to send her which we hope will be to Mangalore or that way to get rice which is all ready and will be much wanted.²

1694. - Bombay Government order to Mr. Thomas Lawrence, 13th November 1694. These are to enorder you to let Padamshet goldsmith land and house about 50 or 60 *mudās* of batty.³

1695. Bombay Government order to Mr. Thomas Lawrence, 28th February 1695. These are to enorder you to permit two Goghr boats to import batty and to huck it and suffer them to carry the same off this island, they paying you custom for it.⁴

Advances to
Cultivators,
1702.

Bombay Government order to the warehouse keeper Mr. W. M. Reynolds, 25th March 1702: Deliver to Alvaro Mozello 11 *mudās* of the Right Honorable Company's batty to advance to the Carrambecs (Kulambis) of all the aldeas (aldeas or villages) of this island.⁵ Similar order again on 29th April 1702: Deliver unto Alvaro Mozello to be delivered to the Kunbis 4 *mudās* of the Right Honorable Company's batty in part of the quantity usually advanced to them.⁶

Licensed
Rice Sellers,
1702.

Bombay Deputy Governor and Council's order to the warehouse-keeper Mr. W. M. Reynolds, 1st April 1702: Deliver unto Mr. Daniel Demitrios clerk of the market, 20 *mudās* of the Right Honorable Company's batty, it being to be by him delivered to the Kacheris or licensed rice sellers of this island, to be by them retailed out to the people thereof at the rate of Xeraphins 34 per *muda*, thereby to supply their necessities and to reduce to that rate that commodity from its present price of Xeraphins 38 per *muda*.⁷ Similar order again on 17th April 1702. Deliver unto Mr. Daniel Demitrios, clerk of the market, 20 *mudās* of the Right Honorable Company's batty, being to be by him delivered to the Kacheris of this island, to be by them retailed out to the people thereof at the rate of Xeraphins 34 per *muda*, thereby to supply their necessities and to reduce that commodity from the present price thereof.⁸ Similar order again on 9th May 1702: Deliver unto Mr. Daniel Demitrios, clerk of the market, 30 *mudās* of the Right Honorable Company's batty, to be by him delivered to the Kacheris of this island, to be by them retailed out to the people

¹ Ser. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1697, 73.

Forrest's Home Series, I. 153.

² Ser. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1697, 74.

Forrest's Home Series, I. 151.

³ Ser. Out. L. B. 5 of 1694-1696, 22.⁴ Ser. Out. L. B. 5 of 1694-1696, 36.⁵ Ser. Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 115.⁶ Ser. Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 157.⁷ Ser. Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 146.⁸ Ser. Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 151.

thereof at the rate of Xeraphins 34 per *muda*, thereby to supply their necessities and to reduce to that rate that commodity from its present price of 38 Xeraphins per *muda*.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 25th January 1724: The Governor and Council of St. Helena having requested of us in their letter of the 10th June last a supply of rice and wheat by every returning ship from hence to Europe, agreed that Bengal rice being so low as Rs. 1½ the *paka man*, we purchase 100 bags and lay it on the *Hanover*. But whereas the new crop of wheat is not yet come in, resolved that we wait another opportunity to send them some thereof.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 26th October 1724: Our granaries being low and batty as yet coming in but very leisurely, in some measure to provide against accidents it is agreed that we consign on the *Green* (bound for) Mangalor Rs. 4000 to be invested in rice and laden on the *Victoria* hither so soon as she may be spared from Kárwár.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 29th November 1728: From an examination of the people on board the two boats of batty brought on the 22nd instant by the *Dolphin* cruizer, it appearing that the batty belonged to the Angria and was carrying to Cundry (Kenery), and the boats though belonging to this island, yet being freighted by one of Angria's agents on pretence, as the proprietors say, to bring wood to the island, and having reason to believe that such practices have been too frequent; it is agreed for example's sake that the boats as well as the batty be confiscated as prizes for the benefit of the captors, the value being about Rs. 600.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 13th September 1734: There being a prospect of a fine crop of batty, and sundry of our inhabitants representing that they have a considerable quantity of the old batty in warehouse, which they shall suffer in the sale of if we do not permit them to export part thereof, it is agreed that they be allowed to export till further orders.⁵

Bombay Government Consultation, 27th September 1734: Our Portuguese neighbours not permitting any batty to be exported from their territory as they apprehended it will be wanted for the supplying of Goa through their disputes with the Kánarese and as thereby we shall be deprived of the quantity usually received from thence, it is agreed that we put a stop to the exportation of grain from hence to prevent the price rising too exorbitantly on our poor inhabitants.⁶

Bombay Government Consultation, 19th November 1736: The warehouse-keeper acquaints the Board that though it had been customary heretofore to receive only ten *pharás* of rice for every *muda* of batty, he had prevailed upon the people who follow that occupation, to engage to deliver into the Company's warehouse ten *pharás* and

Chapter II. Trade.

Rice to
St. Helena,
1724.

Mangalor Rice,
1724.

Boats
Confiscated,
1728.

Export of Batty
Allowed,
1734.

Export of Batty
Prohibited,
1734.

Proportion of
Rice to Batty,
1736.

¹ Sec. Out L. R. 7 of 1699-1702, 165. From 5th May 1702, Mr. Francis Forbes was the warehouse keeper. Ditto, 62A.

² Pub. Diary 2 of 1721, 16. Forrest's Home Series, II. 34.

³ Pub. Diary 2 of 1721, 136.

⁴ Pub. Diary 3 of 1727-28, 231.

⁵ Pub. Diary 7 of 1734, 157-158.

⁶ Pub. Diary 7 of 1734, 170.

Chapter II.
Trade.

Strangers
to leave the
Island,
1737.

two *adholis* of rice for every *mudda* of batty, and desired a minute to be made hereof to be referred to upon any occasion hereafter.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 27th April 1737: Being very apprehensive there will be a want of grain for our inhabitants (through the prohibition of bringing it hither from the Maráthás' country), and great number of useless people having resorted hither since the late invasion of the Portuguese territories who will expend the provisions in the place without being of any service, it is agreed that a publication be issued requiring all strangers who have come hither since the beginning of those troubles, to depart the island in seven days, and forbidding any of the inhabitants to entertain or conceal them after that time.²

Bombay Grain,
1737.

Bombay Government Consultation, 3rd May 1737: Finding the Maráthás refuse to permit any grain being brought to this island and apprehending there will be a want of grain for our inhabitants before the next fair season, it is thought necessary to have a true account of the stocks at present on the island. For this purpose it is agreed that a publication be issued requiring every inhabitant to give an exact account to the heads of their respective castes, of batty rice or other grain in their possession, under penalty of forfeiting such as shall be found not contained in that account, and such farther punishment as the Board shall think fit to inflict; and it is agreed that half the grain attempted to be concealed shall be given to the informer, which we think will be a sufficient encouragement to make discoveries. Directed that the heads of the respective castes deliver the accounts of the grain found upon the island to the Custom Masters of Bombay and Máhum in order to be laid before the Board.³

Grain Supply,
1737.

Bombay Government Consultation, 10th June 1737: The Custom Master lays before the Board the following account of the grain remaining upon the island, as taken by the heads of the respective castes:

Bombay Grain Supply, 1737.

Grain	District.	Quantity.
Batty	Bombay ..	<i>Muddis</i> ... 2650
	Máhum .	" .. 1372
Rice and other grain..	Bombay .	<i>Khandis</i> .. 546
	Máhum	" ... 160

The above quantity is judged sufficient for the use of our inhabitants till the opening of the fair season.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 16th May 1737: There not being a sufficient quantity of rice in warehouse for the use of the garrison and marine during the rainy season, nor any of the growth of this country procurable at present, the President acquaints the Board

¹ Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 160.

² Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 101.

³ Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 101.

⁴ Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 133.

that Mr. Wastell, supracargo of the ship *Pelham*, had made an offer of about 500 bags of fine Bengal rice at Rs. 4 and 2500 ordinary at Rs. 3½, being the lowest he could afford to sell it for. It is accordingly agreed to take it at that rate, and directed that the warehouse-keeper receive the same.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 19th September 1737: It is observed that it is greatly to be feared we shall be in want of rice the ensuing season not only through the prospect of a bad crop but the certainty of a prohibition of bringing us grain from the Maráthas' country if they find they can thereby distress us. The President therefore proposes that if the *Rose* arrives in time from Surat, she be sent with the above vessels (intended to go to block up Angria in his port) to proceed to Mangalor and load with rice, and as sundry of our inhabitants are preparing to send boats thither on the like service, the having a convoy in their return may be encouragement to others. We do not apprehend any danger of the *Rose* coming up alone as our other fleet will be lying off Gheria. It is accordingly resolved that she be employed in this manner. For an encouragement to our inhabitants to import batty, it is agreed that we raise the price to Rs. 25 per *mudda*.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 31d October 1737: The President acquaints the Board that he had desired this meeting to consider how to prevent the evils we are threatened with through the present great want of grain for the use of our inhabitants; observing that we can expect none from the Maráthas who have prohibited any being brought hither unless we consent to supply them with warlike stores, which would be too dangerous an expedient. Further by letters lately received from the General of the North we are disappointed in our hopes of being furnished from the Portuguese, as he tells the President that he cannot spare any until he has laid in a sufficient stock for the King's forts and garrison, and he is dubious from the badness of the present crop that they shall have little more than enough for this service. From the northern parts we may indeed about a month hence hope to receive grain, which however is uncertain, and our greatest dependence for rice is on Mangalor, and as the *Rose* (whom we proposed to send for a convoy to the boats bound thither and to countenance them while there) is not yet arrived from Surat, the President desires the opinion of the Board for preventing any disappointment in the supply of rice we hope to procure at Mangalor. On this it is observed that it is absolutely necessary constantly to block up the enemy's ports, and if we order any of the cruizers in harbour for a convoy to Mangalor, they cannot return hither to clean and take in wood and water in time enough to be sent to relieve the vessels we now design to send to lie off Gheria. Whereupon Commodore Massey moves whether it be not possible for his ship *Wilmington* to proceed to Mangalor and convoy back the rice vessels time enough for him to make his passage to Gombroon and return with the wool before the ships bound for England in January may be sailed. The Board considering hereupon, it is computed that the fleet may get

Chapter II.

Trade.

Rice Purchases,
1737.Mangalor Rice,
1737.¹ Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 119-120.² Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 228-230.

Chapter II.

Trade

Mangalor Rice,
1737.

down to Mangalor in seven days, and as the rice they may be now able to get is all in readiness (being the remains of last year's crop), 15 days is the longest term they need stay at that port. In all probability they may be up here again by the 15th November and we shall not need to detain the *Wilmington* above two or three days after her arrival to despatch her for Gombroon. Allowing twenty days for the passage thither and as many in her return, and that she will be detained there at the most five days, the wool will be here according to this way of reckoning by the 5th January at furthest. To save time the President observes that the timber for Gombroon may be now put on board the *Wilmington*, and that after she has convoyed the vessels to Mangalor and seen them up safe as high as Rajapur, she may then stand for the Gulf whereby her return with the wool will be very much expedited. To be at the greater certainty it will be necessary to limit her departure from Mangalor to the last of October; but if the boat should be loaded before that time or Captain Massey finds no rice is to be got in the place, that he comes away so much the sooner as he is able.

By the prosecution of this design we hope to perform all the most material services at present requisite, namely the blocking up Angria, procuring a supply of grain so absolutely necessary for the island, and bringing the wool from Persia which we shall be in great want of to complete the loadings of the ships on hand and we hope will prove an acceptable article to our Honourable Masters. It is therefore agreed that the *Wilmington* be ordered to Mangalor to convoy and protect the vessels sent for rice, and after seeing them safe as high as Rajapur that she make the best of her way to Gombroon. And directed that the timber received from Cahcut for repairing the factory of Gombroon be immediately sent on board.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 7th October 1737: Sailed the *Wilmington* for Mangalor, with the *Success*, *Ann*, and *Adventure* galleys and sundry shubans under her convoy to bring up rice for the service of the island.²

Scarcity of
Grain,
1737.

Bombay Government Consultation, 11th October 1737: The President observes that it is now necessary to think of making a provision of grain for our inhabitants till the end of next rains which he apprehends it will not be possible to do from the parts about us through the prohibition of exporting it from the Maratha country and the extreme badness of the crop. Nor can we expect a sufficient supply from the northward or even from Mangalor since we are assured the general scarcity in these parts will oblige the Portuguese and Samblaji Angria to have recourse to Mangalor where the large demand of others will probably prevent our getting the quantity we may want. The President hereupon proposes to desire the President and Council of Bengal to supply us with 12,000 or 15,000 bags sending part thereof on any of our Hon'ble Masters' ships bound this way, and to contract with any merchants of the place on the best terms they can to deliver us the remainder at a certain rate. The Board considering the present great scarcity, the little prospect of supplying ourselves sufficiently from the

¹ Pub Diary 10 of 1736-37, 239-241² Pub Diary 10 of 1736-37, 212.

parts on this side of India, and the dreadful evils to be apprehended from the want of grain, does unanimously agree to the above proposal, and it is directed that a letter be got in readiness and despatched by express *patamar*.¹

Chapter II. Trade.

Bombay Government Consultation, 21st November 1737: Having in our former Consultations remarked the great scarcity of grain and our apprehensions of the difficulties we may be reduced to through the want thereof towards the end of the season, we now think it necessary to secure what batty (unhusked rice) can be got on account of our Hon'ble Masters. Batty will keep much better than rice and is more esteemed by the sepoys and others to whom it is to be delivered. The warehouse-keeper is therefore directed to buy in such quantities of batty as are from time to time imported, and the President is desired to advance him money as it shall be wanted to pay for the same. As at present only a small quantity of rice is in warehouse for the supply of our military and marine, and as some merchants make an offer of 5000 robins of Mangalor rice at the rate of Rs. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ the robin, which is one quarter of a rupee the robin less than the price settled by the quarter sessions, it is agreed that we purchase the same on our Hon'ble Masters' account, and directed that the amount be paid out of the treasury.²

Batty for Troops,
1737.

Bombay Government Consultation 2nd December 1737: Received per galivat a letter from the Chief and factors at Surat, dated the 23rd ultimo, advising that they had purchased 500 *khandis* of batty which they compute will come out at Rs. 23 per *muda* and is to be delivered us here clear of all charges and a proportionable abatement made for any deficiency that may happen; 500 *khandis* more they have ordered to be procured, but give little hopes of getting it anything cheaper as the present demand for grain in those parts keeps up the price.³

Surat Batty,
1737.

Bombay Government Consultation, 18th January 1738: Some merchants offering about 500 *khandis* of Sandy rice at the same rate we bought that belonging to Captain Pearce (being Rs. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ per *phara*), and as we may yet be in want notwithstanding the provision we have made; it is agreed that we take it on those terms as it will be an encouragement to others to import more.⁴

Sind Rice,
1738.

Bombay Government Consultation, 28th April 1738: The Kunbis who make salt in the several villages, present a petition to be supplied with some rice for the subsistence of their families offering to pay for same out of their salt. Agreed to let them have 200 bags of Bengal rice at Rs. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ per bag, the patels and mukádams signing a bond for the amount and making over the produce of their salt grounds to the Honourable Company for their security.⁵

Rice to
Salt-making
Kunbi,
1738.

Bombay Government Consultation, 26th May 1738: The warehousekeeper lays before the Board an account of Bengal rice received per ship *Malifaz*, namely cwt. 4131-1-25, making 2821 bags of 164 pounds each which at Rs. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ per bag (the price agreed on in Bengal) amounts to Rs. 18,339-2-85; Captain Roger Woodburne requesting

Bengal Rice,
1738.

¹ Pub Diary 10 of 1736-37, 213.

² Pub Diary 10 of 1736-37, 270-280.

³ Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 283.

⁴ Pub. Diary 11 of 1737-38, 11-12.

⁵ Pub. Diary 11 of 1737-38, 97.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Surat Rice,
1739.

that the same may be made good to him, ordered that it be paid out of the treasury.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 18th January 1739: The President representing to the Board the insufficiency of our supplies of grain for the demand of the year and the obstacles to the obtaining it from the Marátha countries and Mangalor, it is agreed that a letter be immediately prepared to the Chief and factors at Surat directing their purchase of a quantity of batty from 1000 to 1500 morahs (*mudtis*) and that if they cannot procure conveyances to send it down on convenient terms, that they advise us timely for our supplying boats from hence.²

Rice from Sind,
1739.

Bombay Government Consultation, 23rd January 1739. The President acquaints the Board that this Consultation is expressly held to determine the best method for providing a quantity of rice for the urgent occasions of the island. It may be of the worst consequence to the place itself should it be unprovided with grain for the immediate support of the inhabitants, as the labouring classes chiefly depend on the Government for even their daily supplies. The extraction of rice from Mangalor and the Marátha countries being found impracticable, and the provision lately ordered from Surat, the success of which depending on Naisári, Gandevi, and other parts in possession of the Gherums or Maráthas being too precarious to trust entirely to, the President proposes to write to Mr. Charles Boddham, residing at Scindy (Sind) on an employ from the gentlemen at Bengal, to purchase from 1000 to 1500 carwals of red rice on account of the Honourable Company, and to direct him to advise us of the time he may expect the rice to be in readiness that we may send up a vessel to convey it down. The Board agreeing thereto, ordered that a letter be instantly framed to the foregoing purpose and recommended to the Chief and factors at Surat to be forwarded to said Charles Boddham by the safest and speediest means.³

Objection to
Sind Rice,
1739

Bombay Government Consultation, 8th June 1739: The President communicates to the Board a representation received from Captain Samuel Walker, Commandant, setting forth that the officers and sepoys doing duty at Sion, Suri, Warli, and other outposts complained of the black Scindy rice being issued to them at Rs. 2 per *phara* in lieu of their usual stated allowance of batty. Thus they represent will be a loss to them, as they will be deprived of the broken rice or *kunahi* which makes *guel* or *káugi* and which the batty yields when they grind it to rice, a labour performed in their families without any expense to them. And this issuing of rice to them is the greater hardship, as they were obliged to take batty of the Honourable Company at the rate of Rs. 22½ per *muda* when the market price was no more than Rs. 14. They further represent the expense they are at in being absent from their families at their posts, which occasions a double charge at this time when wood and other necessaries of life are so dear. They request therefore that batty be delivered them out as customary or that the rice be charged to them at the same rate as to the topasses. The foregoing request being considered and the matter being found truly and

¹ Pub. Diary 11 of 1737-38, 128² Pub. Diary 12 of 1738-39, 22.³ Pub. Diary 12 of 1738-39, 48.

reasonably stated, the Board agrees that relief be given in such manner as requested; and that issues be made in batty as far as conveniently can be, or the rice be charged to the military on the same terms the topasses receive it which is at Rs. 1-2-20.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 31d August 1739: The President mentioning to the Board that several merchants who had imported rice and gram to supply the public necessities, now the same are got over, apprehending they must be considerable sufferers by the surplus left on their hands, are desirous of leave for exporting it to other parts in quest of a vend. The reasonableness of this being evident it is unanimously agreed that such a general license be granted with a proper control and reserve to keep a sufficient stock on the place.²

Letter from Captain Samuel Walker to the President, 9th October 1710: The officers have long wished for your Honour's restoring them the privilege of supplying their several companies with batty. This request being made known to your Honour, you were pleased to hint that if the officers would oblige themselves to supply their several companies with batty at the rate of Rs. 22 per *muda* for a constancy dear or cheap, being the same price the Company supply their sepoy with batty, your Honour would consider of it. This is an obligation they dare not enter into; but they do promise that if your Honour will grant them the favour of supplying their several companies with batty, they will and do oblige themselves from one year to another to supply their several companies with batty at the rate of Rs. 22½ per *muda*. Was the Company's monthly subsistence equal to the officers' expenses (which in my opinion is far from being extravagant), I should now have forbore making this representation in their behalf.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 10th October 1710: Read the above letter from the Captain Commandant of the Regiment, whereon the President acquaints the Board that some time ago the officers had the privilege of supplying their respective companies with batty for which they charged a higher price than what the Honourable Company did on their monthly supplies to the sepoy. This being represented as a hardship he had given orders that the soldiers should in future be supplied out of the Company's granaries on the like terms as the sepoy. The same being then considered, and that the pay of the officers is a bare subsistence, their perquisites but very trifling, and as they engage to provide their people at the rate of Rs. 22½ per *muda*, the same as the Honourable Company now do, that our compliance will be but little loss to our Honourable Masters and may be an encouragement to them. It is therefore agreed to.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 12th February 1741: Our stock of batty in warehouse being no more than 1900 *mudás* and batty being now pretty cheap, it is observed that should the Portuguese, who it is certain have a force on their way from Europe, commence hostilities with the Maráthás, the price would instantly rise and probably a stop might be put to any being brought hither. The custom master

Chapter II. Trade.

Rice Export
Allowed,
1739.

Officers to supply
Batty to their
Companies,
1740

Batty Purchases,
1741.

¹ Pub. Diary 12 of 1738-39, 214.

³ Pub. Diary 13 of 1739-40, 360.

² Pub. Diary 13 of 1738-39, 312.

⁴ Pub. Diary 13 of 1739-40, 358.

Chapter II
Trade.

Mr. Edward Say
appointed Clerk
of the Market,
1741.

Want of
Warehouses,
1741.

is directed to make enquiry of the best and cheapest method for securing as far as 1500 *mudās* which is esteemed necessary to be added to our remaining quantity for the service of this island.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 20th February 1741: For the post of clerk of the market Mr. Edward Say is proposed in consideration of his present circumstances. This will be a means of support to him which he is at present destitute of, without putting our Hon'ble Masters to any greater charge than the allowance of Rs 12 per month for servants' wages. Though this gentleman was formerly high in the Company's service and has since been employed as *supracargo* of private ships, misfortune has prevented his possessing a moderate subsistence. We think the appointing him for the pected reasons will evidently appear to be with no other view than an act of charity, and therefore meet with our Hon'ble Masters' approval.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 20th November 1741: Our stock of batty now in warehouse being no more than about 2000 *mudās* and the price of that article being at present tolerably cheap, it is moved to consider whether it may not be proper to lay in a further provision remaining at the same time that should the Portuguese this year bring their forces to the northward the price will be considerably enhanced, and not unlikely but the Maráthās will then lay a prohibition on any being imported from their country which would considerably distress us should we be destitute of a sufficient stock. It is therefore agreed that we endeavour to contract for 3000 *mudās* on the most reasonable terms. Saváji Dharámsah being asked whether he would furnish us with the above quantity and at what rate, he chooses to decline entering into any agreement. The same question being put to Rupji Dhanji, he offers to provide the same at the rate of Rs. 13½ per *mudda*, provided we will advance him the sum of Rs. 10,000. The Board is sensible the price Rupji demands is reasonable, and as he is a man of substance, there is no risk in trusting him with the sum desired. Agreed that a contract be entered into with the said Rupji Dhanji on the following conditions. A sum of Rs. 10,000 to be advanced and when batty has been delivered to that amount, Rupji to be paid from time to time for the quantities actually received by the warehouse-keeper, the whole 3000 *mudās* to be delivered within four months from this day, namely 2500 *mudās* in three months and the remainder in the succeeding month. The said Rupji to sign a bond for the punctual performance, any failure to incur a penalty of Rs. 3000. It being represented there will be a want of proper warehouses for depositing the aforesaid batty, agreed to appropriate a building belonging to the land paymaster at present containing chunam, the floor being raised to a proper height. Thus the land paymaster is directed to see done with all possible expedition and at the least charge.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 10th December 1741: The warehouse-keeper represents that on a want of proper warehouses for lodging the quantity of batty lately contracted for, which is daily coming in, he had been obliged to hire some of private persons, the names of whom

¹ Pub. Diary 11 of 1740-41, 73

² Pub. Diary 11 of 1740-41, 85,

³ Pub. Diary 14 of 1740-41, 460-461.

as also the quantities respectively deposited he now presents, and desires this minute to be accordingly made for his justification. This leading the Board to consider how or by what means we might be able to perfect some proper storehouses for that article belonging to our Honourable Masters; as one expedient it is proposed that the houses built for dyeis by the late President Cowan, now of no manner of use, be appropriated for that service. To render them dry and secure, additions and repairs amounting to Rs. 1466-2-62 will be required. As this bears no proportion to the expense that will be incurred by continuing any large quantity in the warehouse of private persons, the land paymaster is directed to see to the execution of the work proposed in the most frugal manner.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 3rd September 1742: The President observes that through the want of rain there is too much reason to apprehend a scarcity of grain the ensuing season. Our neighbours the Maráthás it is said have already prohibited the exportation of grain from their country, and it would seem to him worthy of consideration whether we ought not to pursue the same measures. The Board unanimously agree that the export of grain be forbidden from this day. Here a motion is made in favour of some merchants who, in consequence of permission regularly obtained at the time when the scarcity was not so apparent nor even foreseen, have actually freighted boats to the number of seven, on whom a quantity of about 500 *mudís* is laden designed for Goa. As a refusal to export would subject these merchants to certain loss, the question being put whether this grain should now be allowed to be exported, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority, subject to the condition that within the space of three months the exporters engage to import an equal quantity to that carried off. To what is premised above with regard to grain we have this melancholy addition. The poor are daily complaining for want. Such as have batty by them deny the fact or at best insist upon an extraordinary price which falls heavy upon the meaner sort. As by the contracts made last year for batty it fortunately happens a quantity remains in our Honourable Masters' possession it is proposed and agreed that the warehouse-keeper daily issue to the clerk of the market 10 *mudís* of batty at the rate of Rs. 16 the *mudá*, which the latter must see is publicly vended in the bazár for the relief of the poor. After we see what effect that will have, we can hereafter take such measures as shall appear necessary.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 8th March 1743: There being still a want of grain for the supply of the common people, it is directed that the warehouse-keeper issue to the clerk of the market as far as 300 *mudís* of batty to be sold in the bazár as the poorer sort of people may want it, at the price it sells for at the Mándvi when imported, which may prevent the purchasers of large quantities keeping batty up at a high price.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 27th May 1743: From the appearance of the want of grain, the price continuing very high and

Chapter II.

Trade.

Want of
Warehouses,
1741.

Scarcity of Grain,
1742.

Government
Supply,
1743.

Private Owners
forced to
supply Batty,
1743.

¹ Pub. Diary-14 of 1740-41, 498-499.

² Pub. Diary. 15 of 1741-42, 413-414.

³ Pub. Diary 16 of 1743, 68.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Private Owners
forced to
supply Batty,
1713.

even such persons as are possessed of any quantity refusing to sell any part though intended for the relief of the poor, it is agreed that the Bombay and Málum custom masters with the clerk of the market do make search in all private houses and warehouses sealing up the warehouse where any quantity is found, and that till this account can be taken, the warehouse-keeper issue to the clerk of the market as far as 100 *mudás* of batty to be publicly sold in the bazár, a certain quantity every day.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 31d June 1743. According to the order made in our last Consultation an account is delivered of the grain found in the possession of private merchants and as there is no other way to provide for the subsistence of the poorest sort of people than by obliging those persons to give out of their stocks, the clerk of the market is empowered to take from them what is daily required for the supply of the market. This he is to retail out paying the owner the price it bears from time to time at the custom-house.²

The Retail
of Rice,
1743.

The records of 1743-44 contain details of a controversy regarding the measures to be adopted to secure a supply of moderately priced grain to the poor in years of scarcity. The controversy arose out of the appointment of Mr Edward Say the same who in 1711 'as a matter of charity' had been made clerk of the market to supersede the existing Musalmán *Kacharás* or licensed rice-sellers who had failed to lay in a proper supply of rice. The entries and correspondence are interesting in showing what practical opposition the Grand Jury and the Bench of Justices could then make to Government measures and the freedom of discussion among the Members of Council. The papers also show how greatly the City of Bombay and ideas regarding its supply of grain have altered during the last century and a half:

On the 26th August 1713, the Grand Jury delivered the following presentment to the Court of Oyer and Terminer and Jail Delivery. The members present were the Honourable William Wake, Governor of Bombay Chauman and others His Majesty's Justices for the Town and Island of Bombay: We, the Grand Jury, upon our oaths do present that by a petition of certain *kacharás* or rice-sellers, presented unto us, it appears that the making and vending of rice is monopolized by one man and they are excluded the benefit of the same; therefore we do present unto your Worshipps this as a grievance which requires redress, and humbly submit to this Honourable Bench whether in future the sale of the said commodity should not be general and not limited to any one man or set of men which will prevent oppressing the poor. On the above, the Chauman (Honourable William Wake) observes that it has always been the custom of this place as also of the neighbouring governments to appoint a certain person or persons to retail unbeaten rice in the lazár to the poorer sort of people who by that means might at all times be sure of having it in small quantities and at a reasonable rate, the Government fixing the price, always allowing the seller one rupee per *mudá* profit for his trouble, though at the same time no restriction was laid on any who were inclined to buy and retail ground or beaten rice for their families or exportation. All that was desired

¹ Pub. Diary 16 of 1743, 141.

² Pub. Diary 16 of 1743, 149.

was that the labouring people might be supplied without imposition; that the rice-sellers who had formerly this license had frequently been complained of and some corporally punished and others fined; and in times of scarcity had or at least pretended not to have what was required for the daily supplies of the bazar, from whence the Company has been and if a general liberty is given, may again be obliged to issue rice from their warehouse though attended with a loss. On the whole, the orders he had given were agreeable to the usual practice of the place and what in the opinion of the most principal merchants would be for the ease of the poor. He therefore now left it to the Justices whether the Grand Jury's presentment should be complied with. The Justices were of opinion it should. Upon this the Chairman declares he shall be glad to find the event produces a good effect, though of that he has great reason to doubt.¹

The record of the next sessions (28th October 1743) contains the following: The general license for retailing rice in the bazar ordered at last sessions is now revoked by the Justices; and the consideration how and in what manner the place shall be supplied, is referred to the Honourable the Governor in Council.²

In connection with this passage-at-arms between the Government and the Grand Jury, in their letter dated 20th March 1744 the Court of Directors write: We are concerned to perceive by the advices before us that grain was scarce and dear upon the island, by the Maráthás not importing as usual, we are apprehensive some disgust was given them by denying a free sale of their cargoes. As the plenty and cheapness of the necessaries of life are highly requisite to the welfare of the island, we are willing to think that you had no sinister views in altering the usual method of supplying the market, although the Grand Jury presented the same as a great evil. Upon seriously considering this affair in every light we are of opinion the old method was best. Whenever you find the Maráthás withholding grain, you will do well to have resort to Mangalore as was done upon this occasion by sending the *Montague* and *Pulteney* thither, though Rs. 7000 freight to the latter for so short a trip seems to be too high a rate. Mr. Edward Say, clerk of the market, must no longer be continued in that post but an upright capable covenant servant must be appointed in his room.³

Before this Despatch was written on the 3rd February 1744, at a Government Consultation, the President reminds the Board of the resolution come to at last general quarter sessions for the President and Council to consider what means are most proper for supplying the labouring and poorer sort of people with rice. He remarks that the rice which has always hitherto been confined to be sold by the *kacharás* only is ground but unbeaten rice, it being the most proper for them. That all persons have ever been at liberty to sell batty and beaten rice in the bazar or anywhere else without any restraint whatever, as also to make batty into unbeaten rice for their own use or exportation at their own pleasure (except when grain is scarce when only the Govern-

Chapter II. Trade.

The Retail
of Rice,
1743.

Rice for the
Poor,
1744.

¹ Bombay Court of Oyer and Terminer Diary, 26th Aug. 1743, Vol. 119 of 1713-1745, 12-14.

² Bombay Court of Oyer and Terminer Diary, 28th Oct 1743, Vol. 119 of 1713-15, 28.

³ Court to Bombay 20th March 1744 paras 56-59, Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 3 of 1712-1751, 70.

Chapter II.
Trade.
Rice for the
Poor,
1714

ment prohibits the exportation of it). That in spite of this freedom the Grand Jury's presentment at the quarter sessions in August last implied that the sole vending of all kinds of rice was confined to one person, and conformable to the tenour of that presentment, the Bench of Justices ordered that every person should have the liberty of selling unbeaten rice in the bazár or elsewhere, that the poor and labouring people might buy as cheap as they could. The President reminds the Board that as Chairman he had asked the foreman of the Grand Jury whether their presentment was founded upon any complaint that had been made to them. The foreman's reply was 'No; it is designed to prevent any complaint in future.' The President further explains that it had always been the custom of this place, a custom which obtained with the Portuguese at Bassen as well as other places, to appoint a certain person or persons Moormen called *kacharás* who only were to sell out by retail in some small parcels in the public market, unbeaten rice to such poor and labouring people as had not time or conveniences to grind it themselves, and till August last, for their charge and trouble the *kacharás* were always permitted by the Government to sell half a *muda* of good unbeaten rice at the rate of Re 1 more than the price of a *muda* of batty as rated at the custom house, or otherwise as the Government thought proper to fix it. That though these *kacharás* obliged themselves to supply the bazár with unbeaten rice at all events, still in times of scarcity as they never had a sufficient stock, the Honourable Company had always been obliged, and generally to their loss, to purchase abroad for the service of the bazár. If in seasons of scarcity the Company have to make good the balance required by the bazár the Company ought to have the sole right to supply the bazár with batty to be made into unbeaten rice as aforesaid. Unless this restriction is made, in time of plenty if all shopkeepers can sell the Company's batty may and will spoil upon their hands; and in a time of scarcity, if no proper provision is made, the poor must starve. It is well known to the whole town that in times of scarcity the *kacharás* did not supply the bazár but sold privately in the night by false measures at what prices and such trash as they pleased; for which abuses they have been frequently fined and punished. Last year when batty was very high and rising, the merchants complained to the President and requested him that the batty might be issued out of the Company's warehouse. When no batty came as heretofore to the custom house for sale for the consumption of the bazár, it became necessary to appoint some proper and honest person to make it into unbeaten rice and vend it as usual. Rupji Dhanji, a considerable merchant, who on the like occasion had before undertaken the work, was asked but refused, alleging his business would not permit him to give the necessary attendance. The merchants then proposed Mr. Say, who was clerk of the market, as the properest person. This was the sole reason why Mr. Say was so appointed during that time of scarcity. The President believes Mr. Say executed the business very justly or at least as well as the badness of the batty he had from the Company's warehouse, it being old, would permit.

The *kacharás* heretofore permitted solely to supply the bazár with unbeaten rice having ever complained of the Honourable Company have generally been sufferers by being obliged rather to provide in

time of scarcity for the poor and labouring people, or to force such as had a stock of batty on the island to sell for the supply of the bazár. To put a stop to these evils and to secure that the poor and labouring people may be provided for without imposition, the President proposes that at a convenient time the Honourable Company do lay in a stock of batty, or in default thereof of rice, for solely supplying the bazár; that this stock be issued out of their warehouse by the warehouse-keeper to such person or persons being Europeans or Native Christians as shall be permitted to make the said batty into unbeaten rice, he or they paying for the same at the time of taking it from the Company's warehouse, and having the sole vending of it in the bazár at the customary advance of Re. 1 the *muda*. That for the more convenient inspection of the clerk of the market the said unbeaten rice be issued from one convenient place and in the day only; that, in like manner as the attack farmer, the person or persons thus permitted may send one of his own servants with a person that complains at any time of the rice being bad, to the clerk of the market or a justice of peace to see that it be not adulterated by the way; and that the clerk of the market be ordered to be very careful in duly inspecting the rice and the measure it is sold by, and, if there be occasion, to make complaint to any one of the justices, or on material occasions to this Board. The above propositions causing some debate, especially in respect to the person that may be permitted to vend unbeaten rice in the bazár, the President referred the consideration to another day, leaving it to the members to deliver their opinion either in writing or verbally, declaring he shall approve of any industrious honest person or persons they shall nominate that will accept of the post.¹

A week later, the 10th February 1744, in connection with this debate, Mr. John Munro a member of the Board wrote to the President: As on the 31d instant I declared that the *kacharás* appointed to supply the poor with unbeaten rice ought to be no longer continued in that employ, and that it was necessary to nominate a European to that office, it may not be improper for me to give reasons for my opinion. For years the *kacharás* have taken all opportunities of oppressing and grinding the faces of the poor. This I believe will not be contested. It can be proved by the many complaints against them, their present chastisements, and the experience of the most substantial and knowing inhabitants of the place. Their abuses last season occasioned the appointing Mr. Edward Say to perform that office, under the inspection of the President and Council, by which means the poor were constantly supplied, and the price of batty in the scarcity time was no more than Rs. 30 the *muda*, which, in the opinion of experienced men, would have exceeded forty without this regulation. When grain was imported care was taken to lower the price, and by degrees it fell to Rs. 23 in August last. Then, in consequence of an order of the Bench of Justices to render the supply open and free to every person, the *kacharás* crept in again; and in a short time batty was up at Rs. 27. At a quarter sessions in October last this affair was once more referred to the Government, as was formerly practised, which terrified the *kacharás* to such a degree that they abstained from buying

Chapter II.

Trade.

Rice for the
Poor,
1744.

¹ Pub. Diary 17 of 1744, 39-43.

Chapter II.
Trade.Rice for the
Poor,
1744

for some time, and the batty fell again to Rs. 17. But as no particular order was issued afterwards they continued their employ, and batty now is at Rs. 30.

From the above it appears to me absolutely necessary to displace the *kacharás*. I believe the most effectual method of having the office well performed is to appoint a European, in which I am confirmed by the opinion of the most substantial merchants. That one person under proper inspection may supply the bazár as well as twenty, will not, I believe, be disputed, since this is the method of supplying the inhabitants with tobacco and arrack. And I must think there will be as little cause to suspect impositions in this case, as if there were five hundred *kacharás*, especially since a limited price must be fixed. For it is not the number of sellers of a necessary commodity, but the proper regulation under which it is sold, that can prevent frauds. It is computed that two thousand *mulás* will be wanted for the bazár annually, which may be about one-sixth of the consumption of the island; and if one person has the employ, he must provide accordingly, in which the *kacharás* have often failed; otherwise there would be no occasion for so frequent recourse to the warehouse. Indeed if the Honourable Company was to lay in a sufficiency, an advance of (a little) above interest of money might be fixed on the batty, and then the poor would not only be certain of a constant supply, but even cheaper, at a medium, than if they were to have it at the current market price; and in either case, sure the allowance granted the *kacharás* for so many years cannot be grudging to a European for his trouble. As I mentioned Mr. Edward Say a proper person for the employ, I shall beg leave to give my reasons for that likewise. (1) Because he had formerly discharged the office with great diligence, at least to the general satisfaction. If any little complaints were rumoured of his management, it is probable they were raised and fomented by the *kacharás* in hopes of getting again into their old track. Had there been just cause for complaint I imagine some one of the justices must have heard of it and would have granted redress, or represented it to the President and Council. (2) Because, further, Mr. Say appears to me an active careful man, and by his having no other business he can the more readily apply all his time and attention in that office which requires great application, and for which I take him to be much better adapted than a Company's servant, as they are all otherwise employed.¹

At a Government Consultation, the 10th February 1744, the reasons stated in the above letter from Mr. Munro were considered. After some debate the majority of the Board agreed that the Honourable Company do at a proper time commence to provide batty for the sole supplying the bazár with unbeaten rice, which always was to have been done by the *kacharás*. Some of the members proposing the warehouse-keeper should make the batty into unbeaten rice and issue it out to the person or persons permitted to vend it in the bazár, the President readily came into it, as any inconvenience arising therefrom might hereafter be easily remedied. It was then agreed that, at a time hereafter to be appointed, the warehouse-keeper do issue out to such person

¹ Pub. Diary 17 of 1741, 59-61.

or persons as shall be permitted by this Board, such quantities of unbeaten rice as may be wanted for the poor, he or they paying for the same as they take it away at such proportionable rates as batty may bear at the custom house or as shall be fixed by the Governor and Council, being allowed Re. 1 on 12½ *pharás* of unbeaten rice for his or their trouble and charges, as was always customary. The measures used to be sealed by the clerk of the market who is duly to inspect the goodness of the rice and prevent any abuses whatever.¹

Ten days later, the 21st February 1744, Mr. Hugh Howard again brought the question before Government in the following letter: The provision of grain for the relief of our poor being partly the result of your Consultation of the 10th instant, it was agreed that the Honorable Company lay in a sufficient quantity for that purpose. I was absent through indisposition, yet think it the best expedient that could be thought on to prevent the hardships and inconveniences which the poorer sort of people have so long laboured under from the abuses and oppression of the *kacharás* formerly appointed to retail unbeaten rice. I do not approve of the *kacharás* being suffered to sell any more. As the warehouse-keeper is to take charge of the Company's grain and to deliver it for the retailing on being first paid for, I do not think it a proper office for a Company's servant to issue the grain to the poor, since it will require constant attendance and thereby deprive the Company of his service in a different manner. Therefore I am of opinion that Mr. Edward Say, who is willing to relinquish his post as clerk of the market, it being confessed at the quarter sessions in October last there was no objection made to his fidelity in the discharge of that office, and he being a diligent and industrious man, is a fit and proper person for cleaning and retailing rice to the poor under such restrictions and regulations as the Governor and Council shall think convenient.²

A few days later (February 1744) Mr. Edward Owen addressed the President to much the same effect: As it may be expected that every member of this Board should give in his reasons in writing for supporting his opinions concerning the provision of rice proposed to be made for the town, I here lay before your Honour what I have to offer on that head. I am not against the motion for the Company providing for the bazar, but I would recommend the delivery to be in batty to be served out in large quantities to some person or persons appointed for that purpose, and to be paid for as taken away and not to be made into rice by the Company as has been proposed. I apprehend many poor people must be employed for cleaning the batty, of whose circumstances it will hardly be possible for the warehouse-keeper to have a sufficient knowledge. If so the Company would be liable to many bad debts, besides a great increase of servants' wages, warehouse rent, and loss in receiving and delivering. For these reasons I am against that proposal. It has also been proposed that a Company's servant should be the person employed to serve out rice to the bazar in small quantities. This I must also beg leave to object to. A constant attendance is required and such a person can have no other

Chapter II. Trade.

Rice for the
Poor,
1744.

Mr. Howard's
View.

Mr. Owen's
View

¹ Pub. Diary 17 of 1741, 55-56.

² Pub. Diary 17 of 1741, 72-73.

Chapter II
Trade.Rice for the
Poor,
1731

employment Besides it seems to me inconsistent with the duty of a Company's servant to be employed upon such business; for I apprehend the Company never intended to allow their servants salary and diet money and have no use of them. And as I know of no person out of the service so fitting for it as Mr. Edward Say, I am therefore for appointing him for that employ, to receive the batty from the Company, he to make it into rice and have a proper allowance for his trouble, and that he be not permitted to purchase batty anywhere else for the supply of the bazár—all which is submitted to your Honour's determination.¹

Mr. Morley's
View.

A fortnight letter, the 16th March 1741, Mr. John Morley addressed the President, in opposition to the views of Messrs Munro, Howard, and Owen: As I declared my dissent the 3rd and 10th of last month from one person's having the sole privilege of supplying the market with unbeaten rice to the exclusion of others, as I also did at the quarter sessions in August and October last, I now take the liberty to give my reasons wherein my said opinion was founded, as well as to add such others why I think there ought to be a general license. The *lacharás* are a set of people who have many years been indulged with the liberty of supplying the market with unbeaten rice, and have always been allowed Re 1 profit upon each *muda* of batty that they made into such rice for the benefit of the poor. Notwithstanding these people have long had this indulgence, I never knew that the rest of the inhabitants were debarr'd from bringing or selling such rice in the market, or that the *lacharás* had ever an exclusive grant for supplying it solely. The chief reason why this license was taken from them last year and given to Mr. Say was that they did not supply the market with a sufficient quantity, but sold it privately in their houses at an advanced rate. This, I believe, might in many respects be true, but surely this grievance might have been redressed by the Government or a justice of peace upon proper application who would undoubtedly have obliged them and every one else that sold unbeaten rice to furnish the market fully, and prevented them from taking an unjustifiable advantage of the poor's necessities. Also though the *lacharás* may in some instances have abused their trust, yet another set might certainly be pitched upon that would execute that office better, and, from the example made of the present, be more cautious of giving cause for complaint. By this means the evil may be removed without subjecting the poor to a greater hardship by putting this power entirely into one man's hands. It is incontestably true that batty last season bore an exceeding high price, greater than for some years before, but these people could make no greater advantage thereof than the prementioned allowance, without subjecting themselves to a corporal punishment and a fine upon proof thereof and forfeiture of the batty offered to sale which they would not certainly run the risk of, when their advantages other ways would be inconsiderable. The reason universally allowed for its use last year was that the Bráhmans upon Sálsette and other places contiguous to this island (and from whence we are always supplied) had engrossed the greatest part thereof, and would not send any here for sale unless a

¹ Pub. Diary 17 of 1741, 73-74

considerable profit accrued to themselves. This I have been credibly told was the chief and only cause of rice bearing so high a price last year. This inconvenience was not in the least remedied after Mr. Say had the sole right to supply the rice; it continued as great as before. Nor indeed do I think the supply can at all be arranged by confining it to one person. On the contrary the price is more likely to be reduced when there is a general liberty given for every person that pleases to sell it in the market than there certainly can be when this privilege is taken from them. The fixing a price upon batty at the Mándvi upon importation may indeed prevent the importers from running it up to an excessive rate. Still this inconvenience will attend this step that it will certainly prevent the importation of batty and consequently diminish the Company's revenue of customs, as it may be presumed no merchant will care to bring rice to market unless they are sure of a profitable and free sale. To what necessities we may by this means be reduced, since our chief dependance for batty is upon our neighbours, and especially when there is so small a stock upon the island as at present, is to me apparent. Nor am I singular in this. Many creditable persons upon the place give it as their opinion that no step we can take to keep the price of batty low and encourage its import, will be more effectual than to leave the price free and open and to permit the importer to sell it to whom and at what price he pleases. Should it be thought proper to put this solely in one man's hands (which I am far from thinking ought to be done), in times of scarcity it will be expected whatever batty may be imported a part of it should be assigned the person that supplies the market with unbeaten rice as was the case last year. This in many respects may be esteemed a hardship upon the proprietors who, it is well known, bring large quantities from the other side and keep it in warehouse several months upon the island before it is sold. By this means there is generally a considerable stock lodged, which we may have recourse to on any great emergency, and besides enough is generally brought to supply the bazár. Whereas if a part of all that is imported is to be appropriated in the manner above mentioned, few or none of the inhabitants on the other side will care to lodge their grain with us. To what straits we may by this means be reduced when there is not a plentiful crop, needs no explanation, and especially when it is considered what a small proportion this island produces in comparison to its consumption. Moreover I do not think that the person who so sells it ought to have any part allotted to him though at the market price, nor have any advantage in respect to his purchases more than any other person.

It may be objected that if a general liberty is allowed, no person will think himself obliged in time of scarcity to supply the market, but recourse must then be had to the Company as has been the case; and therefore from hence it may be inferred how necessary it is to appoint a person that will at all times supply the market. It is well known there are few or no merchants upon this place that either can or will enter into any such engagement. For unless they do and should grain be so dear this year as was last, the market will be as indifferently supplied. And therefore to prevent this no person I think should have permission to sell unbeaten rice in time of plenty unless he will engage also to sell when rice is dear. By this means this inconvenience may

Chapter II.

Trade.

Rice for the
Poor,
1744.

*Mr. Morley's
View.*

Chapter II.
TradeRice for the
Poor,
1711Mr Morley's
View.

he removed, as it is believed many would willingly consent to supply unburthened rice on such terms whereby the market would be much better supplied than in all probability it will when the supply is confined. Further the poor will not then be entirely at the mercy of one man as must certainly be the case if this general liberty is taken away. Besides it may be presumed the sole vendor will lay in no more when dear than will be sufficient for each day's expense nor can it be imagined he will have a capital that will enable him to lay in a sufficient stock for the market especially should the scarcity continue long, when upon a moderate computation it is computed ten *mudis* a day are required for Bombay bazar only. When Mr. Say supplied the town last year we had only one warehouse where he issued the rice. And the throng of purchasers was always so great that the poor and labouring people would sometimes attend a day or two before they could get a sufficiency for the support of their families and moreover he obliged to neglect their labour wherein their maintenance depended. Besides, if report be true, they were often maltreated. This is one of the evils that will attend a single person having this office, whereas if the liberty to supply be free and open, this as well as many other evils may be avoided. It appears to me evident that one person's being invested with this privilege and every one else excluded may be attended with ill consequences in respect to the supplying of the poor. They will not then have it in their option to purchase where they can be best and cheapest served, but must be obliged to take the rice from him be it ever so bad, as I am well assured was the case last year when Mr. Say solely supplied the bazar. Besides the sole vendor will have it more in his power to grind and impose on them than can possibly be done when the privilege is open. Though every one that may think him or themselves aggrieved or oppressed may have redress against such sole vendor upon proper application either to the Government or a justice, yet when it is considered how averse these country people are from making a formal complaint against any English gentleman in office, it may be presumed they will submit to great exactions and impositions rather than meet the displeasure of the person who may happen to be sole vendor. In order to remedy this the clerk of the market ought to take care to prevent all impositions and exactions and to see that the market is supplied with good rice and all occasions of complaint avoided. This is the duty of his office. How can it be performed if he should have the sole vending of the rice, and where can the poor have redress when they are aggrieved if the person that ought to do them justice is their oppressor. As this may probably be the case, I think the clerk of the market ought to have no other concern therein than to see that the poor have justice done them. For which reason I must declare my dissent against Mr. Say's enjoying both offices.

The allowance of a rupee the *muda* upon all batty made into unbeaten rice, as a compensation to the person that supplies the market therewith, I do not think is unreasonable provided it is not exceeded. But as there is great reason to believe it has been exceeded heretofore while there was a general liberty, there is as much to think it will be equally or even more exceeded when supplying the market is confined to one person and with less apprehension of being detected. An opinion

prevailed last year that Mr. Say did exceed this allowance, but as I had never any formal complaint about it, I cannot upon my own knowledge assert it to have been so. It has been alleged that the persons who used to supply the bazar never thought themselves under any obligation to make a provision, should any scarcity happen, but that recourse must be had to the Company upon any such emergency, as hath often happened, and particularly last year. I cannot apprehend what probability there is that one man will or can make a better provision than many. It is well known Mr. Say last year had a large quantity from the Company's granaries when he had the sole vending of unbeaten rice in the bazar. Thereby the Company were considerable gainers, and the gain could but have been the same had the right to supply been general. Therefore as recourse must be had to the Company when nobody else can or will supply rice, I apprehend that equally with any one else the Company ought to have the right of issuing rice to the bazar. I maintain this especially for this reason that when the poor have the Company's warehouse open to them the *Luchacás* will not have it in their power to impose upon them. It will I believe be admitted that the Company alone can lay in a sufficient stock to answer this purpose. And as by this means a large quantity must always be kept on hand by making it into unbeaten rice and issuing it at a small advance, the profit that will accrue to the Honourable Company will compensate for any extraordinary expense of warehouse rent and servants' wages. Though the Company may not at present have warehouses sufficient to lodge such an extraordinary quantity they may rent warehouses as cheaply as any other person. Besides by their so doing, the poor will always be certain of being well supplied, as the Company will take more care to prevent uneasiness and discontents among the people than any private person is likely to take. As the Company are to lay in a stock of batty for the market and to make it into unbeaten rice, I think one of their covenant servants should receive it from the warehouse and have the disposal of it in the bazar upon their account, under the inspection of the clerk of the market, and with the condition of rendering a monthly account of sales. I cannot think the Company's batty ought to be made into rice and another reap the advantage that may arise from the sale without rendering any account. This objection applies particularly to Mr. Say, who, as clerk of the market, has full employment if he does but faithfully execute his office.

Notwithstanding I am for the Company's selling unbeaten rice, I would not be understood to hold that every one else should be deprived of the like privilege. On the contrary I think the supply ought to be free and open, as less inconveniences will arise than when it is under restraint. For though the Company may lay in more batty than the market may take off in a season, the surplus may be issued to the garrison at the established rate of Rs. 22½ the *muda*, whereby a handsome profit will arise to the Company if it is laid in at any reasonable rate and will be a full compensation for such a disappointment. Besides we shall have the less to lay in for the season following, for it is well known if proper care be taken of it, batty will keep very well two years without danger of spoiling. I believe Mr. Say's diligence in the execution of the

Chapter II. Trade.

Rice for the
Poor,
1711.

Mr. Mosley's
Law.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Rice for the
Poor,
1744.

Mr. Morley's
View

office of *kachara* last year was very great. Could it be expected otherwise when the considerable advantages he acquired thereby entirely depended upon his diligence. The office of clerk of the market is employ sufficient without that of *kachara* too. The enjoying both seems to me incompatible as the clerk is to be a check on the supplier. Supposing Mr. Say should relinquish the clerkship I still think he is an improper person for supplier, as the people murmured greatly against him when he executed that office last year. The presentment of the Grand Jury in August last against a sole *kachara* was founded, as I have been well assured, upon the private uneasinesses of the lower class of people who thought it a hardship that the liberty of purchasing from whom they pleased should be taken away and they be confined to buy from Mr. Say what rice he pleased to give them, some whereof was exceedingly bad; as well as that office being put into one man's hands would open a door for great oppression and exaction. Thus the justices thought so reasonable as well as that a general liberty ought to continue, that the office of sole *kachara* was abolished by almost the unanimous voice of the Bench of Justices, and a free liberty was then given for every one to sell unheaten rice that pleased. So it continued with almost general satisfaction till the sessions in the following October when the justices reconsidering this affair, the majority agreed to refer the consideration of proper methods for supplying the market to the Governor and Council. From this order I disagreed, being then and am still of opinion that the Bench of Justices alone can properly have cognizance of concerns of this kind.¹

Mr. Sedgwick's
View.

The same day, the 16th March 1744, another Member of the Council, Mr. William Sedgwick, addressed the President: The reasons given at a meeting of Council by one of the members of this Board for his opinion on the scheme for supplying the public with rice, call upon me and every one else to set forth something of that sort in writing. Therefore, not to take up much of your time, I shall here recite only a few of the most material reasons that have occurred to me during the course of the affair. When Mr. Say, by some appointment or other, acted as sole *kachara* or vendor of rice in the bazar, complaints were made of the management. Though through an over-lemity and regard for his character these complaints were passed over in silence, I do not doubt but some of them were afterwards laid before the Grand Jury, which was the occasion of their presentment. This jury consisted of a set of men against whom I never heard any objections. As usual they were pitched upon out of the most substantial inhabitants, the best acquainted with the nature of this place as well as with the laws of their own country, and under whose cognizance all complaints of such a nature properly fell. They, therefore, as representatives of the body of this town, did present this office of sole *kachara* as a public grievance. Nor do I see how they could avoid so presenting it. Were they not in their charge from the Bench reminded of their trust? Were they not sworn in the most public and solemn manner to do justice without fear or favour? Nay, and they were unanimous in this their presentment. Surely then such notice was public enough

¹ Pub. Diary 17 of 1744, 97 - 101.

and sufficiently showed how disagreeable such an institution was to the place in general, and that the jury had no other motive but the public good, which I suppose was likewise the opinion of the Bench, for they then ordered the office to be abolished and a general liberty granted for selling grain. On the very next sitting of the sessions, to my great surprise and concern, this affair was again brought up and the fact that the scarcity of grain continued, was made the foundation for reintroducing the sole *kacharáship*. Do gentlemen think that Bombay any more than any other place is to be exempt from calamities of this sort? Have not all states and communities suffered such straights at one time or other? Bombay has often suffered from want of grain. Never that I know of was such an expedient as this ever thought of before. Much milder measures I should think might be taken to assist the poor on such occasions than putting it into one man's power to oppress the whole, as well as depriving many families of the means of livelihood. However one of the Bench changing his opinion, the voices then became equal and there it ought to have rested. Why was it referred? All civil governments are in the hands of the magistrates whereof (some of) the magistrates are the government. As all (the magistrates) were present when this order for a general liberty for selling of rice was given it became an act of the government. I do not doubt it would have been thought so had the magistrates set aside the presentment. Nor at a second meeting could the government find reason to make any alteration. No magistrate can of himself give up his power or transfer it to another. Therefore such a reference must seem an inconsistency, as it can have no signification, for as a Board of Council I think we can have no business with such matters. The importation of batty is what ought to be most looked after and encouraged. The amount imported and not the sellers in the bazár must influence the price of rice. The abuses mostly apprehended in the bazár are in the quantity and quality of the rice vended. This the clerk of the market is to see to; whose business likewise it is to fix a price daily for the market, according to what it sells for at the quays or Mándvi, and to oblige all that have been sellers, to bring their rice to the public place appointed, or oblige them to sell off their present stock there, in case they had a mind to lay down the business. I imagine if some such rules had been well observed, and less of the sole *kacharáship* been thought of we should not have had half this clamour about it. In the debates here on this affair it has often been urged that the more sellers there were the poor would have the more chances of being well served, which reason appears to me very natural and good, and has always had its force, nor have I heard of any to countervail it. I think the practice of our neighbours should have had no weight with us on this or any such like occasion. God forbid, I say that Gentus Moors or Portuguese should ever be made our examples for government, whilst we have our own laws in force amongst us. Besides the establishing such a post as sole supplier is in my opinion licensing a monopoly for which I am sure it must appear that we have no authority but on the contrary. This therefore alone I think should be sufficient reason against establishing such an office. If at the proper time annually the Company were to lay in about two thousand *mudds* of batty more than is wanted for their own people, they would always be able to assist the

Chapter II.

Trade.

Rice for the
Poor,
1711

M. Scullymiche's
" View.

Chapter II.

Trade

Rice for the
Poor,
1741Mr. Selkirk's
View.Mr. Dudley's
View.

poor on these occasions, and greatly to their own advantage. To relieve the present necessities the Company are the properest persons and ought now to buy up what they can as soon and as cheap as possible to be issued out of their warehouses to one of their servants in unheaten rice, to be by him sold to the poor and labouring people that come to the market. Such a profit being allowed him for his trouble as shall be thought reasonable, but that all others should have the like liberty of selling. It is further my opinion that whatever rules may be sanctioned for carrying on such supply they ought to extend to all parts of this island where rice is sold. Otherwise I apprehend there may be room for fresh complaints at a quarter sessions.¹

On the same day to much the same effect wrote Mr. George Dudley another member of the Board: As Mr. Munro has given his reasons in writing for supporting his opinion that the poor people of Bombay may be best served with unheaten rice by one single person and he a European unemployed in the Honourable Company's service, in short that Mr. Edward Say is the most proper man for such an office, I beg leave to differ from him in judgment and to offer my reasons, not only against the person he mentions, but also against the office itself if exercised by any one private person or set of people whatever. First I hope it will not be thought impertinent or be taken amiss if I presume to ask the Board whether it is not altogether irregular and contrary to their usual forms for any single member to give his written opinion on any affair, while the subject-matter of it is only in debate and not brought to an issue. And whether if this practice should be allowed, it may not create much unnecessary controversy and trouble to every particular member. The act of the majority is always supposed to be right and good and therefore needs no justification; it is the minority only whose opinions seem to require a vindication by arguments modestly drawn from reason and experience. I think it is generally agreed that a set of Moormen were the people who principally supplied the market with unheaten rice for the use of the labouring poor by retail, and that these men were called by the name of *kacharis*, and that, when grain became scarce and dear, some complaints are said to have been made of their selling rice privately at very high prices, and giving the people less in measure or quantity than they ought to have given. These complaints were the cause of the Moormen being forbidden to exercise the office of *kacharis*. Thereupon Mr. Edward Say, then clerk of the market, was appointed to serve the poor with unheaten rice in the bazar. To enable him to furnish this rice a certain quantity was allotted to him out of every boat which came to the Mánili or custom house for sale from the neighbouring countries. Some was also given from the Honourable Company's warehouses at what was called the market price. Thus both the offices of vender and of clerk of the market continued under the management and direction of Mr. Say until the private murmurs of the people induced the Grand Jury at a Quarter Sessions in August last (1743) to present that the said office when exercised by one single person or set of people was a great grievance and

¹ Pub. Diary 17 of 1741, 107 - 108.

hardship on the poor; more especially as that person was at the same time clerk of the market. Upon this the justices then on the Bench agreed and ordered that the market should be laid open for everybody to buy and sell rice or batty freely as they pleased and that no one man or set of men should engross the sale of it to themselves. At a following Sessions in October the affair was further considered by the justices only. And they apprehending that the President and Council might be better able to provide properly for the poor than any private man or set of men, it was agreed by a majority to take off the excluding clause in the former order of Sessions and leave the matter to be considered and settled by them in Council, in expectation I suppose that they would engage to provide for the extraordinary occasions of the poor people in behalf and on account of the Honourable Company, and that in the meantime the market should continue to be free and open. On the 31d and 10th of last month (February 1744) the President and Council took the matter into their consideration and after some debate it was agreed by a majority that they would annually provide and lay in about two thousand *mudás* of batty for solely supplying the poor with unbeaten rice; that the batty should be made into rice on the Honourable Company's account and issued out to the person or persons permitted to vend it in the bazar, he or they paying for the same as they take it away at such rates as batty may bear at the custom house or as shall be fixed by the Governor and Council, allowing him or them one rupee on twelve and a half *pharás* of unbeaten rice for his or their trouble and charges, and that all other persons whatever should be excluded the liberty of retailing unbeaten rice.

As I was one of the justices on the Bench who thought the extraordinary occasions and necessities of the poor in times of scarcity might be better supplied by the Honourable Company and at an easier rate than by Mr. Say or the old *kacharás* or by any body else, I consented to refer the manner of doing it to be considered by the President and Council. In the debate, I gave it as my opinion that free liberty should be given for every one to sell unbeaten rice that chooses to make it their trade and business; or if a general license was not approved, that then a certain number of *kacharás* chosen from among the black inhabitants should be appointed as usual; the President and Council to issue rice only on extraordinary occasions when the *kacharás* were unable to furnish it or when they by underhand practices imposed upon the poor people; and for that purpose to lay in the quantity proposed at the proper season of the year. But as by the prementioned resolution the Board have confined the purchase of batty for the bazar use and making it into unbeaten rice to the Honourable Company solely, and the vending of it in the market to one single person, and he under no obligation of rendering any account to the President and Council of its sale, I must beg leave to dissent from that resolution of Council for the following eleven reasons: *Firstly* I apprehended two thousand *mudás* of batty sufficient only for the occasions of the poor in times of plenty and that in times of great scarcity double that quantity will come short of answering the calls and demands on the Honourable Company. *Secondly* it may sometimes happen through the badness of the crop in the neighbouring countries, the demand for grain inland or

Chapter II. Trade.

Rice for the
Poor,
1744.

Mr. Dudley's
View.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Rice for the
Pool,
1741.

Mr. Dudgey's
View

at foreign ports, or through many other causes not easy to foresee or account for, that batty cannot be had in such plenty as our occasions may require, and by this means the President and Council be rendered unable to comply with their engagements of fully supplying the poor. In such cases I apprehend there will be a general clamour against the Government, and no way left of quieting the people when they are starving for hunger, but by purchasing rice at exorbitant rates and issuing it out to them at a great loss to the Honourable Company, which can be avoided only by keeping ourselves disengaged from the obligation of supplying the public wants on all emergencies. *Thirdly* the person who may be appointed *kachara* is not obliged to render any account sale of his rice to the President and Council or to the public whereby a door is left open for a bad man to defraud the poor people in a very high degree without a possibility of his being ever detected and to prejudice the Honourable Company by selling his own rice at such times as batty is to be purchased here or in the neighbourhood at lower rates than the Honourable Company gave for theirs, and demand from their warehouse large quantities only when he can get rice nowhere else so cheap. *Fourthly* I apprehend when batty is plenty, and the poor people can get rice elsewhere cheaper than the President and Council may think fit to issue it out to the sole vendor, the poor will complain of hardships and impositions on them by their being forced contrary to their interest and inclination to buy it of the said vendor at an advanced price. *Fifthly* the buyers of batty at the custom house will thereby be greatly lessened in number by so considerable a part of its consumption being put under the management of one person. Though this may keep the price down for a little, it can never hold long nor answer the public occasions in general. On the contrary it must, I should think, prevent in a great degree the importation of rice, and raise the price higher than ever on the whole consumption of the place. For when our neighbours find the freedom of the port in some measure obstructed and taken away from them as well as from our own people, and placed in the hands of the Honourable Company or any single person, they will, as was the case last year and has been the case this season to the detriment of the Honourable Company's customs, undoubtedly look out for other markets and export batty themselves to foreign places instead of bringing it hither. *Sixthly* this order may probably occasion the President and Council to fix a price at the Mándvi for batty in general agreeable to former precedents and with a view to get it cheap for making unbeaten rice. But as I imagine such orders by hindering the importation in the end rather increase than lessen the price, I am averse to every thing that may give cause for renewing that practice. When batty is plenty on the island it will be cheap. in time of scarcity it must be dear. I should therefore think all possible means ought to be used to encourage our neighbours to import rice. Nothing appears to me more effectual for that purpose than a general toleration for a free and open market, unlogged of all restraining orders and indulgences to particular people. When a sufficient quantity is secured to supply the occasions of the inhabitants for a full year, then and not before, I apprehend, you will be enabled with safety to

yourselves to issue out the necessary orders for lowering the price, if such orders should ever be deemed necessary. To think of lowering the price with empty granaries, appears to me very extraordinary and indeed altogether impracticable. Instead of answering the intended purpose, it must reduce the people to great straits and raise the price still higher. *Seventhly* I imagine every end and design may be fully and better answered by the Honourable Company keeping a warehouse in common with others, always open for the poor people to resort to at all times of their own free will, and at the same time grant permission that unbeaten rice may be sold by any person or persons who choose to make it their business or at least that a certain number of *kacharás* chosen from amongst the black inhabitants may have liberty to open shops for the sale of it likewise and the people to purchase where they please. Thus will be doing the poor substantial service and fence them against the secret practices and impositions of the *kacharás* if they should attempt to cheat or impose upon them. Nor will it in anywise prejudice the Honourable Company, as their batty, if not vended in the bazar, may be served out to the marine and garrison. Also in case of surplus one year, a less quantity may be purchased the succeeding year and no inconvenience will arise from it, as batty, if taken proper care of, will keep very well for two years successively. At the same time I presume the Honourable Company will never want customers, as by the advantage of ready money lying always in their treasury, they must be enabled to buy at the best hand and afford to sell as cheap or cheaper than any of the rice sellers on the island. *Eighthly* the former *kacharás* will by this order be deprived of the means of a subsistence for themselves and families in the way of business they have been brought up to. And as by old age or infirmities, some of them may be rendered incapable of following any other employ, a little compassion seems due to them; and although they may have been faulty and have imposed on the poor, I hope it will not be thought that they deserve so very severe a chastisement as this order inflicts. Fines and corporal punishment are what they are liable to when convicted by the orders of sessions now in force, and as those fines are given to the clerk of the market, it may be supposed he looks carefully after them. *Ninthly* the Company have very little batty in their warehouses which renders them incapable of supplying the market with unbeaten rice and consequently the present juncture is a very improper time for putting the order in execution. *Tenthly* I apprehend one shop cannot serve the number of people that daily come to market with the despatch and convenience that are requisite and necessary. I have been told that, when he had the sole disposal of the unbeaten rice, above one thousand people were sometimes at Mr. Say's warehouse crowding together and that to their great detriment by loss of time many of them were obliged to wait several hours before they could be served; also that one or two people were much hurt and maimed by the throng and their lives endangered. A greater number of shops seems therefore highly convenient and proper. *Eleventhly* the reason assigned for referring the consideration how the poor might be best served with unbeaten rice from the Court of Quarter Sessions to the

Chapter II.

Trade.

Rice for the
Poor,
1744.

Mr. Dudley's
View.

Chapter II.
Trade

Rice for the
Poor,
1744

Mr. Dudley's
Rice.

President and Council, was that the latter might possibly think fit to take it into their hands on the Honourable Company's account. But as this order of Council makes the property of it absolutely belong to the *lachara* exclusive of the Honourable Company, I am of opinion the public grievance, as presented by the Grand Jury, continues still unredressed in the most material parts of it; and that if any future Grand Jury should again present it at a succeeding Sessions, the Justices of the Peace cannot by their oath avoid taking cognizance thereof and order how the market shall be most conveniently supplied with rice for the benefit of the poor.

These are my reasons against engrossing the sale of unbeaten rice, in which I have been more particular as my objections lie chiefly against the office. However as that has been carried by a majority of votes, it remains to consider who shall be appointed for serving it out. And as two other gentlemen of the Board seem to think a European the most proper person and point out Mr. Edward Say for the employ, I beg liberty to offer my opinion to the contrary and to say something in answer to what they and Mr. Munro have set forth in writing on this occasion. If the rice was to be sold for the Honourable Company's account in the bazar and an account given in monthly of its sale to this Board, as I think it ought to be, then a European would be very proper for the employ. But, as the person to be appointed for issuing it out is to sell the rice in the market as his own property, and to render no account of its sale, I am of opinion that a European is the most improper man for such an office, because the poor people will suffer themselves to be greatly injured and oppressed rather than complain against him; more especially if he happens to be a man of figure and is or has been in any considerable station in the Honourable Company's service. And although the greatest part of those at present on the island may be very just and upright men, yet it is not impossible but some few might too much regard their own interest, were they tempted to it by such an opportunity as this trust, void of account, must put into their hands. If any European is appointed I think none but a covenant servant to the Honourable Company ought to be employed. Because the rice may in some sort be said to belong to our Honourable Masters as they issue it to the *lachara* and no concerns of theirs can, by their own orders, be transacted by any one not under covenants to them except in cases where the circumstances of affairs render it impracticable to be avoided. The covenanted servants are under a double tie to do the Company justice and must be supposed to have the prosperity of their settlement more at heart than a man who resides here for the service and benefit of himself only, as all uncovenanted servants do. As to Mr. Edward Say in particular he is already clerk of the market and by his office obliged to inspect into the conduct and behaviour of the *lacharas* to see that they sell no rice privately or at extortionate rates nor make use of false measures. In short he is to see that the poor people have justice done them by the *lacharas* and not suffer them to be misused and oppressed in any respect whatever. He is therefore the most improper man in the place to be the *lachara* himself, since the two offices thereby become incompa-

tible with each other and cannot be executed with impartiality by one and the same person. Admitting he should resign and quit his post as clerk of the market, I still think he ought not to be employed as sole *kachara*, because, though many private complaints were made of him when he exercised that office before, the people chose rather to suffer than accuse him publicly. I have nothing to say against his diligence and application. I believe he may not be wanting in those qualities because he was well rewarded for them, and any failure therein would have been a great loss to himself as his profits depended on the sale of a large quantity of rice. At the same time I have no reason to doubt but there are numbers of the Honourable Company's covenant servants as well adapted for the post as Mr. Say is; and that they would apply to it as diligently as ever he did with less advantage than he enjoyed. None of them, I dare say, would scruple to render an account to the President and Council of the quantity sold and the price received for it, nor think it a dishonour or reflection on their characters that such an account should be required from them without which it is impossible to know whether the Honourable Company and the public are well or ill served. I have one objection more to Mr. Say which your own records so fully explain that to mention the particulars would be painful to me and give you unnecessary trouble; nor should I have hinted at his past misconduct, had not my duty to the Honourable Company and the public called upon me to say something in vindication of my opinion for not employing him as recommended by Messrs. Howard, Owen, and Munro.

The reasons Mr. Munro is pleased to assign for the rise and fall of batty appear to me mighty trivial. I wonder much how any gentleman can coolly and deliberately ascribe such material effects to such trifling causes. The sum of money annually laid out on this island in the purchase of batty for use and exportation by a moderate computation seldom falls short of Rs. 2,50,000 and often amounts to much more. To say that a few inconsiderable black *kacharás* or retailing rice-sellers of very little substance and credit were able to influence the price of batty in the manner and to the degree he sets forth under his hand, must surely astonish everybody that reads his account of it. I am told that the Bráhmans of Bassein Sálsette and Kalyán have engrossed great quantities to themselves and that they export it to other places and thereby keep up the price of it higher than usual. The same gentleman is also pleased to give it as his opinion that rice may be as well supplied by one person as tobacco and arrack. In this he seems to forget, or not enough to consider, that rice is the chief support of the poor people and that none of them can subsist long without it. Further as this island produces very little rice of its own growth any imposition in the sale of it would undoubtedly create general discontent and perhaps occasion many of the labouring poor to leave the place. Whereas tobacco and arrack are things not absolutely needful to support nature, and the farming or monopolizing of them is only raising a tax on the luxury of the people, which is practiced more or less in all countries in order for securing with ease and certainty the revenue they bring to the Government. But as our Honourable Masters have not

Chapter II. Trade.

Rice for the
Poor,
1744.

Mr. Dudley's
View.

Chapter II.

Trade

Rice for the
Poor,
1744Mr. Dudley's
Vote

yet, nor I hope ever will, lay any severe tax or duty on batty or rice like what a fair must produce, I presume there can be no good and sound reason for confining the sale of part of it to one single person.

I had prepared these reasons for my dissent from the minute of Council. But as the Consultations have been since drawn out and read at the table, I find myself under a necessity of adding a few words more. It is said in the Consultation of the 3d of February (1744) that the *kacharis* obliged themselves to supply the bazar with unbeaten rice at all events and that in times of scarcity they never had a stock sufficient for the purpose which obliged the Honourable Company to purchase abroad, whereby it is said the Company have generally been sufferers. I must own I never before heard it said that the *kacharis* were obliged to serve the bazar at all events. Unless some security was taken for their performance of such an obligation, I wonder any one could expect that men in their circumstances should be able to fulfil their engagements when batty became scarce and dear. I wish the President and Council may not sometimes find difficulty in it, much less the *kacharis*. I am also surprised to hear that the Honourable Company have been sufferers by supplying the bazar. I am sure they gained considerably by what they sold out last year; and if they suffered a loss by what they formerly bought at Scindy, many reasons may be assigned for it. I believe profit has generally appeared on the batty bought in the neighbouring countries and I hope the President and Council will not often be necessitated to send to Scindy and Mangalore for rice. If they should, I presume a loss will seldom arise from purchases made there sufficient to overbalance the gains on batty bought here, as imported from Silvette and other places. I have moreover been told that other people as well as the Moormen *kacharis* used to sell unbeaten rice and that the *kacharis* had not an exclusive privilege for vending it in the bazar. And whereas the said Consultation seems to lay the stress of the debates more on the nomination of a person to serve out the rice than on the manner of laying it in and vending it, I therefore for myself take this occasion to declare solemnly that I have no particular inclination to favour any one man or set of men more than another, otherwise than as I think them qualified by long service to the Company, capacity, diligence, and honesty. No consideration whatever shall bias me to give my vote in so material an affair as this appears to be, for any person or persons but such as are generally esteemed men of unblemished characters especially when they are to render no account of their trust and management to the President and Council or to the public. And as the declared advantages of Re. 1 on every *muda* of batty will make the office or post of *kachara* exceed in profit most places on the island, I cannot doubt but there are abundance of the Honourable Company's servants very willing to accept of it. If none of them have applied for it, I must think somebody ought to be appointed by the President and Council, as it is a business wherein the Honourable Company are greatly interested in respect to the due and just execution of it. All the objections against the old *kacharis* of selling privately in the night by false measures and at what prices they pleased and also of issuing out bad rice, must lie much stronger against a sole *kachara* who is a European or Native Christian. He will have no rivals or competitors to under-sell him nor any other inspector than they

had. And, as I said before, the poor people will be averse to complain of a European whereas complaints were often made of the Moormen *kacharás* to the clerk of the market who was doubtless ready to hear them and to fine the offenders, since the said fines are given to himself as a perquisite of his office. The reason why I proposed the warehouse-keeper should get the batty made into unbeaten rice, was to prevent any fraud in the sale *kachara* or person appointed to sell it out to the poor, who if a bad man might make a *muda* of batty produce him fourteen or fifteen *pharás* by not cleansing or grinding it to a proper standard, clear of husk and dirt. I hope the proposition will not be attended with any inconvenience so as to require a future remedy. If it should I shall be very ready to retract my proposal and come into any other method that may be esteemed more for the public benefit. I must crave liberty to make another proposition to this Honourable Board which is that the daily rates or prices of batty at the custom house, as also the prices fixed on unbeaten rice by the President and Council, be declared publicly in the English and country languages by a written paper affixed every morning (or as often as the prices change) on the custom house gates, for the information of the public and as a guide to the justices of the peace in the execution of their office, when complaints come before them against the *kachara*. Unless the price of unbeaten rice is daily ascertained and communicated to the public, it will be known to very few with any exactness except the custom master and the people belonging to his office. Consequently the buyers of the said unbeaten rice will be rendered unable to judge whether the price demanded from them by the *kachara* is the same that he is permitted to take or whether he exceeds the price fixed. Moreover if the rates of batty and rice are not brought to such a public certainty, no public and open complaint can so well be made, nor justice so impartially and quickly administered, as the market price changes sometimes twice a day.¹

A week later, the 23rd March 1744, Mr. Thomas Marsh wrote to the President: As the rest of the Members have all addressed this Board with regard to the *kachara* business, I shall likewise give my reasons (but with all brevity) why I am for the method proposed for supplying the bazar with unbeaten rice. It is I believe pretty evident that whilst the supply was in their hands, the Moormen *kacharás* did grievously oppress the poor and I apprehend if a general liberty should be granted (or in other terms *kacharás* be multiplied) the thing must be still worse, for the clerk of the market whose duty it is could not so well inspect over a large number as a few, and thus it may be presumed was the reason why a set of men were first appointed. It is likewise evident that the Honourable Company have in times of scarcity been obliged to issue batty out of their own warehouses for supplying the market. Indeed this was the case no longer ago than the last season. Why then, as they will know the expense, shall they not be at some certainty in disposing of the quantity they so provide (over and above what is wanted for the current service) by assuing it at all times, when their warehouses will have a due clearance. As to a single person's being appointed, who is at the same time clerk of the

Chapter II Trade.

Rice for the
Poor,
1744.

Mr. Dudgey's
View.

Mr. Marsh's
View

Chapter II.

Trade.

Rice for the
Poor,
1741.Mr. Marsh's
Letter

market, I am as much against it as any member of this Board. Nor was I the last to make the objection, though when Mr Say was first nominated, it was owing I believe to his being in that very post, his predecessors having generally been pitched upon in times of scarcity to deliver out batty for supplying the bazar. He indeed had consideration for his trouble, and they had not. Still I say I looked upon this as a temporary expedient only. As we are unanimous on this point it will be needless to say more. Thus I mention only as I think too much stress seems to be laid by some with regard to his first introduction. If any one or more should be named that may be judged proper for the service, and he or they under a fit inspection, I imagine it will very much conduce to the poor people being well served. If it should be thought that the warehouse keepers not making the issue in batty but in rice (at twelve and a half *pharis* to the *mudra*) may be a still further check and better secure to the poor a clean and good provision, I can readily agree to that too. The only objection lies in the deficiency of batty, as some will answer twelve and a half *pharis* of rice, some scarcely eleven. However, if any inconvenience should hereafter be found in the whole or any part of this regulation, we can either entirely set it aside or make such alterations as may appear necessary. As to our Honourable Masters furnishing the grain for a constancy they will doubtless, when apprised of it, give us their commands with relation thereto. In the interim I hope such care will be taken that they are no sufferers by it but the contrary. As it was asked by one of the members of this Board why Mulin should not be put under the same regulation as Bombay, I then gave my reasons verbally why I thought it inconvenient or rather detrimental. I thought that gentleman and all the rest did me the credit to accept my explanation. But finding it hinted at by another member in the address he has given in, I must now beg leave to repeat in writing what I then advanced, namely, that the poor of Mulin are in a good measure supplied with unbeaten rice daily brought over in the passage boat by the Kumbis of Waul. And as, the labour being their own, the Kumbis generally sell at easier rates than our people, the *kachara* trade there is of itself fallen to little or nothing in comparison of what it was before I encouraged this method. Thus then being an advantage the poor of that place enjoy purely by their situation why should they be deprived of it or why should any thing be taken from the passage revenue now in the Company's own hands. These reasons and not any private views of my own weighed with me to give my opinion as I then did. For I can make it appear the whole quantity of batty I supplied the *kacharas* last season when there was a remarkable scarcity amounted to no more than Rs. 112 and I never yet thought of keeping a dirty boteek (botique or stall) in the bazar to sell out rice by the *tipari* (half *ser*). Thus I mention only to show how little I am inclined to make advantages in such way as well as to wipe off the seeming inconsistency of the same methods not being put in practice at both places.

The Governor's
Summary

In a minute of the 3rd April 1744, the Honourable Mr. William Wake President and Governor thus summarised the different views. The dissent delivered in Council the 28th February and 16th and 24th

ultimo seem to agree in the following particulars. That there ought to be a general license for selling unbeaten rice to the poor; that the Honourable Company lay in two thousand *mudús* of batty for emergencies; that a Company's servant be employed to distribute the rice; and that Mr. Say is an improper person for the employ. Although the Consultation of 3rd February contains all that is necessary to say on this subject, yet as the gentlemen have been at some trouble and pains, I shall here take notice of what is most material in their letters. If a general license were allowed no one particular person is obliged to make a provision for the poor in the scarce and rainy season. Many abuses may ensue from a number of *kacharús* and it must be confessed that one or a few men can be more narrowly watched and more easily detected than many. If the Honourable Company lay in two thousand *mudús* of batty it is but just and reasonable they should be certain of vending it and not run the risk of its rotting in warehouse. For though rice may possibly keep two years (as is said) extraordinary care must be taken; and besides the loss of damage will occur as usual. I would never agree to the proposal in one of the dissents that the surplus of the batty laid in for the poor should after long keeping be issued out to the military and marine. Our troops must justly think themselves ill used to be obliged to take old grain instead of new, and to be put off with the refuse of the poor. When the grain is received from the warehouse, and paid for, the property is altered and consequently the Honourable Company hath nothing further to do with it; therefore one of their servants ought not to be employed, as salary and diet money are intended for real and not for imaginary service. Mr. Say has his diligence and capacity to recommend him of which he has already given sufficient proof. One of the gentlemen seems to me mistaken in his reason for the high price of batty last year, which was certainly owing to the great exportation in the beginning of the season, nor is his calculation of ten *mudús* a day to be depended upon, as it is much more probable half the quantity will be sufficient since from October to April three *mudús* a day will supply the bazar. Although another of the gentlemen dissents from the regulation agreed upon, he is for extending it to other places on the island, which I shall readily come into if it is thought necessary, or if the same frauds have been committed there as have been practised here. It was always intended and often mentioned that the person or persons who may be permitted to distribute the rice, must be under the inspection of the clerk of the market as particularly expressed in the abovementioned Consultation; so that these offices are to be separate. Nor is the office of *kachara* or seller of rice a new thing as some pretend. Our registers show that the clerk of the market has heretofore been appointed in a time of scarcity in like manner as Mr. Say was lately; and Rnpji Dhanji acted as such for some time by the late President's order. The clerk of the market's business must be to prevent all manner of extortions and to see that the poor have justice done them in every respect and on necessary occasions to apply to one of the justices. If it is convenient to have more warehouses, he must give proper attendance and it must be his duty likewise to notify the prices as often as may be found necessary. The vendor of rice will have no more than the customary allowance for his charge and trouble and the Honourable Company will gain whatever

Chapter II. Trade.

Rice for the
Poor,
1741.

The Governor's
Summary.

Chapter II
Trade

Rice for the
Poor,
1711
*The Governor's
Summary*

the grain is valued at more than prime cost. I shall willingly agree to a monthly account being laid before the Board of the quantity and price it is sold at to the poor, though that cannot differ from our warehouse accounts. From both of those we shall exactly know what the consumption may be, and so provide accordingly. This I doubt not may be done without raising the price at the Mándi any more than our provision for our garrisons has done. Indeed why should it or how can it prevent importation or obstruct the freedom of the port, as the usual consumption will not be in the least altered? Nor is there any greater reason to fear a clamour in the one case, than in the other.

Batty must be bought in the usual manner, that is as cheap as we can. When we fix a price it will be upon what we have laid in not upon what comes daily in for sale, which latter any person may purchase on the best terms he can, as has ever been done. It is to be hoped we shall soon find means to supply the poor and the fixing upon officers cannot be thought improper. I must think very little compassion is due to the *kacharás* from their former bad practices especially as this is not a trade, and consequently neither requires time nor application to learn, and the same number of poor must be employed in grinding the rice as usual. We all know the Honorable Company suffered greatly not long ago by endeavouring to supply the place with rice, which may be the case again if a proper and timely provision is not made for the poor, who always have and will depend upon Government for a supply. It is likewise certain that much greater loss was sustained some years past than that mentioned by one of the gentlemen in the Scindry rice for the balance of which many of the *kacharás* were imprisoned by a former Governor. However care was taken that there was a gain on what was issued from the warehouse last season, at the same time that the poor were relieved, which probably would not have been the case had the *kacharás* been trusted in any shape. I am credibly informed that upon some former institution this set of people obliged themselves to supply the bazár, which it is reasonable to believe as they were the only sellers, and they have never been absolved from it that I could learn. It is well known that a particular set of men only have for many years acted as *kacharás* under the inspection of the clerk of the market; and he by authority gave them power to act. If any complaints were made sure no one of the justices would decline executing his office of redressing the poor through lenity or tenderness to any particular man's character. As for myself, I have heard of none except from Mr. Say of the badness of the batty he received out of the warehouse. Why any oppression should be apprehended I cannot conceive. Is it any more than laying in a provision for the poor to be delivered them (some part of the season at least) at a more moderate rate than they can purchase it elsewhere. When I hear the words monopoly and engrossing made use of on this occasion I must imagine that the terms are not really understood or at least that they are misapplied. Have not all the inhabitants liberty to buy batty for themselves at the Mándi? Or is this freedom attempted now to be taken from them? Could the poor and labouring people lay in a sufficiency for their families annually I should be greatly pleased, as then we should have none of this trouble. How widely different is the charitable laying in a sixth of the consumption of the place for the benefit of the poor,

from monopolizing or engrossing? I must think there is no manner of reason to expect a second presentment from the Grand Jury for the affair of course must be fully understood. If so it will appear a real service to the poor as well as a suitable gain to the Honourable Company. I shall only further remark on this occasion that what I proposed in Consultation of the 3rd February is no otherwise deviating from what has been the established custom of the island, than in permitting a European or Europeans solely to vend unbeaten rice in the bazar, which he or they are to buy of the Honourable Company and pay ready money for, instead of the *lachurús*. Whereas a liberty for all selling at pleasure (the opinion of the Bench of Justices) is totally abolishing that custom, though at the same time no provision is made for the poor. The principal merchants and inhabitants induced me to make the proposal to the Board, as believing it would be beneficial to the Honourable Company, at least that it would prevent such great losses as they have heretofore sustained, and be of real service to the poor.¹

At a Consultation, the 11th February 1743, the Board records: The time allowed to the military officers for supplying their people with batty expiring the 1st of next month, it is directed that notice thereof be given them that they may make no further provision.²

A year after, 13th March 1744, the Court of Directors write: We leave it entirely to your determination whether the military shall be supplied with batty by us or by their officers, taking due care to prevent any hardships being put upon the poor soldiers.³

On these orders of the Court at a Consultation, the 13th October 1744, the Board records: The Honourable Company having left it to us to determine whether the military shall be supplied with batty by their officers withal cautioning us to take due care to prevent any hardship being put upon the poor soldiers, the question is now taken into consideration. It is observed the quantity necessary to be annually provided for the military (exclusive of the sepoys) ought to be at least 1000 *mudás*, which may be computed to cost when it is at a reasonable price and bought at the best hand about Rs. 16 the *muda*. This is a sum not easily raised by the officers. Such of them as have not ready money of their own must, if they can, take it up at interest, or probably make such agreements with some of the black merchants as the officer will get little by such intended indulgence, as perhaps has often been the case. It has hitherto been customary to charge both soldiers and sepoys at the rate of Rs. 22½ the *muda*, but it was lucky for the officers that the Honourable Company took the supply from them when they did, as the year after batty rose to Rs. 26 and Rs. 30. It would have been much higher if we had not taken the usual though arbitrary method when grain is scarce of obliging such merchants as owned quantities to sell in the bazar at the aforementioned prices. Had the officers then been bound to supply the military, they could not have borne the loss when either the Company must have paid or the soldiers have

Chapter II. Trade.

Rice for the
Pool,
1744.

The Governor's
Summary.

Rice for the
Troops,
1743.

¹ Pub. Diary 17 of 1744, 143-147.

² Pub. Diary 16 of 1743, 36.

³ Court to Bombay 13th Mar. 1744 para 76, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 12.

Chapter II.

Trade

The Supply of
Batty to the
Troups,
1744.

deserted or starved. Further we think it will be putting it too much in the officer's power to impose ordinary and bad batty upon the soldier, whose complaints are generally made to him, who may find many ways to tease the soldier and thereby prevent his having redress. It is highly necessary that a sufficient quantity of grain for the military be annually laid in at the proper season, because in the wet monsoon no supplies can be got by sea. In such a case our Marátha neighbours, although we may be in friendship with them, may, as they did last year, put what price upon their grain they please, which only a timely provision of Silette rice prevented. This island sometimes felt the like inconveniences from the Portuguese. Now we fear it will be much more frequent as the Maráthas have all the batty country in their own possession which it is apprehended will prevent grain being at such reasonable rates as heretofore. The monthly pay of Rs 4 to a topanas soldier is so small as will ill bear any overcharge in their provisions. Such overcharge when batty was cheap has caused discontents and possibly desertions. But the cause of such effects will probably cease if the batty is bought at the best hand, and a moderate profit put upon it for interest and waste in warehouse, which may be for a year fifteen per cent in the whole. Nor can they be supplied the year throughout for a less advance, and, when the provision is made for the year, such an advance may be put upon it and the price settled accordingly. But as the Honourable Company have hitherto thought it fit to fix the price at Rs. 20½ the *muda* it is most proper to ask their leave for altering such an old established custom. When the officers supplied the military with batty the profit thereon gave them no reason to complain of their pay. This indeed alone is but a very bare subsistence as provisions here are much dearer than at other Presidencies. It is to be wished some suitable relief could be given them; but that must be left to the generosity of the Honourable Company. Having duly weighed and reflected upon all these circumstances it is the unanimous opinion of this Board that the Honourable Company and not the officers, do supply the military with batty according to their former orders by the *Somerset* under date the 16th February 1742 paragraph 66.¹

In reply, Despatch dated 7th May 1746, the Court write: Having given our sentiments last year on the rice affair, we shall only refer thereto expecting that all just cause of complaint is effectually removed, and we leave it to you to supply the military with batty in such a manner as you shall deem reasonable.²

Export of Batty
Prohibited,
1746.

At a Consultation, the 2nd September 1746, determined: Batty being scarce and dear at Surat and the northern parts through the want of seasonable rains at those places, our merchants, it is apprehended, will be induced to export such large quantities as may leave the island bare unless timely prevented. Agreed therefore that a prohibition on exportation of coarse batty be made till we see how the season turns out.³

Grain Scarcity
in Surat,
1746

At a Consultation, the 11th November 1746, the following is recorded: That Surat City is at present very miserable, number of poor

¹ Pub. Diary 17 of 1741, 292-291.

² Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol 3 of 1742-1751, 129

³ Pub. Diary 19 of 1746, 295.

people flock thither daily from all parts and many die through hunger in the streets from a scarcity of all sorts of grain; that a general contribution had been made by the inhabitants and principal merchants; and as the Dutch had previously advanced Rs. 600, the Chief and factors at Surat consented to give the sum of Rs. 500 on the Honourable Company's account which they hope will be approved. That grain being excessively dear they cannot purchase any for their sloop and gahvats and the use of their factory, and therefore request to be supplied with 300 bags of rice.¹

Three days later, the 11th November 1746, the Board approve of Surat subscribing Rs. 500 for the relief of the necessitous people, and, as the Chief and factors at Surat are in great want of rice for their own use, it is agreed that 300 bags be sent them as requested by the first opportunity.²

A Consultation, the 23rd December 1746, records: Batty being exceedingly dear through the proprietors' keeping supplies back in hopes of still raising the price, and the *kacharis* not supplying the bazar as heretofore, occasions the poor people to have recourse to us for relief. Agreed therefore that a publication be issued requiring all persons on the 26th instant to give in an account to the warehouse-keeper of what batty or rice is in their possession with a declaration that what shall be found afterwards shall be forfeited half to the informer and the other half as this Board may think fit to direct. That in the interim the poor may be relieved, it is further agreed that 25 *mudās* be delivered to the *kacharis* out of the Honourable Company's warehouse at the rate of Rs. 26 the *mudā* to be sold in small parcels by them in the bazar.³

A Consultation, the 29th March 1748, records: The land paymaster representing a want of grain for the Honourable Company's service, he is directed to purchase about 45 *khandis* for present expense on the best terms he can, but as this article is to be had much cheaper at Surat, it is agreed that we write to the Chief and factors there to provide 180 *khandis* and send the same down by any proper conveyance before the rains. Directed therefore that a letter be accordingly prepared for Surat.⁴

At a Consultation, the 16th May 1748, agreed. The Honourable Company being in want of batty, and Mahomet Safi offering to provide about 500 *mudās* at the rate of Rs. 29½ the *mudā*, the Honourable Company hearing the charges thereon, that Mahomet Safi's offer be accepted, being the lowest we can purchase it at and lower than it has been for several months; and that the sum of Rs. 6500 be advanced him on said account.⁵

A Consultation, the 6th January 1749, records: It being necessary to lay in a provision of batty for the Honourable Company's land and marine service, and Vithaldās Keshavām and Mahomet Safi offering to contract for the provision of 1000 *mudās* at the rate of Rs. 25 per *mudā* to be delivered at the Bandar within the space of three months, which

Chapter II. Trade.

Grain Scarcity
in Surat,
1746.

Dear Grain
in Bombay,
1746.

Grain from
Surat,
1748.

Purchase of
Batty,
1748.

1749.

¹ Pub. Diary 19 of 1746, 371. ² Pub. Diary 19 of 1746, 373.

³ Pub. Diary 19 of 1746, 421-422. ⁴ Pub. Diary 21 of 1748, 118-119.

⁵ Pub. Diary 21 of 1748, 168.

Chapter II.

Trade

Purchase of
Batty,
1749.

price being as cheap as to be had elsewhere, then offer is accepted and the treasury is ordered to advance them the sum of Rs. 10,000 on that account.¹

A Consultation, the 7th March 1749, records: The Honorable Company being in want of a further quantity of batty and Virthaldis Keshaviam and Mahomet Saffi being willing to provide 200 *mudis* more on the same terms as mentioned in Consultation of the 6th January last, then offer is accepted and an advance of the sum of Rs. 10,000 ordered to be made them out of the treasury on account of their said contract.²

1750.

A Consultation, the 2nd March 1750, records: It being requisite to lay in a sufficient stock of batty against the ensuing rains, and Gangadhar Pant, inhabitant of Thina, offering to contract for 1500 *mudis* to be delivered clear of all charges at Rs. 19½ the *mudi*, which being as cheap as is to be bought, it is agreed that the same be accepted. The warehouse-keeper is directed to receive it into the Honorable Company's warehouse accordingly.³

1751.

A Consultation, the 18th January 1751, records: No person having sent in any proposals for supplying the Honorable Company with batty in consequence of the public notice ordered in Consultation of the 28th ultimo, to be affixed up for that purpose, it is agreed that a proper person be employed to purchase the usual quantity of about 2000 *mudis* on the best terms possible.⁴

A Consultation, the 26th February 1751, records: Rupji Dhanji having delivered 600 *mudis* of batty into warehouse on the Honorable Company's account amounting to Rs. 15,000, ordered that the balance due to him on said account more than what he has already been advanced be made good out of the treasury and that a further sum of Rs. 10,000 be advanced him for providing a further quantity.⁵

Export
Prohibition
withdrawn,
1751.

A Consultation, the 8th October 1751, records: As the price of grain is considerably fallen and there being a very plentiful crop this season, the merchants desire liberty to export what they may import. The prohibition laid on last year is accordingly taken off.⁶

A Consultation, the 15th December 1752, records: Being in want of batty for our warehouses and garrison, directed the Secretary to affix notifications that on Friday next, the 22nd instant, we shall sit to receive proposals for 2500 *mudis*. Similar notifications were issued in 1754.⁷

Scarcity of
Grain,
1755.

A Consultation, the 31st October 1755, records: There being a great scarcity of grain upon the island owing to the want of the usual latter rains, it is unanimously resolved till grain falls to a reasonable price to take off the import duty, that merchants and others may be encouraged to bring in a quantity for the relief of the inhabitants in general as well as those employed by our Honorable Masters on the several works, pursuant to which the Secretary is directed to issue

¹ Pub. Diary 22 of 1749, 9.

² Pub. Diary 23 of 1750, 84-85.

³ Pub. Diary 21 of 1751, 59.

⁴ Pub. Diary 22 of 1749, 68.

⁵ Pub. Diary 21 of 1751, 21-22.

⁶ Pub. Diary 21 of 1751, 46.

⁷ Pub. Diary 25 of 1752, 357, 397, 403-101; Pub. Diary 27 of 1751, 19, 67, 138, 230, 337-350.

orders to the Bombay and Máhim Custom Masters, and a notification to be published by beat of drum.¹ :

On the action of the Bombay Government in remitting import duties on grain the Court of Directors write on the 4th May 1757 : Although a constant attention must be had to the continuing or increasing our revenues to the utmost extent, yet we are never against making equitable abatements where they tend to the general relief of the inhabitants. As this appears to be the case in your resolve to take off the import duty on grain we cannot but approve the measure and rest satisfied with your assurances that you will continue this indulgence no longer than is really necessary.²

A Consultation, the 14th November 1755, records : The great scarcity of grain still continuing, though the import duty is taken off as noticed in Consultation the 31st ultimo, the sending one of the Europe ships now in the Road to Mangalor for lugging up a cargo of rice for supplying our inhabitants and our garrison and maine service, is taken into consideration. It being observed that she may return in very good time to be despatched home, and that this will be the most effectual means of inducing the neighbouring countries to export their grain, as they now not only hoard it up for their own use but in order to enhance the price, resolved, therefore, that we send our Honourable Masters' ship *Strelham* thither as soon as possible, and having a large quantity of timber and plank as well as masts and yards lying at Calcut which are much wanted in the maine, and as the gentlemen at Tellicherry have occasion for cash and a supply of stores, she will likewise be able to perform those services while the cargo is providing at Mangalor, where she must return with the greatest expedition.³

On the 7th July 1757 the native inhabitants of Bombay addressed the following petition to Government : That the inhabitants of this island may not so often suffer the want of batty, they pray Government to appoint proper warehouses for holding about 3000 or 4000 *myddis* of batty in order to supply them in the rain time when there is a great scarcity. By this means the people's wants will be relieved and the Honourable Company will not incur the charges that will arise on the said batty, and the *kacharás* be compelled to sell it in petty sales for such a price as the Governor and Council shall think proper. On receipt of this representation Government observe (12th July 1757) that they are thoroughly sensible that the people frequently experience great hardships from sudden scarcities of grain, and as the *kacharás* neglect to provide a sufficiency for their use when the price is moderate, notwithstanding Government's utmost care to oblige the *kacharás* to have a proper supply always by them, Government resolve that they appoint a Committee in the month of September to concert the most proper measures for buying and constantly keeping a sufficient quantity of batty on their Honourable Masters' account for the relief and support of the inhabitants in general ; and that the warehouse-keeper in the meantime enquire and report what warehouses may

Chapter II.

Trade

Scarcity of
Grain,
1755

Mangalor Rice,
1755

Grain
Warehouses,
1757.

¹ Pub. Diary 28 of 1755, 409-410.

² Pub. Dep. Comt's L. Vol. 5 of 1767-1761, 35.

³ Pub. Diary 28 of 1755, 428.

Chapter II
Trade.Rice Purchase
Committee,
1758.Great Scarcity
of Grain,
1758.

be rented for depositing batty, and how much the Honorable Company's batty warehouses and those already hired will contain.¹

A Consultation, the 31d January 1758, records: 'The high price of grain in and since the month of September has prevented our appointing a committee for providing a sufficient quantity for the use of our inhabitants as proposed in Consultation the 12th of July 1757 in consequence of the representation of the hardships they experience from a want of it. But according to the judgment of the most intelligent and disinterested people, the price now being as low as can be expected this season, or about Rs. 31 the *mudda*, the warehouse-keeper and customs masters are appointed a committee to purchase a supply.'²

On the 14th March 1758 the Committee reported to Government: 'Since the receipt of your commands signified to us by the Secretary under date the 31d of January 1758, we have not been able to obtain any proposals from our merchants or others for making a contract to deliver any certain quantity of batty. The small parcels duly imported, being scarce sufficient to serve the market a week together, have hitherto put it out of our power to purchase any for keeping in warehouse. We must now propose to your Honour that a provision of rice be made at Mangalore, Mulkee, or other ports, to prevent a scarcity of this article during the approaching monsoon, as, by the best intelligence we can get, it will be almost impossible to secure more than the 2000 *muddis* of batty which the Honourable President advised the Board he had contracted for on account of the Honourable Company with one Sankrājipant, out of the adjacent countries where it is daily increasing in price and is now sold here out of the boats as they arrive, at Rs. 33 to 31 the *mudda*.'³

On this report a Consultation, the 14th March 1758, records: Received the above letter from the Committee appointed to purchase rice for the inhabitants in general, proposing on account of the dearth and scarcity of it, to get a quantity from Mangalore, the consideration of which is deferred.'⁴

The question is resumed at a Consultation the 21st March 1758. Reperused the Committee's letter of the 14th March 1758. The purchasing a quantity of rice at Mangalore, as they propose, being judged the best way of supplying the island on the most reasonable terms, and the Superintendent reporting that the *Bombay* grain, and *Speck* well are ready as also the *Succress* now lately freighted by the Select Committee but not now wanted; it is resolved that they be despatched to Mangalore with Mr. James Ryler and a consignment of 40,000 new rupees, or that amount in gold if to be procured on any advantageous terms, that we supply Mr. Robert Gambier at Onor with Rs. 50,000 and that those vessels be ordered to touch there coming back if they have room to take in pepper.'⁵

Ordered, 21st March 1758, that the President be advanced Rs. 25,000 on account of the contract he has made with Sankrājipant for 2000 *muddis* of batty.'⁶

¹ Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 269, 272.² Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 197.³ Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 203-204.⁴ Bom. Gov. Diary 21st Mar. 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 203.⁵ Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 3.⁶ Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 194.

On the 16th June 1760, the custom master Mr. John Spencer laid before the Board the following abstract of grain, *ghee*, oil, and firewood in the district of Bombay and the castes with which the same is lodged.¹

Caste Stores of Grain, Ghee, Oil, and Wood, 1760.

Chapter II.
Trade.

Cum Supplies
1760.

	Batty.	Rice	Wheat	Mug.	Gram.	Dal.	Black (Gram)	Sachan	Math
	M. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	M. p.	Kh. p.
1. Rungach Bráhmans.	24 19	1 2 ¹	2 1 ¹	...	1 6 ¹	2 2 ¹	1 3 ¹	...	...
2. Gujarati	...	1 2 ¹	3 7 ¹	...	...	1 3 ¹	...	...	...
3. Vajurvedi	26 21	...	1 12 ¹	...	0 6 ¹	...	...	...	...
4. Shenvi	11 3 ¹	...	3 1 ¹	2 3	0 7 ¹	1 11 ¹	1 33 ¹	...	...
5. Bauls	154 7	217 2 ¹	152 6 ¹	12 2 ¹	62 0	202 5 ¹	3 2 ¹	3 1	6 1 ¹
6. Puroes (Pachhus)	194 2	31 1 ¹	5 6	0 7 ¹	50 1	9 3 ¹	2 2 ¹	0 12	...
7. Goldsmiths	63 0	37 6 ¹	8 0 ¹	...	3 6 ¹	12 6	...	...	...
8. Coppersmiths	74 18	0 2	3 0 ¹	...	1 4	1 11 ¹	...	...	...
9. Ironsmiths	1 22	5 0	...	...	...	0 6 ¹	...	...	...
10. Bhanshis	10 6	25 2	4 1 ¹	0 7 ¹	1 0 ¹	5 7	0 6 ¹	...	...
11. Weavers	01 6	17 3 ¹	3 0	...	...	0 2	...	...	...
12. Panshi (Panchkal- shis)	70 2	23 2	...	...	...	0 3	...	0 3 ¹	...
13. Charolis (Chaukal- shis)	11 7	6 5	...	...	1 0 ¹	...	...	...	...
14. Bhandaris	132 4	20 0 ¹	1 1	...	...	1 0 ¹	1 2	...	...
15. Christians	157 15	15 1 ¹	...	...	...	1 6 ¹	...	0 5	...
16. Moors	1530 12	106 1	2 1	2 0	...	25 2	...	...	...
17. Parsis	04 0	39 6	11 6 ¹	...	0 6	157 0	0 3	...	...
18. Potmakers	2 19	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19. Matmakers	2 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
20. Tailors	34 0	13 1	1 2 ¹	...	...	1 6 ¹	...	...	...
21. Shoemakers	2 12	16 1	...	...	...	1 11 ¹	...	...	...
22. Barbers	7 23	0 6	...	...	...	0 1	...	...	...
23. Turners	5 12	0 4	...	...	...	0 2	...	...	...
24. Washermen	21 17	1 0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25. Carpenters	152 0	13 7 ¹	1 0	...	0 2	2 6	...	...	...
26. Hauls	...	14 4	...	...	...	0 7	...	...	...
27. Sweetmeat-makers	...	5 1	2 6	...	3 3 ¹	0 6 ¹	...	...	...
28. Bombay Coolies	50 10	1 3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29. Thana do.	13 10	7 1 ¹	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	160 5	685 0 ¹	238 0	18 1	112 7 ¹	475 0	12 0	3 21 ¹	8 1 ¹

	Jain.	Gas	Val.	Bajra.	Chh.	Oil	Wood		
	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	M. s.	M. s.	Onlās (logs).	Banille-	Billets.
1. Rungach Bráhmans.	0 10	20 20	...	...	101,500
2. Gujarati	19 31	35 0	...	...	34,000
3. Vajurvedi	0 5	20 20	...	...	34,500
4. Shenvi	0 37	78 34	...	...	30,000
5. Bauls	...	1 6	78 0	...	1203 10	1471 0	...	...	301,000
6. Puroes (Pachhus)	...	0 4	...	...	18 20	120 1	...	3099	217,000
7. Goldsmiths	13 10	112 0	47,150	8617	15,000
8. Coppersmiths	11 30	70 50	30,000	8520	...
9. Ironsmiths	1 20	3 25	...	...	10,000
10. Bhanshis	178 30	100 0	25,400	...	...
11. Weavers	10 0	73 20	6300	1307	...
12. Panshi (Panchkal- shis)	33 22	...	1315	...
13. Charolis (Chaukal- shis)	11 0	...	...	745
14. Bhandaris	1 0	70 0	173,750	...	...
15. Christians	0 24	07 31	2575	10,110	1,625,000
16. Moors	12 1 ¹	...	...	8 1 ¹	53 20	207 0	...	...	330,000
17. Parsis	0 2	0 2	...	...	251 0	511 0	...	...	6000
18. Potmakers
19. Matmakers	100	...
20. Tailors	2 35	16 5	2130	...	...
21. Shoemakers	4 20	12 0	...	...	37,600
22. Barbers	0 6	...	...	...	...	1 0	...	510	11,000
23. Turners	2 0	...	...	...	...
24. Washermen	3 0	...	...	11,000
25. Carpenters	3 0	09 0	...	...	...
26. Hauls	0 0	...	255	...
27. Sweetmeat-makers	7 0	15 0	1050	...	...
28. Bombay Coolies	21 0	30,500	3007	2000
29. Thana do.	1 0	16 20	200	810	67,600
Total	13 1 ¹	0 6	1 6	86 1 ¹	1709 31	7331 31	321,356	31,580	2,673,025

¹ Bom. Gov. Diary 20th June 1760, Pub. Diary 31 of 1760, 156.

Chapter II.
Trade

Mahm Supplies,
1760.

On the 1st July 1760, the Mahm custom master presented the following abstract of grain, *ghu*, oil, and firewood ¹.

Articles.	Mudus	Khandis	Mans	Articles.	Mudus	Khandis	Mans
Batty ...	1550	0	0	Udid ...	0	7	0
Do. black	61½	0	0	Oil ...	0	25	9
Nicham	1	0	0	Ghu ..	0	10	5
Rice ...	0	22	0	Billets of wood.	518,000	Nos	
Wheat ...	0	13½	0				

Remission of
Duties,
1763

A Consultation, the 25th March 1763, records: The gentlemen at Madras having written pressing for grain, it is agreed to send them 2000 bags of rice for the use of their garrison; and as we have already laid in a twelve months' stock of batty for our Honourable Masters, resolved that the prohibition and import duty on all grain exported for the Coromandel Coast be taken off for a time in order to encourage private traders to carry supplies thither to prevent the distress with which Madras is threatened ².

Batty for Govt,
1766.

A Consultation, the 18th March 1766, records: The President lays before the Board a letter from the Regency at Goa desiring leave to export some batty for the use of that city, agreed as the price has lately risen to Rs. 25 the *muda*, and the giving leave to export would enhance it, we do not think it proper to comply with their request. ³

Purchase of
Batty,
1767.

A Consultation, the 6th February 1767, records: No further proposals having been made for batty, Hassan Pathan and Govind Baman who offered to contract, the former for 2500 *mudus* at Rs. 20½ and the latter for 2000 *mudus* at Rs. 20¼, are referred to the warehouse-keeper and Bombay custom master who must endeavour to get it cheaper if possible. If not, to agree for it at those prices, as the season is now, far elapsed, for which reason also we would have them accept any other offers as far as the quantity we want, if it is to be got at or under the same prices. ⁴

1768.

A Consultation, the 15th February 1768, records: Four different proposals having been delivered in consequence of our giving public notice of our intentions to contract for 2000 *mudus* of batty, the same are now opened and two different persons offering it at Rs. 15¼ per *muda* which are the two cheapest, it is agreed to let each of them supply 1000 *mudus*. It is further agreed to take off the prohibition on the exportation of grain on the 1st of next month or sooner if the contractors have no objections, provided those who export any will take off the Honourable Company's old batty and deliver new in lieu of it. ⁵

Supply of Batty,
1768.

On the necessity of a full supply of batty, in their letter of the 18th March 1768, the Comt of Directors write. As it is absolutely necessary that the price of provisions particularly rice should be kept as low as possible, we recommend to you in the strongest manner to use every method in your power to effect this for the good of the inhabitants in general and for our interest in particular. We cannot point out to you the manner of doing it, not being sufficiently acquainted with the prices at different periods or the countries from which it is imported to enable us to give positive orders for you

¹ Dom Gov. Diary 1st July 1760, Pub Diary 31 of 1760; 198, 508

² Pub Diary 40 of 1763, 207

³ Pub Diary 48 of 1767, 101

⁴ Pub Diary 16 of 1766, 225.

⁵ Pub Diary 50 of 1765, 151

management. So far as regards the sepoys, and other people, for whom we have to provide, who receive part of their pay in batty or rice, we ordered that you provide a sufficient quantity of good white batty at the cheapest time calculating rather more than less what you may want for the season. The same method is to be practiced every year. If at any time you should have a surplus and the new grain is coming in, the surplus may be sold to the inhabitants which may be of service to them. As we suppose, the new supply will be bought at the cheapest time, there is no reason to think we can suffer loss. At all events a full supply of this necessary article must always be provided.¹

Bombay Government Consultation of 21st January 1769: The proposal of John Baetto for contracting for 2000 *mudás* of batty at Rs. 15½ delivered in the 3rd instant, being cheaper than that of any of the others and more reasonable than we can otherwise procure it; it is ordered that this offer be accepted accordingly.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 22nd November 1770: The poor being much distressed by a scarcity of grain, it is resolved, in order that their wants may be supplied at a moderate rate, that 500 *mudás* of batty be issued to the custom master to be made into rice and delivered out in small quantities at the price it may stand in reckoning the expense of making it into rice.³

Court's letter to Bombay Government, 28th April 1773, paragraph 27: We observe the orders you gave for the delivery of batty from your warehouse to be issued to the poor at prime cost in order to prevent the *kacharis* from raising the price of rice. We are so well pleased with this instance of your desire to relieve the poor from their oppressors that we cannot forbear taking this occasion to testify our commendation of it.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 18th February 1772: Opened two sealed proposals for supplying the Honourable Company with 4000 *mudás* of batty delivered in consequence of our publication. It appearing that those of Ball Patan are the cheapest, being Rs. 17½ for the middle sort of batty the *muda* and Rs. 16½ the *muda* for the *rás* or inferior sort, it is agreed they be accepted and the warehouse-keeper is directed to enter into the usual contract accordingly.⁵

Bombay Government Consultation, 10th November 1772: The article of rice being very scarce, which scarcity we apprehend will in a short time be greater still, chiefly owing to the late bad crop, it becomes our duty to endeavour by every means in our power to procure as large quantities of that necessary article of life as possible from any quarter where it may be procurable. Being informed that it may be got at Scindy on reasonable terms, it is resolved that factors be directed to procure as far as 3200 *khandis* of the middling sort of rice, and in order to afford them an opportunity of sending a part of it here, it is agreed that our Honourable Masters' ship the *Speaker* be despatched to Scindy for this purpose, as she will bring about half

Chapter II. Trade.

Supply of Batty,
1768.

Purchase of
Batty,
1769.

"
Scarcity of Grain,
1770.

1772.

Bad Crop,
1772.

¹ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1783, 95: 100. Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 7 of 1765-1768, 310: 311.

² Pub. Diary 53 of 1769, 188.

³ Pub. Diary 56 of 1770, 619.

⁴ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 9 of 1772-1777, 101. ⁵ Pub. Diary 60 of 1772, 167.

Chapter II.
Trade.

of it, and we have not yet a sufficient quantity of pepper on the coast to load her home. By this means we hope she will more than save her demurrage. For conveying hither the remainder of the rice, we shall shortly send another vessel.¹

Rice from
Bengal,
1771

Bombay Government Consultation, 17th May 1774. A tender being made of about 6000 bags of Bengal rice at Rs. 4 per bag for the amount of which bills will be taken on the President and Council at Fort William, it is agreed to accept the offer as the price is reasonable, and it is an article the Company are in want of. The warehouse-keeper is accordingly ordered to receive the rice, taking care it be equal to the musters now produced.²

Grain sent
to Madras,
1771

Bombay Government Consultation, 19th July 1774: Read advices from the President and Council of Fort St George wherein they represent that they are in the greatest distress for want of rice and request in the strongest terms that we will send them a supply. This being taken into consideration, it is observed that the stock of rice in this place is far from being very considerable and the scarcity in the adjacent countries would well justify our continuing the prohibition for the exportation of that article till a further new crop comes in. Yet as these gentlemen have made such pressing instances for a supply and as the rains have been hitherto very favourable for the crop that is now on the ground, it is resolved unanimously to admit of a quantity of rice being exported for the relief of the settlement of Madras. At the same time the President acquaints the Board that in consequence of the Madras advices applications have been made to admit of 10,000 bags of Bengal rice being exported from hence to Fort St George. It is accordingly agreed that the permission requested be granted for that quantity only. This we hope will prove a very reasonable supply to that settlement and greatly relieve their distress till they may be able to procure farther stores from other places. We are of opinion that no larger quantity can at present with any propriety be spared from hence till we may be at more certainty regarding the ensuing crop. It is not in our power to send any rice from Mangalore as the season will not admit of a vessel touching at that port for some time to come.³

Rice Export
Allowed,
1774

Bombay Government Consultation, 25th October 1774: The custom master reports that many of the merchants are desirous of exporting a quantity of Scindry, Bengal, and fine rice, on which he requests our direction. As the exportation of rice will be of some advantage by increasing the Company's customs and the present crop being so plentiful that we are under no apprehensions of being in want of that article, it is resolved that permission be given accordingly.⁴

Grain Scarcity
Committee,
1780

Six years later Bombay again suffered from a scarcity of grain. A Consultation, the 9th August 1780, records. In the present scarcity and high price of rice, a Committee is appointed, consisting of the warehouse-keeper and Bombay custom master with Mr. Draper, who must be directed to make the necessary enquiry what quantity of rice is now on the island, and the cause from whence this scarcity has arisen, and to report their opinion what measure will be the best adapted to

¹ Pub. Diary 62 of 1772, 1031.

² Pub. Diary 66 of 1774, 829.

³ Pub. Diary 65 of 1771, 370.

⁴ Pub. Diary 66 of 1774, 725.

lower the price thereof and that of grain in general of which there appears to be an equal scarcity.¹

Referring to the Committee's report, a Consultation, the 15th December 1780, records: The report of the Grain Committee (1st December 1780) having been separately perused by the members, it is now again attentively read and the following resolutions taken thereon. As Colonel Hartley has not reported what quantity of grain has been secured in the Konkan, in consequence of the orders sent him for that purpose, he must be called upon to acquaint us how far he has been able to comply with these orders. The resolutions of the Committee being separately considered, we entirely concur with the Committee that the very high price to which rice and batty had some time ago risen was not owing to any real scarcity, as there was no deficiency in the imports compared with those of other years. We likewise agree with the Committee that the purchase of rice for Tellicherry last season gave an alarm and occasioned a run upon the market which made an apparent scarcity for the time and of course enhanced the price to a very high rate. We also concur with the Committee in the inference they have drawn of the bad effect which arose from the batty issued from the Company's warehouse to replace the rice purchased for Tellicherry not being thrown into the market and think the assistant to the warehouse-keeper exceedingly blameable in making a private instead of a public transaction of this business and shall censure him accordingly. It is ordered therefore that the purchase of rice for Tellicherry and the issue of batty to replace it be made a public transaction and the difference arising from the sale of the rice produced from that batty be brought to the credit of the Company. A publication has already been issued in consequence of the Committee's fifth resolution which we hope will prevent any cause of such complaint in future, and it is further ordered that extracts of such parts of the Committee's report and resolutions as relate to the complaints from Kalyan be sent to Mr. Hartley for his notice. In the like manner extracts of those parts which relate to the complaints from Belapur must be sent to Captain Lendrum for his notice, and the Resident there must be advised of the declarations made by the inhabitants who we trust, now that Residency has been established, will have no further reason to complain of hardships. Resolved agreeably to the Committee's recommendation that all Company's servants, civil military or marine, their servants or dependants as well at the presidency as the subordinates be strictly prohibited from dealing directly or indirectly in grain except on the Honorable Company's account, and that this prohibition be publicly made known to the servants and to the army in general orders, as also to the officers of the marine. We agree with the Committee that it is very proper the Company should always have a sufficient stock of batty in their warehouse to keep down the price to a moderate rate, though we think the quantity proposed by the Committee, considering the annual imports for seven years last past (given below), is rather too large, and that about half the quantity will be sufficient. The Company have at this time a large stock in warehouse and an expectation of much more.

Chapter II.

Trade

Grain Scarcity
Committee,
1780.

Chapter II.
Trade.

Grain Security
Committee,
1780

We have little doubt but a stock fully sufficient to ensure a cheap and plentiful market will from henceforth be produced from the Company's own share of grain in their several possessions adjacent to Bombay and that they will necessarily have a large quantity for sale, and we trust that a proper vigilance over the export from the islands and ports in the Konkan with other regulations recommended by the Committee and now adopted will effectually prevent such scarcity and enhanced price again happening as was experienced last season. Proper responsible people, if any such offer and can give good security for their discharging the business so as to answer the good purposes expected from it, will be appointed *kacharis* and an exclusive right given them to supply the markets with rice. For their encouragement they must be allowed the gratuity recommended by the Committee. It is resolved to issue a publication inviting those who can give security to our satisfaction to send in their names and terms. Public market places for grain, which are now wanting, must then be established in the most convenient situations in the different parts of the town and island.¹

The following statements show the quantity of rice and other articles imported into Bombay during each of the seven years ending 1780².

Rice and Batty Imported at Bombay Custom House, 1773 - 1780

Year.	Bengal Rice.	Mangalore Rice	Rice, Unbeaten	Rice, Beaten	Batty	Total Batty
	Bags	Rolls	Lbs p.	Lbs p.	Sticks p.	Sticks p.
August 1773 to July 1774 :						
Batty ..	.	.	.	.	10,000 0	.
Rice beaten ..	.	.	.	6800 2	7015 4	.
Rice unbeaten ..	.	.	3397 2	.	2501 6	20,325 12
Bengal rice ..	31,700	.	.	.	.	.
Mangalore rice ..	.	1800	.	.	.	.
August 1774 to July 1775						
Batty ..	.	.	.	.	7500 12	.
Rice beaten ..	.	.	.	6101 0	4320 16	.
Rice unbeaten ..	.	.	1006 6	.	1071 3	12,972 0
Bengal rice ..	21,000	.	.	.	.	.
Mangalore rice ..	.	2000	.	.	.	.
August 1775 to July 1776						
Batty ..	.	.	.	.	8717 22	.
Rice beaten ..	.	.	.	2271 4	2020 14	.
Rice unbeaten ..	.	.	1430 6	.	120 12	11,078 25
Bengal rice ..	43,000	.	.	.	.	.
Mangalore rice ..	.	1700	.	.	.	.
August 1776 to July 1777						
Batty ..	.	.	.	.	8161 17	.
Rice beaten ..	.	.	.	3732 7	2045 23	.
Rice unbeaten ..	.	.	2316 3	.	1177 22	12,628 5
Bengal rice ..	17,000	.	.	.	.	.
Mangalore rice ..	.	3000	.	.	.	.
August 1777 to July 1778						
Batty ..	.	.	.	.	7070 13	.
Rice beaten ..	.	.	.	3612 1	4521 14	.
Rice unbeaten ..	.	.	3202 1	.	2191 19	11,605 21
Bengal rice ..	19,000	.	.	.	.	.
Mangalore rice ..	.	1300	.	.	.	.
August 1778 to July 1779						
Batty ..	.	.	.	.	12,012 1	.
Rice beaten ..	.	.	.	3041 0	3175 2	.
Rice unbeaten ..	.	.	1107 6	.	2754 12	17,025 15
Bengal rice ..	16,000	.	.	.	.	.
Mangalore rice ..	.	1700	.	.	.	.
August 1779 to July 1780						
Batty ..	.	.	.	.	6151 16	.
Rice beaten ..	.	.	.	1270 1	3116 10	.
Rice unbeaten ..	.	.	0622 0	.	12 5 2	11 170 7
Bengal rice ..	23,750	.	.	.	.	.
Mangalore rice ..	.	2300	.	.	.	.
Total ..	201,250	17,800	23,797 0	3,041 0	101,711 16	107,715 16

¹ Pub. Diary 77 of 1780, 550 - 552.

² Pub. Diary 77 of 1780, 557 - 558. Forrest's Home Series, II. 260 - 261

Grain imported at Bombay Custom House, 1773-1780.

Year	Wheat.	Dal	Mug.	Bajra.	Gram	Uddid	Mak.	Masur	Navne
	Kh. p	Kh. p	Kh. p	Kh. p	Kh. p	Kh. p	Kh. p	Kh. p	Kh. p
From 1st August 1773 to 31st July 1774	3103 0	1066 2	292 5	818 1	1379 2	612 0	...	...	...
From 1st August 1774 to 31st July 1775	1801 2	702 5	192 0	2089 5	1331 0	127 2	7 2	18 5	...
From 1st August 1775 to 31st July 1776	2869 0	626 0	511 0	310 2	1570 5	302 6	23 2	...	...
From 1st August 1776 to 31st July 1777	2771 5	693 0	777 5	667 5	2100 5	579 2	15 0	...	...
From 1st August 1777 to 31st July 1778	1167 1	1571 0	1229 3	861 2	3213 4	1011 2	20 5	...	...
From 1st August 1778 to 31st July 1779	8942 3	2016 2	663 1	821 7	2317 2	677 1	16 1	54 3	13 1
From 1st August 1779 to 31st July 1780	1579 5	626 2	570 3	161 1	1300 1	172 3	...	156 7	...
Total	24,993 3	8216 3	1045 0	6105 6	10,015 3	3526 7	82 2	279 7	13 1

Chapter II.
Trade.Grain
Committee,
1780.

Year.	Chaulh	Naghl.	Govah	Janu.	Val.	Turn.	Vatana.	Math.	Durley
	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.
From 1st August 1773 to 31st July 1774	33 2	111 0	2 0	39 0	90 2	290 4	23 2	318 0	1 0
From 1st August 1774 to 31st July 1775	03 0	320 0	...	0 5	23 0	60 0	24 5	231 0	2 1
From 1st August 1775 to 31st July 1776	37 0	115 0	...	115 2	70 0	303 5	30 2	21 0	5 2
From 1st August 1776 to 31st July 1777	26 0	160 0	...	77 2	72 5	160 0	31 0	65 5	7 1
From 1st August 1777 to 31st July 1778	59 5	19 0	...	12 0	...	219 1	73 5	115 1	0 1
From 1st August 1778 to 31st July 1779	23 0	250 3	...	62 6	120 2	526 7	182 1	233 4	6 1
From 1st August 1779 to 31st July 1780	27 4	615 4	...	65 0	123 5	271 1	210 4	186 1	0 3
Total	275 1	2358 7	2 0	131 7	199 0	1673 2	679 3	1113 3	25 6

Belly, Rice, and Sundry Grains imported at Mahim Custom House, 1773-1780.

Year.	Rice.	Belly.	Nacham	Gram.	Wheat	Uddid
	Kh. p.	Mudis p.	M. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.
From 1st August 1773 to 31st July 1774	135 4	2,53 18	6 16	10 0	23 2	31 5
From 1st August 1774 to 31st July 1775	361 7	1631 8	...	69 4	17 1	38 4
From 1st August 1775 to 31st July 1776	331 0	2518 3	2 0	25 4	2 1	39 4
From 1st August 1776 to 31st July 1777	193 2	1019 6	2 22	19 4	33 1	25 0
From 1st August 1777 to 31st July 1778	172 1	1700 10	1 4	29 1	17 1	15 0
From 1st August 1778 to 31st July 1779	487 0	2105 1	12 1	47 1	61 4	11 3
From 1st August 1779 to 31st July 1780	601 2	1065 15	56 10	56 0	55 4	51 6
Total	2603 0	14,523 11	61 0	251 4	210 7	216 6

Year.	Dal	Turn.	Vatana.	Val.	Mug.	Bajra.
	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.	Kh. p.
From 1st August 1773 to 31st July 1774	7 0	31 0	...	3 0	4 0	1 0
From 1st August 1774 to 31st July 1775	13 1	1 4	1 4	1 0	7 4	10 0
From 1st August 1775 to 31st July 1776	6 0	8 0	2 0	1 0	0 0	...
From 1st August 1776 to 31st July 1777	12 0	0 2	...	...	3 1	16 4
From 1st August 1777 to 31st July 1778	5 0	3 0	...	2 0	7 0	...
From 1st August 1778 to 31st July 1779	6 6	4 1	3 4	1 0	9 1	5 0
From 1st August 1779 to 31st July 1780	15 7	21 6	8 7	8 1	2 6	0 6
Total	65 1	70 0	16 7	16 1	12 7	13 0

Chapter II

Trade

Scarcity of
Grain,
1781

Four years later (1781) another scarcity arose. A Consultation, the 8th January 1781, records. As the present scarcity of provisions of every sort makes it absolutely necessary that some steps should be taken to induce people to import them from the Marátha shore and Sálsette, it is resolved to direct the Bombay and Máhim Custom Masters to be particularly careful that, except the established ones allowed the custom master on grain, no fees on any pretence whatever be collected on any species of provisions and that a notification be issued advising the public of the above resolution.¹

Sálsette Fees,
1781

Three months later a Consultation, the 2nd March 1781, records. The President represents to the Board that notwithstanding their Resolution of the 8th January for taking off the fees collected on provisions, great impediments arise to their importation from fees levied on the island of Sálsette. He therefore proposes that the regulations then formed be strictly attended to in every part of Sálsette, Karanjá, and Fort Victoria, and carefully published throughout the said islands and the latter district. The Board entirely acquiesce with the President and direct that orders be sent to the Company's agents at those places to give every aid and encouragement in their power to the exportation of provisions to this island.²

Grain Regulations,
1791

In 1791 a regulation was passed permitting only one-half of the rice imported to be again exported.³

Bengal Rice,
1799

The next year of scarcity was 1799. In a letter to the Private Secretary to Government, the Custom Master Mr. P. S. Maister writes 1st November 1799. I find, upon a comparison with former years, that the price of grain now in the island is 25 to 30 per cent higher than is usual at this season of the year. I do not from this apprehend that there is danger of a scarcity prevailing. On the contrary, from communication with some of the most intelligent natives, I am led to believe that the expected supplies from the northward, of wheat *bajra* and gram, will reduce those grains nearly to the usual medium price in the market and consequently that the interposition of Government in procuring any extraordinary supplies of those articles is not necessary. In respect to the article of rice the supply for the island is more precarious and the price liable to much variation, as the grain sellers do not keep any stock in warehouse, the consumption for the island being principally furnished from the adjacent Marátha country. By all accounts the crops of rice in the Konkan are likely to be productive. But if the armies continue in the neighbourhood of Poona, a great part of the rice that would be sent to this market will be sent above the Gháts. A supply therefore of 40,000 bags of Bengal rice for this market would prove the means of keeping down the price of that article. From the failure of the periodical rains here in July and August last, it is said that the merchants of this place have commissioned a considerable quantity of Bengal rice to be sent them. Supposing 50,000 or 60,000 bags to be imported on private account, this will furnish a supply of 25,000 or 30,000 bags for the market, allowing as is the rule

¹ Pub. Diary 83 of 1784, 11.

² Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1769-1783, 179. Pub. Diary 83 of 1784, 113.

³ Pub. Diary 111 of 1799, 2837.

only half the quantity landed to be exported. Another source of supply has lately been opened by the importation of rice from Mangalore. But it is hazardous to conjecture what quantity may be expected from that quarter as it is only the high price in this market which has occasioned the late importation.¹

On the same subject the market clerk Mr. George Simson writes to the Private Secretary to Government, 1st November 1799: 'The present price of grain in the Bombay market is 25 to 30 per cent higher than usual at this season of the year. The price of grain was considerably enhanced in August and September in consequence of the alarming drought experienced at that time and the importation has not yet been sufficiently abundant to lower the price to its former standard. I am informed by the most intelligent natives here that the crops in Gujurat and Sind promise to this place (Bombay) a very ample supply independent of a very considerable quantity of Bengal rice expected from Calcutta on private account in the months of November and December. I am of opinion therefore that the interposition of Government is not necessary in procuring a supply of grain for this market, but that the regulation established in 1791 of permitting only one-half of the rice imported to be again exported, should for the present season be strictly adhered to.'²

In consequence of this letter the Bombay Government write to the Government of India, 1st November 1799: Since applying under the 11th of September for a supply of rice from Bengal to guard against the consequences which were apprehended from the very alarming drought experienced at that period, we have the pleasure to add that an unexpected and very plentiful fall of rain on this side of India has removed in a great degree the fears which were then very generally entertained of an approaching famine, and that in consequence the crops promise Bombay an adequate supply of grain for the present season.³

During the early years of British rule, letter from Sir J. Gayer and Council at Bombay to Right Worshipful Samuel Annesley, President, and Council at Surat, dated 17th April 1696, a small quantity of fine wheat seems to have been all that Bombay required.⁴

For forty-five years no further difficulties are recorded. Under date the 12th May 1743 the Diary of the Bombay Comt of Oyer and Terminer has the following entry: The bakers attend the Court complaining that the present price of wheat will not afford them making bread of the weight and price formerly settled. After hearing what they had to offer, as also after consulting the merchants with respect to the price of wheat, it is ordered that a loaf of the first sort of bread weighing 7 ozs. and of the second sort weighing 8 ozs. shall be sold at 3½ pice each loaf. In case of any deficiency in weight, the bakers to

Chapter II.
Trade.
Bengal Rice,
1799.

Wheat,
1696.

Wheaten
Bread,
1743.

¹ Pub. Diary 144 of 1799, 2827-2828. ² Pub. Diary 144 of 1799, 2826-2827.

³ On 8th October 1799 the Government of India sent 315,000 bags of rice and intimated that they would send 20,000 or 30,000 more in reference to Bombay Government request of 11th September 1799. Pub. Diary 144 of 1799, 2825-2826.

⁴ Pub. Diary 144 of 1799, 2829. ⁵ Sec. Oct. L. B. 5 of 1691-1696, 67.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Justices to
settle the
Price of Bread,
1717

Wheat,
1713.

be subject to a penalty of Rs. 2 for every¹ ounce of bread found short in weight.¹

Three months later the same Court records. As there is frequent complaint from the bakers of the size and weight of bread, two of the Justices are empowered to settle the weight and price monthly.²

On the 28th October 1743, the Bombay Court of Oyer and Terminer write. The bakers frequently complaining of the price of wheat which obliges them to increase that of bread, the Court were of opinion it would be best to get some person to agree for wheat at a fixed price for a certain time. The several merchants being ordered to attend they were severally asked at what price they would engage to supply the bakers. Gangadās Rupjī's proposal was found the lowest, namely Rs. 21 per *khandi* for the term of five months conditioned for a penalty of Rs. 1000 on any default. The bakers to be obliged to take wheat from him only and if they had any complaint or objection to make of the wheat by him tendered, they should do it before it is carried away or it will not be admitted afterwards. Thus the Court confirmed and ordered that a proportionable advance be made on bread as from the rate of 20 to 24 rupees a *khandi* for wheat; the weight to be as formerly.³

1747

Four years later pressure again set in. A Government Consultation, the 27th February 1747, records. Wheat being Rs. 5 per *khandi* dearer than when we contracted for biscuit for our marine at the rate of Rs. 2½ per *man*, it is agreed that Rs. 3 per *man* be allowed the contractors till the price of the grain falls.⁴

Two months later, 14th April 1747, Government repeat. Wheat being grown extravagantly dear and still rising it is agreed that Rs. 1 per *man* be allowed the contractors for biscuit for the service of the marine till the price becomes more reasonable.⁵

Three months later, the 30th July 1747, Government repeat: The price of wheat being greater now than all this season and there being no probability of its fall for some time it is agreed that until wheat can be procured at a more reasonable rate, the contractor who supplies our cruizers with biscuit be allowed Rs. 5½ the *man*.⁶

On the 20th October 1747 they record. The people on board our cruizers during the great scarcity and dearthness of grain this last season were allowed only half the usual allowances of bread the other half being made up to them in *dāl* and rice. As the price of biscuit is now reduced to Rs. 4½ the *man* and is daily falling, the provisional marine paymaster is directed to give the seamen their full allowance of bread from the 1st of next month as that will be more satisfactory to them.⁷

1748

Next year the scarcity of grain was over. On the 26th January 1748 Government record: The price of wheat being lately somewhat fallen it is agreed that the price of biscuit for the Honorable Com-

¹ Bombay Court of Oyer and Terminer Diary 119 of 1713-1715, 8.

² Bombay Court of Oyer and Terminer Diary, 26th Aug. 1743, Vol. 119 of 1741-1745.

³ Bombay Court of Oyer and Terminer Diary 119 of 1741-1745, 27-28.

⁴ Pub. Diary 20 of 1747, 67.

⁵ Pub. Diary No. 20 of 1747, 112.

⁶ Pub. Diary 20 of 1747, 275.

⁷ Pub. Diary 20 of 1747, 377-378.

pany's vessels be lowered from Rs. 4½ to Rs 3 the *man* which is conformable to the price of wheat.¹

Four months later another change was required. On the 31st May 1748 Government resolve: Wheat being risen to Rs. 48-1-6 the *khandi* it is agreed that the price of biscuit be raised from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4½ the *man*. Still the price is to be lowered as grain will admit, that the whole allowance of biscuit be continued to the Europeans in the marine.²

Six years brought a fresh scarcity. A Government Consultation, the 28th May 1751, records: Read a petition from the barracks master, setting forth that the present (1751) dearth of wheat, it being at Rs 10 the *khandi*, has occasioned a loss to him by supplying the military during the last fifteen days in April of Rs. 139-2-98½, which he hopes the Board will take into consideration. The Board agree to pay the sum mentioned.³

Twenty-eight years later at a Consultation, the 20th February 1782, read a letter from the attorney to the agent for victualling His Majesty's squadron at Madras. As the quantity of wheat (8000 or 10,000 bags) he desires to export to Madras for His Majesty's squadron there is so very large and as the exportation may greatly distress this settlement, it is ordered that the Custom Master lay before us an account of the annual importation of wheat for five years past that we may judge what proportion the quantity required bears to the consumption of this place.⁴

A week later (27th February 1782) Government received the following abstract:

Bombay Wheat Trade, 1776-1781.

Year.	Imports	Exports
<i>1st August to 31st July.</i>	<i>Khands.</i>	<i>Khands.</i>
1776-77 . . .	2711	1153
1777-78 . . .	1167	870
1778-79 . . .	8032	1859
1779-80 . . .	1879	390
1780-81 . . .	6392	2814

At a Consultation of the same date they record: As it appears from the above abstract that there is now on the island a quantity nearly equal to one year's consumption, as the season when the chief imports are made is now just approaching, and as the supply required must be of great importance to the squadron, it is agreed to send directions to the Chief and Council at Jambusar to give permission to Mr. Callander to purchase the quantity required for the Madras squadron unless they should find the produce of the crops will not admit of such an export without injury to the public and enhancing the price. They should also direct Mr. Callander to make the purchase with all possible caution to prevent alarm.⁵

¹ Pub. Diary 21 of 1748, 31. ² Pub. Diary 21 of 1748, 182.

³ Pub. Diary 27 of 1751, 158. ⁴ Pub. Diary 79 of 1782, 66.

⁵ Pub. Diary 79 of 1782, 81-82.

Chapter II.

Trade

Gram,
1677

To the supply of Gram the following references have been traced. On the 24th August 1677 Bombay wrote to Surat. We have not a pound of gram for the horses which puts them very much out of case. Therefore please to send us in one of the *shuburs* 50 *khandis*. Our want proceeds from the king's (the Moghal's) strict prohibition that no corn should be carried out of his country.¹

1686

Nine years later, 2nd December 1686, Mr J Wyborne Deputy Governor and Council at Bombay, to His Excellency and Council at Surat, repeats the same complaint. We are in great want of gram for the horses which makes us desire a supply of about 100 bags may be sent by next convoy. This will serve us some time.²

1728.

Forty years later (1728) a difficulty rose in regard to gram. A Consultation, the 31st May 1728, records. The Moody, or general Pains agent of Government, also represents his case in supplying gram for the Honourable Company's cattle. Thus he has hitherto charged no higher than at the rate of Rs. 13 the *khandi* piece money according to the contract made with the Honourable President for supplying it in former years. But, through the great scarcity of last season, the price rising so considerably that the last he purchased was at Rs. 21 the *khandi* rupee money, he lays before the Board the rates he purchased for since April 1727 to the ultimo of last April, whereby does accrue to him by the difference he has paid for it and what charged to the Honourable Company a real loss of Rs. 855-2-67, besides what he suffers in redhivering and what is destroyed by vermin. He therefore humbly prays our consideration to make him such allowance as we shall deem just and reasonable. The President then informs the Board that in 1722 when the price of grain was settled with the Moody, it was for no longer than one year and then to be renewed yearly as the price should rise or fall. That after 1723 the price continued rising, though not very considerably, until the last season during which time the Moody has several times sought to be relieved in this article of gram. To this he bade the Moody have patience, expecting the same might have again so considerable a fall that there might be no occasion to make an alteration in the price it has from that time been charged at. The result proving otherwise, and the price of all grain in general likely for some time to come to continue high, he thinks the Moody ought to have a reasonable consideration. The rest of the Board being of the same opinion it is agreed that the sum of Rs. 800 be allowed the Moody for what he suffered in the supply of that article to the ultimo last April, and that he be allowed Rs. 21 a *khandi* for what gram he supplies the service withal from that time until other gram is imported which is not expected until February or March next, when the price is to be anew settled with him according as it shall then govern.³

1737.

Nine years later, 4th May 1737, a Consultation records. The Surat Chief and factors have supplied us with what sepoy's and hve cattle they could get, but our orders arrived too late for their sending grain. They will provide a quantity in readiness at Gandevi to be sent us by the first conveyance after the rains.⁴

¹ See Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 11.² Pub. Diary 3 of 1727-28, 119-120³ See Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 36.⁴ Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 114

Chapter II.

Trade.

Gram.

The 20th February 1750, a Consultation records: Being in want of gram, it is agreed that the Chief and factors at Surat be directed to purchase 200 *khandis* at Jambusar as soon as possible if the same is to be had so as to turn out with charges about Rs. 18 the *khandi*.¹

A Consultation, the 8th November 1768, records: The powder-house committee represent that they have had an offer of being supplied with gram at Rs. 11 the *khandi* for one year or at the rate of Rs. 13 for three years. The first is accepted and the contract ordered to be concluded.²

1768.

To Ghee or Clarified Butter only one reference has been traced. On the 12th May 1696 Bombay writes to Surat: If any opportunity should present before the rains, we would have you send us half a dozen or half a score drawers or leather cases of *ghee* it being very scarce on the island.³

Ghee,
1696.

To Oil the following in a Government Consultation, the 28th February 1711, is the only reference: Oil expended in the several outposts and garrisons amounting to Rs. 159½, arises from an established usual quantity allotted monthly to each place. Less than this cannot suffice. The amount admits of no alteration.⁴

Oil,
1711.

To Wood the following is the only reference. A Consultation, the 5th May 1739, records: Being in great apprehensions of wanting wood for the use of this island, it is resolved that a competent number of boats be sent to Anjanvel to procure what can be got there; and that if necessary a galley be appointed to convoy the boats.⁵

Wood,
1739.

A letter from Surat, the 8th February 1676, seems to show that at the time of transfer Bombay was, or was believed to be, well supplied with Fruit. The Surat Council write: The governor of Surat, Sayed Mahmud, and several eminent persons have desired us to send for some good watermelons, and of the best black and white grapes, especially black grapes of the long sort, together with whatsoever excellent fruit is procurable in Bombay, Bándia, and places adjacent which we find are very acceptable here. Fail not therefore to send us some good quantities of said melons and grapes by every boat that comes up. When you have no boats bound this way hire a boat on purpose and send the melons and grapes up to us; and pass the charge to the Company's account in regard nothing can better please those great men than such sort of fruit.⁶

Fruits,
1676.

In 1769 measures were adopted for cheapening and improving the supply of fruit. The 19th August 1769 Mr. Alexander Callander Clerk of the Peace, wrote to the President and Council: The Grand Jury at the last Sessions of Peace held for this town and island of Bombay, having represented to the Court of Sessions then sitting that they apprehended many good consequences for the gain of the island and benefit of the inhabitants in general by a republication of all the sundry publications and regulations issued by your Honours' predecessors in the

Market
Regulations,
1769.

¹ Pub. Diary 23 of 1750, 71.

² Pub. Diary 51 of 1768, 598.

³ Sec. Out. L. B. 5 of 1691-1696, 91.

⁴ Pub. Diary 14 of 1740-41, 101.

⁵ Pub. Diary 12 of 1739, 167-168.

⁶ Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 73. Forrest's Home Series, I. 84.

Chapter II.

Trade

Market
Regulations,
1769.

months of September 1757 and November 1759, I am directed by the Court to request that your Honours will, if you approve thereof, cause the same to be republished as aforesaid, together with the rates of labour and hamalage settled by a committee of your Board under the 13th February 1768, adding that no servant should leave his master without a month's warning first given, and in like manner every master shall give his servant either a month's warning or a month's wages. As it appeared to the said Court that many articles of provision, particularly fruit and greens, are greatly exhausted by the Pânis going over to the other side and there engrossing the same, they have especially to request that a publication may be issued to prevent this abuse, and that all customs or fees collected on the importation of any provisions fruit or greens may be entirely abolished. They have also further to request that two large sheds may be built within the town walls for the public market to be held in, one for meat and fowls and another for fruit and greens, in such convenient parts of the town as your Honours may judge most proper for the purpose. They have to request that your Honours will please to order the public roads of the island in general and the streets of the town to be properly repaired at the Honourable Company's expense.¹

On these different suggestions, at a Consultation the 26th August 1769, the Board remark: Read the above letter from the Clerk of the Peace, recommending, by order of the Court of Sessions, sundry points to our consideration, on which the following resolutions are come to, the necessary orders to be issued in consequence. The several publications issued in September 1757 and November 1759, with the rates of labour and hamalage settled in February 1768 are ordered to be republished. Should tradesmen or others refuse to adhere thereto complaint is to be made to the Clerk of the market as also of all other abuses relative to the market when the Clerk, either by himself, or by application from him to any of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace, will afford redress to the party aggrieved. A publication likewise to be issued against the Pânis going to the other side and engrossing provisions particularly fruit and greens, and all fees on the two last mentioned articles to be abolished. But as the custom master and clerk of the market lose a considerable advantage thereby, it is agreed in lieu thereof to permit of a fee of two annas per bale on the import of cotton three-fifths to be given to the Bombay Custom Master, one-fifth to the Mahum Custom Master, and one-fifth to the Clerk of the market. Two large sheds to be built within the town walls for the public markets to be held in, one for meat and fowls, the other for fruit and greens and a constable to attend the sheds with an allowance of a quarter of a rupee a day. No servant to leave his master without a month's warning, and no master to discharge his servant without a month's warning or a month's wages. The public roads are now repairing and the streets are under the care of the scavenger who must repair them, the charge being defrayed by the land paymaster.²

Next year, 7th November 1770, a Consultation records. Read a letter from the Clerk of the Peace by order of His Majesty's Justices,

Market for
Greens,
1770

¹ Pub. Diary 51 of 1769, 617-618.

² Pub. Diary 51 of 1769, 637-638.

recommending that a market may be established without the gates for greens upon the same footing as that within, which is agreed to.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 18th February 1772: Read a letter from the Bench of His Majesty's Justices recommending that the present stated prices on fruit and greens be taken off which they believe will be the means of the market being better supplied. It is therefore agreed to try the same for three months to commence the 1st of next month, of which due notice must be given. At the same time the dealers must be required to sell the fruit and greens at the public market as heretofore.²

In 1803 the following correspondence took place regarding the rebuilding of the Fort greens and mutton markets destroyed in the great fire: Letter from Mr. Simon Halliday Clerk of the market, 10th May 1803, to Mr. John Hector Cherry President, and Members of the Town Committee. The near approach of the rains and the probability of no final arrangements being adopted for rebuilding the town before that period, induce me to apply to your committee for permission to build, subject when required to be removed, a temporary shed covered with tiles on the ground occupied by the late green market so as to shelter from the inclemency of the weather that useful and necessary class of people the fruit and vegetable dealers³

Letter from Mr. James Hallett Secretary to the Town Committee, 11th May 1803, to Mr. James Augustus Grant Secretary to Government: I am directed by the Town Committee to request you will submit to the Honourable the Governor in Council the accompanying copy of an application from the Clerk of the market with their opinion, that the public convenience will be much assisted by a compliance therewith the more particularly as Mr Halliday pledges himself that the building shall be removed at any time when required.⁴

Bombay Government Diary 13th May 1803: The above recommendation was yesterday acquiesced in on the ground of the proposed market being a public work and less liable to abuse under the charge of the Clerk of the market than if in private hands. At the same time the committee was informed that Mr. Halliday was to be responsible that not a single piece of matting nor a single post of timber shall on any pretext be used on this structure but that the supporters be constructed of brick or stone⁵

In reply, the 17th May 1803, Mr. Simon Halliday Clerk of the market, addressed John Hector Cherry President and Members of the Town Committee: I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Secretary's letter of yesterday's date enclosing copy of a letter from the Secretary to Government of the 12th instant being in reply to my application of the 10th to your committee for permission to erect a temporary shed during the rains for the fruit and green sellers on the site of the late market place. I am sorry to observe that under the existing circumstances I do not think I can avail myself of the permission

Chapter II.

Trade.

Fruit and
Greens,
1772.

New Mutton
and Vegetable
Markets,
1803.

¹ Pub. Diary 56 of 1770, 600.

² Pub. Diary 60 of 1772, 167.

Pub. Diary 174 of 1803, 1938-39.

⁴ Pub. Diary 174 of 1803, 1937-38.

⁵ Pub. Diary 174 of 1803, 1939.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Markets,
1803.

granted by the Honourable the Governor in Council to erect the temporary shed alluded to without not only incurring more expense than it would be prudent for me to be at; but also that the near approach of the rains will preclude me from procuring a sufficient number of workmen necessary to complete the undertaking in time. I must therefore lay it aside and in lieu thereof beg leave to suggest to the committee that the evil may still, I think, be remedied by removing the market to that spot of ground in the Pāsi bazar known by the name of the Governor's old horse stable. There are at present temporary buildings sufficient with a small expense to answer the purpose wanted. I humbly submit that this spot cannot be turned to a more useful or better account than that of a permanent public market which with a little arrangement can in my opinion be made to answer the purposes both of a mutton and of a vegetable market. At present the ground is occupied only by a few mutton butchers, a cooper, and a chair-maker who says he is under the barrack master. There are two openings into this place, one from the Pāsi bazar street and the other from Punch House lane, by which the meat and vegetable markets may be kept perfectly distinct, and there is a small house at the gateway in the Pāsi bazar which would answer remarkably well for the constable who superintends the market to reside in. There is also a well within the premises which would afford water sufficient to keep the place sweet and clean. Should this suggestion meet with the approbation of the committee and ultimately with that of the Honourable the Governor in Council, many persons would be glad to erect the market upon any fixed plan without being an expense to Government.¹

This proposal was considered by Government and the following entry made the 20th May 1803. The suggestion submitted in the above letter with respect to converting the spot of ground known in the bazar by the name of the Governor's old horse stable into a site for a mutton and vegetable market was on the 19th approved and the committee authorized to direct the clerk of the market to proceed accordingly."

The following papers relate to the supply of Meat for Bombay:

Meat Supply,
1720

Bombay Government Consultation 8th July 1720. The President acquainted the Board that this meeting is occasioned by several complaints that have been made to him both from the English and Black inhabitants, the one for want of provisions the other that their fowls ducks and other animals are taken away by force. He proposes as the most likely method to remedy these complaints that a proclamation be issued positively forbidding all persons whatsoever to take anything by force, and ordering the vereadores to supply the market (for the use of English inhabitants) as follows, every Saturday with two cows, every Monday and Thursday with goats, and every Wednesday and Friday with fish. and likewise directing all persons that want fowls or ducks to send to the vereadores for them, who shall supply them, if procurable, at the following rates: For a grown fowl 15 *dugānis* (2½ *as.*), for a grown duck 18 *dugānis* (3 *as.*), and so in proportion for small ones.

¹ Pub Diary 174 of 1803, 2011-17.

² Pub Diary 174 of 1803, 2046-17. For fish supply and markets see below Fisheries.

This is approved and the Secretary is ordered to get ready a proclamation to that purpose.¹ Next day (7th July 1720) the Secretary drew out and published a proclamation according to the above order of Council.²

Bombay Government Consultation 18th May 1733: Mr. Henry Kellet, marine paymaster, represents that whereas he was allowed to charge formerly 5 pice a lb. for all beef supplied the Honourable Company's vessels, that the alteration that has been lately made from 72 pice to 80 for a rupee is 11 per cent to his prejudice; and cattle being now dearer and much more deficient to be had than ever, he desires the liberty of this Board to charge for the future 5½ pice for each pound of beef. This is agreed to.³

A Consultation of the 14th September 1733 shows that in this year the difficulty of proper supplies extended to almost all kinds of animal food: It being represented by the land and marine paymasters that through the extraordinary dearth and scarcity of fowls mutton and kid, proper for the soldiers and sailors that are sick in the hospital when they are upon recovery, it is impossible for the undertaker who supplies the hospital to afford such nourishment or diet for the price that has been usually paid him, namely 12 pice a day; and the want of such daily supplies occasions clamour and complaint from the sick people; and as we are truly sensible of the reasonableness of this information and that without such diet and proper nourishment the sick recover very slowly if at all, it is agreed therefore that the land and marine paymasters allow the undertaker that provides the hospital with provisions three pice extraordinary per day for each person, and that they charge the same in their monthly accounts to charges extraordinary, the 12 pice formerly paid being stopped out of the pay of the sick.⁴

In 1737 a further advance in the price of beef gave rise to the following correspondence: Letter from Captain Thomas Stonham, Purser Marine, Bombay 24th June 1737. Provisions and other necessaries being at present much dearer than usual, I have made an estimate of their prices which are as follows:

1. Billet wood bought since March last, exclusive of servants wastage and other charges cost Rs. 2 per mille.

2. A hog weighing about 60 lbs. cost Rs. 3½; feeding it to prevent it giving the flux being otherwise full of oil, Rs 1½; cooly hire, 1 as 50 (2 as.); total Rs. 5-0-50. Pork amounts to 7 pice per lb. exclusive of servants and other charges.

3. A bullock weighing about 130 lbs. cost Rs. 9, straw 6 bundles per day or 180 bundles a month at Rs. 16 the thousand, amounts to Rs. 2-3-50; total Rs. 11-3-50. Beef amounts to pice 7½ the pound exclusive of servants and other charges.

If the beef and pork are salted it costs half a pice the pound more. During the rains (June July August and September) the cattle ought to be fed with a little grain, besides straw, to keep them in any tolerable

Chapter II.

Trade.

Beef,
1733.

Fowls and
Mutton,
1733.

Beef and Pork,
1737.

¹ Pub. Diary 1 of 1720, 107. Forrest's Home Series, II. 23-24.

² Pub. Diary 1 of 1720, 108.

³ Pub. Diary 5 of 1732-33, 127.

⁴ Pub. Diary 5 of 1732-33, 202, 203.

Chapter II

Traffic

Port of Bombay,
1757

meat, which cannot be sold for less than 10 paise per pound. The fact that the Government is not at present in a position to supply beef is a matter of which I hope you will please to be made aware. It is a matter of which I am sure you will be a company, and I am sure that if you should please to supply beef, it will be a very profitable one, and I am sure that the Government will be very much obliged to you for it.

Bombay Government Consultation, 21st June 1757. The Board have before them a letter from Captain Thomas Stoneham, Purser of the *Marine*, dated 17th June 1757, in which he states that through the great scarcity of beef in the city, he is unable to supply the *Marine* with beef, and that he is therefore obliged to purchase it from the *Marine* at a price of 50 paise per pound, and that he is therefore obliged to pay the *Marine* 50 paise per pound for the beef. The Board are of opinion that the price of the beef should be reduced to 25 paise per pound, and that the *Marine* should be allowed to supply the beef at this price.

Bombay Government Consultation, 29th July 1757. Having received an inquiry made concerning the price of beef in the city, the Board are of opinion that the Purser *Marine* should be allowed to supply the beef at a price of 25 paise per pound, and that the *Marine* should be allowed to supply the beef at this price. The Board are of opinion that the price of the beef should be reduced to 25 paise per pound, and that the *Marine* should be allowed to supply the beef at this price.

Beef,
1760

Three years later (1760) the same problem was presented to the Board from Mr. Thomas Stoneham, 15th August 1760. In response to your commands of the 25th instant for proposals to be made for the supply of beef, the Board are of opinion that the price of the beef should be reduced to 25 paise per pound, and that the *Marine* should be allowed to supply the beef at this price.

1. Beef at 7½ paise per pound
2. Billet wood at Rs. 2½ per mille
3. Salt-fish at Rs. 5 per corgo.
4. Tallow at Rs. 1 per *man*.
5. Straw at Rs. 3½ per 100 bundle.

I accordingly hope your Honours are of opinion that the above prices and former conditions are as low and reasonable as they possibly can be for the year ensuing, considering the high cost of the materials and the additional charges often imposed by our neighbours.

Bombay Government Consultation of 15th August 1760. The Board are of opinion that the price of the beef (which is for the most considerable article) is rather too high and might probably from other hands be had somewhat under the purser *Marine*'s rate. But as the Honorable Company seem to give this person the preference in supplying the *Marine*, we apprehend it will be agreeable to them that we fix with him upon the best condition he will afford. In order to settle the same the purser *Marine* is called in and acquainted by the President that considering the advantages that he reaps in his salary and otherwise, it was expected he would have lowered his rates. To this he answers and objects the growing impositions of the *Marathis* on all exports of cattle, and other expenses in salting, so that with justice to himself he cannot possibly afford lowering the price, and

¹ Pub. Diary 10 of 1756-57, 115-116

² Pub. Diary 10 of 1756-57, 157-158

³ Pub. Diary 10 of 1756-57, 211.

⁴ Pub. Diary 13 of 1759-60, 110

therefore positively refuses to renew his contract at less. The other articles the Board is satisfied are pretty moderate and reasonable; and on the whole agreed to accept and renew the contract for one year on the terms specified in the said letter.¹

The same rates and arrangements were continued in 1741.²

The records of the four years ending 1752 contains the following references to Gujarát beef: Bombay Government Diary, 4th January 1748. Although the beef for the emizers provided at Cambay will turn out dearer than last season, it will be much cheaper than if provided at Surat.³

Bombay Government Diary, 28th March 1748: There came to hand a letter from the Chief at Surat to the President purposely to advise that since close of the general letter 60 casks of salt beef had been received from Cambay which he now sends hither on the grabs.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 17th January 1752: Being in want of beef for our marine, and Cambay being the only place at present that it can be provided at, it is agreed that a letter be sent to Mr. Shaw directing him to salt up as much as can be procured for which purpose we shall now send up saltpetre and a salter and cooper and direct the committee at the Bar to forward as many casks as can be spared from the vessels.⁵

Bombay Government Consultation, 4th March 1752: In regard to our orders concerning salting up beef, the season was so far advanced that the Chief of Cambay had with great difficulty provided and sent to the gentlemen at Surat Bar 24 live cows though they desired 250, but that he expected to get between 20 and 30 more in a short time; that the famine which had raged there for two or three years had occasioned a great scarcity of cattle but that he would procure as many as possible.⁶

The 1753 records, Court of Directors' letter of 12th May 1758 paragraph 31, contain the following reference to imports from Europe: We send beef and pork agreeable to your indent. If any part proves bad, you must describe the condition and give us the marks and numbers of the casks, as you did by that consigned to you in the *Hector*, that, if there shall appear a reason for it, we may know where to apply for satisfaction.⁷

A Consultation of 29th September 1767 shows that the settlement of Fort-Victoria in Ratnágiri to some extent fulfilled the object for which it had been established: The marine paymaster now lays before the Board an account by which it appears 112,925 pounds weight of salt meat will be required for the service of the ensuing season. As that salted last year at Fort Victoria turned out better than that provided at Cambay, it is directed that immediate orders be sent to the factors there to prepare for salting up the above quantity if so much can be procured. If not, they must immediately advise us that we may take measures for procuring it elsewhere.⁸

Chapter II.

Trade.

Beef,

1741.

1748.

1752.

Beef and Pork,
1758.Meat,
1767.¹ Pub. Diary 13 of 1739-40, 317.² Pub. Diary 21 of 1748, 10.³ Pub. Diary 25 of 1752, 26.⁴ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 5 of 1757-1761, 93.⁵ Pub. Diary 14 of 1740-41, 321, 315.⁶ Pub. Diary 21 of 1748, 118.⁷ Pub. Diary 25 of 1752, 85-86.⁸ Pub. Diary 49 of 1767, 531.

Chapter II

Trade.

Surat Prices,
1676.

Section III—Prices, 1676-1781.

The following extracts relate to prices chiefly of local supplies.

1 Scarlets and fine greens Rs. 10 the yard.	9 Alms Rs. 3½ the man
2 Broad cloth coarse Rs. 2½ the yard.	10 Hou Rs. 2½ do
3 Cloth 14 shes Rs. 2½ the yard.	11 Tin Rs. 11 do
4 Perpetuances Rs. 20 the piece	12 Redlead Rs. 2½ do
5 Quicksilver Rs. 45 the man.	13 Gaus Rs. 3 do
6 Vermilion Rs. 10 do	14 Anchor Rs. 4 do
7 Lead Rs. 2½ do	15 Cordage Rs. 9 the cwt
8 Copper Rs. 18 do.	16 Tin at Rs. 13 the barrel
	17 Pitch at Rs. 13 the barrel

Bombay Prices,
1741.

A Consultation of the 27th November 1741 records: In consequence of the order made last meeting that the Moodys should this day enter upon a contract for the several articles to be furnished the ensuing year, reckoning the same to commence the 1st instant, they now attend. Being called in, many arguments are used on their part against any reduction of the prices stipulated in their former agreement. On the other hand reference is made to the present course of the markets at this place as also to the last received price current from Surat. From all this the Board resolve with the consent of the said Moodys to fix the following rates for the under-specified articles during the term above mentioned²:

Articles	Rs	qrs.	p.s.	
1 Almonds ..	5	0	0	the Bombay man.
2 Baskets, small ..	0	0	11	each
3 Bengal rope ...	3	2	28	the Bombay man
4 Cotton ..	5	0	0	do
5 <i>Khukadi</i> ...	1	1	0	the Surat man.
6 Cotton yarn ...	8	0	0	the Bombay man
7 Cinnamon, the best sort ..	4	0	0	the pound.
8 Charcoal ..	0	1	0	the basket.
9 Cambay paper ..	7	2	0	the ream.
10 China root ...	7	0	0	the Bombay man.
11 Camphor, China refined ..	2	0	0	the pound.
12 <i>Kiuslis</i> ...	0	0	30	each.
13 Coconut oil ..	4	0	0	the Bombay man
14 <i>Daugri</i> cloth 21½ covits of ¾ ynd each, breadth 25 inches ..	2	3	0	the piece
15 <i>Daugri</i> small bags ..	0	0	30	the bag.
16 <i>Dol</i> ...	1	1	0	the Surat man
17 Dummer ...	2	3	0	the Bombay man.
18 Earthen pots ...	0	0	25	the pot
19 Fine <i>khukadi</i> ...	1	2	0	the Surat man.

¹ Surat to Court 22nd Sept 1676, Surat Fact. Out L B 2 of 1675-76, 202 Torro's Home Series, I 104.

² The appointment of the Moodys was in the following terms. The Honourable John Horne, President and Governor, doth by these presents constitute and appoint you, Miraji Jiji, Bhikaji Jiji, and Manekji Jiji jointly to be Moodys to the Honourable the United English East India Company at Bombay for providing and supplying the several out-offices and vessels belonging to the said place with all such necessaries as are usually furnished by a moody. Of these you are to keep a sufficient stock by you of what are good; and likewise you are hereby invested with the sole power of so doing for which this shall be your patent. Sealed with the seal of the aforesaid Honourable Company and given under my hand in Bombay Castle this . . . day of April 1738 See Out L. B. 8 of 1734-1741, 3.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Bombay Prices,
1741.

	Articles.	Rs	qrs	res.	
20	Ghi ...	6	1	0	the Bombay man.
21	Gum ...	14	0	0	the <i>lhundi</i> .
22	Green wax-cloth ...	0	3	0	the covit.
22	<i>Haitál</i> (yellow orpiment) ..	10	0	0	the Bombay man.
21	Hemp ...	2	2	0	do.
23	Honey ...	4	2	0	do.
26	Indigo ...	14	0	0	do.
27	<i>Jápi</i> , Gul or Raw Sugar ...	2	0	0	do.
28	Lacrice ...	3	3	0	do.
29	Milk ...	1	3	04	do.
30	Oil ...	3	1	0	do.
31	Onions ...	0	3	0	do.
32	Quicksilver ...	4	2	0	the pound
33	Rice ...	1	0	0	the Surat man
34	Red earth ...	1	1	0	the Bombay man
35	Red waxcloth ...	0	2	50	the covit of $\frac{1}{2}$ of a yard
36	Redlead ...	5	2	0	the Bombay man.
37	Sugar ...	3	2	0	do.
38	Soap ...	3	0	0	do.
39	Sannoos as per muster 16				
	covits of $\frac{1}{2}$ of a yard each,				
	1 yard broad ...	3	0	0	the piece
40	Sugarcandy ...	7	0	0	the man.
41	Thread ...	28	0	0	do.
42	Vamsh ...	20	0	0	do.
43	Vermilion ...	4	2	0	the pound.
44	Vendigris as per muster,				
	Surat ...	1	3	0	do.
	Vendigris as per muster,				
	Europe ...	1	0	0	do ¹
45	Wax ...	11	0	0	the Bombay man.
46	Whitelead ...	5	2	0	do.
47	Wood oil ...	7	3	0	do.
48	Wood ...	2	0	0	the thousand.
49	White wax-cloth ...	0	2	50	the covit ¹
50	Rosewater ...	2	0	0	the flask.

Comparing the prices with those of the former year (1740), and allowing the quantities to be expended the same as then, we have the pleasure to observe a saving will arise of Rs. 2238 2 qrs. 89 res. The article of bread was usually supplied by the Moody, and the last season charged at $2\frac{1}{2}$ the man, though now indeed he offers to engage at $2\frac{1}{2}$, at which rate Mrs Tranter widow of Mr. Tranter, also is willing to contract. And here it is remarked that her late husband, whose employ at home was biscuit-baking, though sent out by our Honourable Masters in quality of an ensign, yet he had been permitted to carry on his trade and which has since been continued by his widow, by which means she is possessed of all requisite conveniences for the business. The Board, in consideration of her family and the offer she makes being equally low with that of the Moody, agreed that she have the furnishing the bread, namely, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ the man by which as before remarked with respect to the other articles, a gain on this alone will accrue of Rs 2107 2 qrs. 5 res. which added to the above will make a net saving on the whole of Rs. 4346 and 94 res.²

¹ Covit (written also covit and covered) is an Indo-Portuguese form of the Portuguese *covado* a cubit or ell. The Surat lesser covit is 27 inches English and the greater covit is 36 inches. Hobson-Jobson, 207.

² Pub. Diary 14 of 1710-41, 474-476.

Chapter II.
Trade.Bombay Prices,
1747.

Regarding similar rates six years later a Consultation, the 8th May 1747, records: The Moody having delivered in proposals for supplying the Honorable Company with sundry articles for one year as usual, the same now are examined and being approved are as follows:

Articles	Rs.	qrs	rs.	
1 Almonds	4	1	50 the man.
2 Baskets small	0	0	11 each.
3 Bengal rope	Not given.		the man
4 Cotton	5	1	0 do.
5 Khichadi	1	3	0 do
6 Cotton yarn	8	1	0 do
7 Chuamun	4	0	0 the pound.
8 Charcoal	0	1	0 the basket
9 Cambay paper	0	2	0 the quire.
10 China root	7	0	0 the man
11 Camphor	1	2	50 the pound
12 Cocorunt oil	4	1	0 the man
13 Kundis	0	0	30 each
14 Damp cloth	2	3	0 the piece
15 Earthen pots	0	0	25 each.
16 Fine Khichadi	2	3	50 the man
17 Ghi	10	0	0 do
18 Green wax-cloth	0	3	0 the covit
19 Havil	10	0	0 the man.
20 Hemp	2	2	0 do
21 Quicksilver	3	0	0 the pound,
22 Indigo	0	2	40 do
23 Licorice	6	2	0 the man
24 Rice	1	2	0 do
25 Red earth	1	1	0 do
26 Red wax-cloth	0	2	50 the covit.
27 Rosewater	2	0	0 the flask
28 Sugar	3	2	0 the man
29 Soap	3	2	0 do
30 Stunoes	3	2	0 the piece.
31 Sugarcandy	6	3	0 the man
32 Thread	1	0	0 the pound
33 Varnish	21	0	0 the man
34 Vermilion	3	2	0 the pound
35 Europe verdigris	1	0	0 do
36 Wax	11	0	0 the man
37 Whitelend	Not given.		do
38 Wood oil	do.		do
39 White wax-cloth	0	2	50 the covit
40 Smet verdigris	2	0	0 the pound
41 Onions	0	2	0 the man
42 Milk	2	0	0 do
43 Ungelly oil	4	1	0 do
44 Honey	4	0	0 do.
45 Jagg, Gul or Raw Sugar	2	2	0 do

As it is expected that ghi will be cheaper at the opening of the season, it is agreed that the price be again settled about four months hence. It is therefore directed that the sum of Rs 5000 be advanced the Moody to be deducted out of his monthly accounts as usual.¹

Accordingly four months later, the 12th September 1747, the Board direct The price of ghi having risen greater since we contracted with the Moody, in Consultation the 8th of May, to supply the Honorable

¹ Pub. Diary 20 of 1747, 162-163.

Company at the rate of Rs. 10' the *man* for the term of four months, it is agreed that he be allowed Rs. 13 the *man* from that time until the price lowers.¹

Letter from His Majesty's Justices to the President, 27th August 1770. We are to acquaint you that the Pársis and others having offered to supply the island with provisions agreeable to the enclosed ~~terms~~ settled by your Honourable Board on the 20th September 1757,² ~~where~~ of opinion they should have free liberty to go to the adjacent countries to purchase them and that the prohibition forbidding it should be taken off. That it appears many people under pretence of dieting persons or dressing victuals for them do keep tippling houses both within and without the town, which is not only very prejudicial to the community in general by encouraging gaming and other vices and may also be productive of many robberies. We therefore request your Honour will order a publication to be issued by beat of drum strictly ordering all persons who keep dieting houses to give in their names monthly to a bench of His Majesty's Justices in order that their houses may be duly visited by a peace officer whenever judged necessary. This we are of opinion may prevent the abuses which for want of such a regulation are at present generally complained of.³

On receipt of the above letter, the 28th August 1770, the Bombay Council observe: Read the above letter from the Bench of His Majesty's Justices enclosing a set of regulations for fixing the prices of provisions which are approved and ordered to be carried into execution, and a publication to be issued accordingly; after which, should any one be detected in charging more, a justice of peace on a regular complaint being made will fine such offenders at his discretion. A publication must also be issued requiring all those who keep dieting houses to give their names monthly agreeable to what the Bench recommends.⁴

Court of Directors' letter 19th March 1778 paragraph 46: We read with great concern in the 16th para of your letter of 22nd December 1776, that almost every article of grain and provisions at Surat was 50 per cent and some articles 100 per cent above the Bombay prices. Although we fully approve of your recommendation to the Nabob of Surat to moderate the duties collected on the necessaries of life and to increase them on superfluities and articles of luxury, yet as the result of your enquiry has not convinced us that so great an excess in the prices of provisions at Surat could have been occasioned by the duties levied on articles specified in the report of the Chief and Council, and as we have no idea that prices so exorbitant could have been of long standing or that a considerable advance could have happened without adequate and evident causes, we therefore direct that you further investigate the subject. Particularly that you ascertain the time when the advance of prices was first perceived which may be done by procuring exact accounts of the current prices of provisions at Surat for a few years past. You are then to examine whether any of our servants traded largely in grain or were at all concerned in monopolizing

Chapter II.
Trade

Bombay Prices,
1770.

Surat and
Bombay Prices,
1776.

¹ Pub Diary 20 of 1747, 334. ² Not traced (1893). ³ Pub. Diary 56 of 1770, 43.

⁴ Pub Diary 56 of 1770, 460.

Chapter II.
Trade.

provisions of any kind at that period and thereby contributed towards the public calamity which must have been occasioned by a general advance in the prices at Surat. If, on such investigation it shall appear to you that this has been the case, it is our order that every person concerned in such practices be suspended from our service till our further pleasure concerning them be known. We must add that we hold you particularly responsible for a faithful elucidation of this subject and for the impartial and full execution of these our orders and instructions.¹

Surat Prices
Committee,
1779

Report from the Committee appointed to enquire into the causes of the excess in the prices of provisions at Surat, dated Surat 10th February 1779. At a committee present, Messrs. George Green Richard Price and John Griffith appointed by the Honourable the President and Council of Bombay in consequence of the 16th paragraph of the Honourable Company's commands, dated the 19th March 1778, to enquire into the causes that occasioned the great excess in the prices of grain and provisions at Surat above the Bombay prices in the year 1776, and to ascertain the time when the advance of prices was first perceived, also to examine whether any of the Company's servants traded largely in grain or were at all concerned in monopolizing provisions of any kind at that period.

Read the Honourable Company's paragraph above mentioned and the Board's instructions respecting the objects of our Commission. For the sake of precision and that they may be able to give as clear a state as possible of their enquiry, the committee have thought proper to divide it under the following heads

- 1 To enquire what articles of grain and provisions are in general dearer at Surat than at Bombay, and to assign reasons for the same
- 2 To enquire into the real causes that occasioned the excess in the prices of grain and provisions at Surat in the year 1776 above those of preceding years and to ascertain the time when the advance of price was first perceived.
- 3 To make a strict enquiry and impartial examination whether any of the Company's servants traded largely in grain or were at all concerned in monopolizing provisions of any kind at the above period

Pursuant to this mode the committee began with enquiring what articles of grain and provisions were in general dearer at Surat than at Bombay and they find that only rice and *ghl* are in general dearer in Surat than at Bombay, the former about 35 to 40 per cent and the latter about 15 to 20 per cent, for the following reasons. Very little rice is grown at Surat or to the northward, whereas at Bombay and the countries adjacent no other grain hardly is grown, being entirely rice countries. The grain peculiar to this country is *cushush* or *gauri* on which the common people entirely subsist. Though 100 per cent cheaper *cushush* is a much more nourishing food than rice, which chiefly accounts for this city being so very populous, as well as for the rates of service and labour being considerably lower at this place than at Bombay. Most part of the rice consumed here is imported from Bombay or the southward at a great expense, and, being eaten only by the richer sort of people, may more properly be termed a superfluity or

¹ Pub. Dep Court's Letters Vol. 10 of 1778-1782, 32-33.

luxury than a necessary of life. That *ghi* is always dearer here than at Bombay is principally owing to the Nabob's collecting a tax thereon of above one rupee the *man*. The consumption of *ghi* in this town, one year with another, is about one hundred thousand *mans*; consequently the Nabob receives annually at least one *lakh* of rupees by the tax or imposition on this article alone. As a former committee have particularly noticed the different duties levied by the Nabob or his officers on *gha* and provisions, it is needless to enumerate them again here. And though it may be rather foreign from the purpose of our Commission, yet it is too apposite not to remark that the Nabob imposes taxes besides customs on every species of merchandise as well as on grain and provisions. That the manufactures are thus arbitrarily taxed in every shape of their progress checks the spirit of industry and is oppressive to commerce. We hope we shall stand excused, being well aware how delicate the subject is, if actuated by our zeal for the honour and interest of our Employers and the prosperity of this once flourishing city, we further remark that the Nabob is surrounded by a set of bad ministers who have gained the entire ascendancy over him and are continually influencing him to oppress the inhabitants to serve their own interested purposes. And as the Nabob possesses great power and authority, the subject must necessarily feel all those evils and bad effects consequent on a divided government and can scarcely find relief or security even in the virtues and humanity of the Honorable Company's present respectable Chief. These matters we are humbly of opinion justly claim the serious attention of our superiors in whose power alone it is to remove these evils and thereby restore this city to its pristine opulence.

The committee next enquired into the real causes which occasioned the excess in the prices of grain and provisions at Surat in the year 1776 above those of former years, and when the advance of price was first perceived. They find it was entirely owing to the troubles all over the country in consequence of the Marátha war and the frequent predatory incursions of the Marátha horse in the environs of Surat; and that the advance of price was first perceived in the beginning of the year 1775 when the dealers in grain raised it, notwithstanding there was a plentiful crop, from their apprehensions of disturbances in the country as appears by the following extract from the Surat Diary under the 17th January 1775: 'The military and marine paymasters say they cannot get any person to contract for the *khichadi* for less than Rs. 27½ per *hhendi* which is dearer by Rs. 2½ than last season, and that though grain is at present cheaper, the dealers in it will not agree to a lower price, being apprehensive there may be troubles shortly in the country.'

Conformable to the method prescribed in the Honorable Company's paragraph we have procured as exact accounts as possible of the monthly market prices of grain and provisions for a series of years past, to which we have added a comparative statement of the medium prices at Bombay and Surat from the year 1773 to the year 1778, both inclusive.¹ They are given in the following statements²:

Chapter II.

Trade.

Surat Prices
Committee,
1779.

¹ Surat Diary 75 of 1779, 205-209.

² Surat Diary 75 of 1779, 203-211. Forrest & Home Series, II 235-237.

BOMBAY TOWN

Chapter II.
TradeSurat Prices,
1779.

Surat Monthly Market Prices, 1771 to 1778

Date	Rice common 20 mans	Wheat 21 mans	Cush cush or Fedra 20 mans	Dal 20 mans	Gram 20 mans	Black Gram 20 mans	B. Dal 20 mans	Gla 10 shears	Jingelly Oil 10 shears
1771.									
January	Rs q. 22 0	Rs q. 18 0	Rs q. 13 0	Rs q. 19 0	Rs q. 20 0	Rs q. 16 0	Rs q. 15 0	Rs q. 6 3	Rs q. 3 1 0
February	22 0	17 2	13 0	18 0	20 0	14 0	15 0	8 1	3 0 50
March	22 0	17 2	13 2	18 0	20 0	15 0	15 0	8 0	3 0 50
April	21 0	18 0	12 0	19 0	18 2	12 0	14 0	8 0	3 0 50
May	20 0	17 2	12 0	17 2	18 2	13 0	14 0	7 2	3 0 50
June	21 0	18 0	11 0	17 0	18 2	13 0	14 0	7 0	3 0 50
July	20 0	16 2	11 0	16 0	18 2	13 0	14 0	7 1	3 0 50
August	20 0	16 2	11 0	16 0	18 2	13 0	14 0	7 1	3 0 50
September	20 0	16 2	11 0	16 0	18 2	13 0	14 0	7 1	3 0 50
October	20 0	16 2	11 0	16 0	18 2	13 0	14 0	7 1	3 0 50
November	20 0	16 2	11 0	16 0	18 2	13 0	14 0	7 1	3 0 50
December	21 0	16 2	11 0	16 0	18 2	13 0	14 0	7 1	3 0 50
1772									
January	21 0	20 0	14 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
February	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
March	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
April	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
May	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
June	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
July	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
August	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
September	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
October	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
November	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
December	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
1773									
January	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
February	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
March	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
April	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
May	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
June	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
July	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
August	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
September	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
October	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
November	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
December	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
1774									
January	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
February	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
March	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
April	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
May	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
June	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
July	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
August	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
September	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
October	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
November	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
December	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
1775									
January	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
February	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
March	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
April	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
May	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
June	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
July	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
August	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
September	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
October	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
November	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
December	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
1776									
January	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
February	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
March	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
April	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
May	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
June	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
July	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
August	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
September	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
October	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
November	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50
December	20 0	20 0	13 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	12 0	7 1	3 0 50

Surat Monthly Market Prices, 1771 to 1778.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Surat Prices,
1779.

Date—continued.	Rice common 20 mans	Wheat 20 mans	Cash- cush or St. Sri 20 mans	Dal 20 mans	Gram 20 mans	Black Gram 20 mans	Bajri 20 mans	Ghl 10 sheers	Jingelly Oil 10 sheers
1777.	Rs. q	Rs. q	Rs. q	Rs. q.	Rs. q	Rs. q	Rs. q.	Rs. q	Rs. q r.
January	32 0	19 0	10 0	31 0	24 0	17 0	15 0	8 0	3 1 0
February	32 0	20 0	10 0	31 0	21 0	15 0	15 0	7 2	3 1 0
March	32 0	21 0	19 0	31 0	21 0	15 0	17 0	8 0	3 0 0
April	32 0	22 0	19 0	23 0	24 0	18 0	10 0	7 3	3 0 0
May	33 0	19 0	19 0	29 0	20 0	17 0	17 0	8 0	3 1 0
June	32 0	19 0	10 0	28 0	22 2	17 0	15 2	9 3	3 1 0
July	33 0	10 0	10 0	23 0	25 0	17 0	15 2	10 1	3 1 0
August	33 0	21 0	21 0	27 0	25 0	18 0	15 2	10 2	3 1 0
September	30 0	10 0	21 0	27 0	25 0	14 0	17 0	10 2	3 1 0
October	31 0	21 0	21 0	27 0	24 0	10 2	17 0	10 0	3 1 0
November	31 0	20 0	21 0	25 0	24 0	13 0	17 0	10 0	3 1 0
December	31 0	20 0	15 2	23 0	24 0	13 0	17 0	9 1	3 2 0
1778.	Rs. q	Rs. q	Rs. q	Rs. q.	Rs. q	Rs. q	Rs. q.	Rs. q	Rs. q r.
January	30 0	17 2	17 0	20 2	21 0	12 2	14 2	9 0	3 0 0
February	27 0	18 0	17 0	21 0	21 0	12 2	14 0	8 2	3 0 0
March	20 0	14 2	15 0	20 2	21 0	12 2	14 0	7 2	3 0 0
April	23 0	14 2	15 0	19 0	21 0	14 0	13 0	8 0	3 0 0
May	27 0	14 2	15 0	10 0	17 0	14 0	12 0	8 1	2 3 0
June	29 0	14 2	12 0	18 2	10 0	14 0	12 0	8 3	3 0 0
July	23 0	10 2	12 0	18 2	16 0	12 2	12 0	8 2	3 0 0
August	27 0	10 2	14 0	18 2	16 0	12 2	12 0	8 2	3 0 0
September	27 0	10 2	14 0	19 0	16 0	12 2	12 0	8 2	3 0 0
October	28 0	10 0	14 0	14 2	16 0	14 0	12 0	8 1	3 0 0
November	27 0	16 0	13 0	18 2	16 0	14 0	13 1	8 1	3 1 0
December	27 0	15 0	18 0	18 2	10 0	14 0	13 1	8 3	3 1 0

Comparative Statement of Average Prices at Bombay and Surat, 1773 to 1778.

1773-1778.

Articles.	1773		1774.		1775	
	Bombay.		Surat.		Bombay.	
	Rs. qs. rs.	Rs. qs. rs.	Rs. qs. rs.	Rs. qs. rs.	Rs. qs. rs.	Rs. qs. rs.
Rice 20 Surat mans	17 0 89	23 2 33	17 3 0	20 1 33	17 3 10	25 2 10
Wheat do.	19 1 01	17 3 83	25 0 0	22 1 33	21 1 01	22 1 00
Dal do.	25 1 1	25 3 13	24 0 00	25 3 0	25 0 81	23 1 0
Gram do.	22 1 17	21 1 50	24 2 11	20 0 00	24 0 40	22 0 33
Black Gram do.	17 2 85	14 0 60	19 1 71	23 1 50	16 0 0	18 0 31
Bajri do.	14 1 77	14 0 83	15 2 22	20 0 33	15 2 10	10 0 60
Ghl 10 Surat sheers	6 2 0	7 3 0	7 1 33	8 3 83	10 1 33	11 0 0
Jingelly oil do.	3 0 33	3 0 10	4 0 33	3 1 75	4 1 11	4 1 0

Articles.	1770		1777.		1778.	
	Bombay		Surat		Bombay	
	Rs. qs. rs.	Rs. qs. rs.	Rs. qs. rs.	Rs. qs. rs.	Rs. qs. rs.	Rs. qs. rs.
Rice 20 Surat mans	18 3 55	27 1 33	18 3 55	31 3 0	17 3 10	27 1 33
Wheat do.	21 1 89	10 2 0	22 0 23	20 0 0	15 1 17	15 3 33
Dal do.	23 1 6	23 3 0	24 0 30	27 3 33	20 1 12	19 2 33
Gram do.	18 0 91	22 3 0	21 3 5	21 3 10	16 3 5	17 3 0
Black Gram do.	20 0 0	18 1 00	10 1 71	10 2 83	15 2 85	13 1 0
Bajri do.	14 3 88	16 0 60	16 1 55	10 0 33	12 2 0	13 3 33
Ghl 10 Surat sheers	0 1 12	8 3 8	0 1 75	0 0 60	7 3 50	8 1 50
Jingelly oil do.	3 3 0	3 2 60	3 0 00	3 0 01	3 0 33	3 0 33

By the above accounts it appears that the prices of grain and provisions were higher in 1776 and 1777 than they were upon an average in former years, though not so much as we might reasonably expect when we consider the rise was the necessary effect of the troubles in the country in consequence of the Marátha civil war. In 1778 the prices reverted to their usual standard, the country being then more quiet and settled, and it is further to be observed that all kinds of grain and

Chapter II.

Trade

Prices,
1773-1778

provisions are considerably cheaper this present year (1779) than last. It is also evident on inspection of the comparative statement that grain is in general cheaper at Surat than at Bombay. Still admitting the position 'that almost every article of grain and provisions at Surat was 50 per cent and some articles 100 per cent above the Bombay prices,' the conclusion naturally to be drawn is this that whatever might have been the temporal cause, the effect could not have long existed, since by the invariable maxims and certain means of commerce, the prices, like water, would soon be upon a level, more especially in the present case, seeing the markets here could in a few days have been abundantly supplied from Bombay. Having shown that grain and provisions are in general cheaper in Surat than at Bombay, the above position must consequently fall to the ground and with it the occasion of any further reasoning upon the subject. But not doubting that the Board had some grounds for what they advanced in their letter to the Honorable Court of the 22nd December 1776, and perfectly sensible of the justice of the observation made by the Honorable Company in their letter of the 19th March 1778, 'that so great an excess in the prices of provisions at Surat could not have been occasioned by the duties levied on articles specified in the report of the Chief and Council and that the prices so exorbitant could not have been of long standing,' the committee were naturally led to investigate the subject further and to trace the reasons that induced the Board to make the above remark. They find it was occasioned by a comparative statement drawn out by the purser marine here and transmitted to the Presidency for the purpose of showing the exceeding charge incurred by victualling a Company's gahvat at Surat, above the charge incurred by the same at Bombay, which statement on examination we find to be materially erroneous by reason of the Bombay prices being estimated considerably lower than the market prices or than prices really stood on the Bombay marine books at that period. Upon enquiry we find that the purser marine was regulated in his Bombay prices in the above estimate by a statement sent from the Presidency to which he was ordered to conform in his Surat charges. By the Bombay estimate it appears that the allowance of provisions to a European for one month was limited to Rs. 7 2 qrs. 38 lbs. This though not particularized in said estimate being nearly the same amount that is allowed to the commanders of the cruizers in their provision accounts, we must suppose was calculated agreeably thereto and not according to the prices on the marine books, whereas the Surat prices in the comparative statement drawn out by the purser marine correspond with those charged on the books of this settlement. It seems he calculated the Bombay prices exactly from those allowed to the commanders on settling their provision accounts, as he had reason to conclude that the Bombay estimate was calculated from them, because the particulars added together nearly quadrated with the sum prescribed by the Board. Thus the following extracts fully explain.

Extract from the Surat Diary under the 13th of September 1776: Read a letter from the purser marine representing that it is not possible to bring the expenses of the vessels on this station to the sum limited in the estimates forwarded us by the President and Council and enclosing the particular accounts pointing out wherein the differ-

ence will arise. In regard to the difference in the prices of the provisions supplied to the galleys at this place and the Presidency we have only to remark that all grain being contracted for these contracts are entered into for one year from the beginning of January and that at the time the last were accepted the troubles in the country occasioned an increase in the price. In order to lessen these as much as possible when new contracts are entered into, it is resolved that the Secretary do affix public notifications for receiving sealed proposals for the grain and deliver them to the Board.

Extract from the purser marine's letter dated 12th September 1776: Agreeable to your recommendation to me at your last meeting I now lay before you a comparative account of the cost of provisions at Bombay and Surat allowed to the different stations in the Honourable Company's marine service. The Bombay prices are taken as I understand they are established in that department at the Presidency and the Surat prices from the contract of grain with our moody, and the prices for *ghi*, arrack, bread, and other articles approved for this present year, 1776. I have subjoined an abstract intended to show the exact difference of expense of provisions that will be incurred by the vessels on this station, between what the like vessels would cost for this article when solely fitted out from the Presidency.¹

A comparative account of the cost of provisions at Bombay and Surat which is allowed to the different stations in the Honourable Company's marine service:

European's Provisions for One Month, 1776.

Provisions.	Cost at Bombay.	Cost at Surat.	More at Surat.	Less at Surat
	Rs. q. r	Rs. q. r	Rs. q. r	Rs. q. r
Rice, 21 shees ..	0 1 84	0 2 89	0 1 5	...
Dal, 10 ¹ ..	0 1 18	0 1 44	0 0 26	..
Ghi, 2 ..	0 1 74	0 3 0	0 1 35	..
Bread, 22 pounds ..	2 1 14	1 1 89	0 0 0	0 3 55
Meat, 34 pounds ..	2 3 00	3 1 69	0 1 79	...
Arrack, 1 gallon ...	0 2 50	1 2 16	0 3 06	...
Fish, 1 ¹ curries ..	0 2 0	0 3 0	0 1 0	..
Firewood, 100 billets ..	0 0 00	0 2 81	0 2 21	...
Total	7 3 19	9 3 26	2 3 62	0 3 55
		Deduct	0 3 55	
		Difference	2 0 7	

Extract from the Surat Chief and Council's letter to the Bombay Board, dated 26th September 1776: Having in obedience to your commands of the 24th ultimo respecting the marine on this establishment sent a copy thereof and the estimates which accompanied them to the purser marine with directions to conform himself thereto, he addressed us a letter on the 12th instant representing that many circumstances would unavoidably increase the charges beyond the sums estimated at Bombay. In regard to the difference of the price in the provisions supplied to the galleys here and at the Presidency, we have only to remark that in obedience to your orders all grain being contracted for

Chapter II.
Trade.

Prices,
1773-1778.

Cost to
a European,
1776.

¹ Pub. Diary 75 of 1779, 212-214.

Chapter II.
Trade.Prices,
1773-1778.

these contracts are entered into for one year from the beginning of January, and there being troubles in the country at the time the last were accepted occasioned an increase of the prices of them, but we shall take every measure in our power when fresh contracts are made to reduce this expense. We find that on receipt of the above statement at Bombay the Board, surprised at the apparent difference in the prices, wrote to the Chief and Council under the 10th October 1776 as follows: We were struck with the furmost surprise upon inspection of your statement of the difference in the cost of provisions at Bombay and Surat. We should naturally have expected the difference would have been considerably in favour of Surat, whereas in some articles your prices exceed the Bombay ones upwards of 100 per cent. This is very unaccountable to us. But as we are inclined to impute it to some improper impositions levied by the Nabob, we direct that you transmit us a particular list of every duty collected by him or his officers on grain and all other kinds of provisions, accompanied with a price current of every species thereof in your hand. And to prove that the comparative statement drawn out by the purser maine was erroneous, and that the real difference between the Bombay and Surat prices was not so great as the Board upon inspection thereof were naturally led to remark, we do here annex a rectified statement calculated according to the prices charged on the Bombay and Surat books respectively¹:

European's Provisions for One Month, 1776 (Amended)

Provisions	Bombay Books			Surat Books			More Surat			Less Surat.		
	Rs.	q.	r.	Rs.	q.	r.	Rs.	q.	r.	Rs.	q.	r.
Rice, 21 Surat <i>seers</i> at Rs. 1 the Surat <i>man</i>	0	2	10	0	2	10	0	0	70	.	.	.
Dal, 101 Surat <i>seers</i> at Rs. 1-2-41 the Surat <i>man</i>	0	1	63	0	1	41	.	.	.	0	0	24
Gai, 3 Bombay <i>seers</i> at Rs. 6-0-59 the Bombay <i>man</i>	0	2	41	0	3	0	0	0	65	.	.	.
Bread, 22 pounds at Rs. 3 the Bombay <i>man</i>	2	1	43	1	1	4	.	.	.	0	3	55
Meat, 11 pounds at 35 res the pound	2	3	00	3	1	00	0	1	70	.	.	.
Butter, 1 arrack, 1 gallon	1	3	0	1	2	46	.	.	.	0	0	54
Fish, 11 curries at Rs. 0 1 20 the currie	0	1	60	0	3	0	0	1	20	.	.	.
Firewood, 150 at Rs. 1-1-40 the mulo	0	0	81	0	2	81	0	2	0	.	.	.
Total	9	1	16	9	3	26	1	2	43	1	0	23
Deduct ..	.	.	.	0	1	16	1	0	33	.	.	.
Difference	.	.	.	0	2	10	0	2	10	.	.	.

After what is premised there is little reason to suppose that any of the Company's servants have monopolized grain or provisions. Yet in obedience to the positive orders of our superiors we have made a strict and impartial enquiry and having called upon all such persons who we had reason to think could give us any information on the subject, it does not appear that any traded largely in grain or were at all concerned in monopolizing provisions of any kind. We are happy in this public opportunity of doing justice to our fellow-servants by thus placing them beyond even the suspicion of being in any wise concerned

¹ Enb. Diary 75 of 1779, 215-216.

in such odious and pernicious practices. (Sd.) George Green (Sd.) Richard Pice and (Sd.) John Griffith.¹

On the return of the committee from Surat to Bombay, the Bombay Government approved of their proceedings and ordered a copy of the report to be sent to the Court of Directors.²

Chapter II. Trade.

Pices,
1773-1778.

*Price Current of the Moody's Stores from January 1779 to December 1779.*³

1779.

Articles	Rs.	qrs.	res	
1 Fine rice	3	2	0	the Surat man.
2 Coarse rice	1	2	0	do
3 Tur dal	30	0	0	the khanda.
4 Red gram	18	2	0	do.
5 Wheat	24	0	0	do
6 Jāgrī, Gul or Raw Sugar...	3	1	0	the man.
7 Gum	2	2	0	do
8 Ghu	7	1	0	do.
9 Juggelly oil	3	2	0	do.
10 Coconut oil	7	0	0	do.
11 Bees-wax	0	2	50	the pound
12 Nansān dhōti	5	0	0	the picee.
13 Soap	1	2	0	for 12 cakes.
14 Red earth	1	0	0	the man.
15 White wax-cloth	0	2	50	the gaz.
16 Red wax-cloth	0	3	0	do.
17 Green wax-cloth	1	1	0	do
18 Glue	0	2	50	do
19 Cand wood	3	2	0	the mille.
20 Billet wood	1	2	0	do
21 Fine khichadi	3	2	0	the Surat man
22 Coarse khichadi	1	3	0	do
23 Hemp	3	1	0	do.
24 Kāt Toria Japonica	5	2	0	do
25 Gugul Balsam	1	1	0	do
26 Chalk	1	1	0	do.
27 Earthen pots	0	0	30	each.
28 Cotton yarn	8	3	0	the man.
29 Cotton yarn	5	0	0	do.

*Price Current for the Moody's Stores for the year 1780.*⁴

Articles.	Rs.	qrs.	res.	
1 Fine rice	3	3	0	the Surat man
2 Coarse rice... ..	1	2	75	do.
3 Jāgrī, Gul or Raw Sugar ..	3	1	0	the Bombay man
4 Gram	2	2	0	do.
5 Ghu	8	1	0	do.
6 Juggelly oil... ..	5	2	0	do.
7 Coconut oil	6	2	0	do
8 Bees-wax	0	2	50	the pound
9 Nansān dhōti	5	0	0	the picee.
10 Red earth	0	3	50	the Bombay man.
11 Green wax-cloth	1	1	0	the gaz.
12 Red wax-cloth	0	3	0	do.
13 White wax-cloth	0	2	50	do.
14 Glue	0	2	50	the pound.
15 Wind wood	8	0	0	the mille.
16 Cand wood	3	2	0	do.

¹ Pub. Diary 75 of 1779, Committee's Report to Bombay Govt. dated Surat 10th Feb. 1779, 205-217.

² Pub. Diary 75 of 1779, 235.

³ Bom. Gov. Diary 11th Jan. 1779, Pub. Diary 75 of 1779, 51-52.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Diary 26th Jan. 1780, Pub. Diary 77 of 1780, 21. Forrest's Home Series II. 252

BOMBAY TOWN

Chapter II

Trade

Prices,
1780

Articles.	Rs.	grs.	cc.	
17 Billet wood ...	1	2	0	the mille
18 Fine <i>lakhadi</i> ..	3	3	75	the Surat <i>man</i> .
19 Coarse do . . .	1	3	25	do
20 Hemp ...	3	1	0	the Bombay <i>man</i>
21 <i>Gugul</i> Balsam ..	1	1	0	do
22 <i>Kut</i> Terra Japonica .	4	2	0	do
23 Chalk ...	1	1	0	do
24 Earthen pots ..	0	0	35	each
25 Cotton yarn ...	7	0	0	the Bombay <i>man</i> .
26 Country twine ...	5	0	0	do.
27 Salt ...	0	0	40	do.
28 <i>Sups</i> Winnowers ...	0	0	40	each.
29 Ladles ...	0	0	15	do.
30 Spoons ...	0	0	7	do.

Portuguese
Paper,
1780.

Bombay Government Diary, 16th February 1780. A quantity of Portuguese paper having been purchased by the President for the Honourable Company's use at Rs. 2 the ream, the out-offices and subordinates must indent for what they want which will be issued from the military storekeeper's office where it is now lodged.¹

Prices,
1781Price Current of Mooley's Store for 1781²

Articles	Rs.	grs.	cc.	
1 Fine rice ...	3	3	0	the Surat <i>man</i> .
2 Coarse rice ..	1	2	75	do
3 <i>Jagg</i> , <i>Ge</i> or Raw Sugar ..	3	1	0	the Bombay <i>man</i>
4 Gums . . .	2	2	0	do.
5 Oil ..	8	3	0	do
6 Jingly oil ...	5	0	0	do.
7 Coconut oil ...	5	2	0	do
8 Bees-wax ..	0	2	50	the pound
9 Red earth . . .	1	0	0	the Bombay <i>man</i> .
10 Green wax-cloth ..	1	1	0	the <i>grs</i>
11 Red wax-cloth . .	0	3	0	do.
12 White wax-cloth .	0	2	50	do
13 Glue ..	0	2	50	the pound.
14 Winda wood ...	10	0	0	the mille
15 Cand wood ..	4	0	0	do.
16 Billet wood . . .	1	2	0	do
17 Fine <i>lakhadi</i> ...	4	2	0	the Surat <i>man</i>
18 Coarse do ...	2	0	50	do
19 <i>Mug dail</i> Pul-e ..	1	2	50	do.
20 Hemp ...	3	1	0	the Bombay <i>man</i>
21 <i>Gugul</i> Balsam ...	1	1	0	do.
22 <i>Kut</i> Terra Japonica ...	4	0	0	do
23 Chalk ...	1	1	0	do.
24 Brooms ..	0	0	5	each.
25 Earthen pots ...	0	0	36	do.
26 Cotton yarn ...	7	0	0	the Bombay <i>man</i>
27 Country twine ...	5	0	0	do
28 Salt... ..	0	0	40	do.
29 <i>Sups</i> Winnowers ..	0	0	40	each.
30 Ladles ...	0	0	15	do.
31 Spoons ...	0	0	7	do.
32 Large baskets . .	0	0	40	do.
33 Middle baskets ...	0	0	20	do.
34 Small baskets ..	0	0	15	do
35 Coir ...	3	1	0	the Bombay <i>man</i>

¹ Pub. Diary 77 of 1780, 41-42.² See Gov. Diary 7th Feb. 1781, Pub. Diary 78 of 1781, 11-15. Forrest's Home Series, II, 261-265.

Section IV.—Trade.

The following extracts relate to the measures taken to secure the success of the Export Trade generally: Letter from the Court of Directors to Lieutenant General President and Council of Surat, 5th February 1694. The goods that Aga Piru and his countrymen shall provide for you, we doubt not but will prove much better for their kind and price than any you shall have or buy of the Parakhs, and his father here hath assured us he shall provide whatever you order him in part of the contract as well and as cheap as if you gave him ready money to do it. However, and to make the issue of this matter clear beyond all ambiguity, we enjoin that the goods bespoke of Aga Piru be marked embailed and invoiced by themselves, by which kind of emulation we shall hope to have our goods the better from each party. If we did not know ourselves, our candle here will certainly discover which of the parties have served us with the most fidelity.¹

Bombay letter from Sir J. Gayer General and Council to Right Worshipful Samuel Annesley President and Council at Surat, dated Bombay Castle 9th April 1696: Should it so fall out that you can get no goods from Surat yet we shall be able to do pretty well with what the General hath provided, if you can but speedily continue to send us gunnies and ropes and other packing to pack 100 *khandis* cotton. The General has already besides cotton, 100 Surat *mans* of putchook (incense for China) and is in daily expectation of olibanum and myrrh from Shaer-Duffar (Shahar and Dofar ports on the south-east coast of Arabia). If it can be done, we would not have you fail to send us the coffee garbled or ungarbled before the rains and what other goods you can that we may be able to lade the *Tonqueen* when she arrives for England. We design, if possible we can get the *America* (who is on shore to repair her rudder) ready time enough to send her away with what we can put on board her here, to fill up with pepper at Tellicherry to be despatched from thence to England.²

The following show what exports were prohibited to private traders: Surat letter from Messrs M. Gray and C James to Mr. A. Grigbie at Swally, 7th December 1672. The enclosed from Bombay we received the last night. We do desire you to send for all the Bazar Banians and give them in charge that they buy no indigo of any sort or lace of any sort, aloes soccatrina, myrrh, China roots, camphor, tinkal (or crude borax), coho, cowries, red earth, being commodities prohibited by the Company to be carried home by any ships but for their own account. Let them know that if we find any of them offend therein we shall seize their goods for the Honourable Company.³

The following extracts relate to the various classes of exports under the alphabetical headings Calico, Chintz, and Cloth: Court of Directors' letter 17th April 1711 paragraph 51. If possible to be prevented, send no calicoes under ten yards long, but as much longer as you shall think fit or has been customarily used. The reason is ten yards of calicoes is a

Chapter II.

Trade

Exports,
1694

1696.

Company's
Exports,
1672.Calicoes,
1711.

¹ Sec. Out. L. B. 5 of 1694-1696, 3. Candle means sale by candle that is an auction in which persons are allowed to bid only till a small piece of candle burns out.

² Sec. Out L. B. 5 of 1694-1696, 63 ³ Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 331-25.

Chapter II
Trade.

piece, and of late we have had a dispute with the officers of the customs who would make us pay for pieces of half that length or under as if they were ten yards. They will make us pay for the surplus, as if a piece be fifteen yards long, it shall be accounted a piece and half, and so of all other lengths in proportion. Though this dispute is pretty well over, yet it may be revived, and we would not willingly give them a handle hereafter.¹

Anjengo Cloth,
1711.

Court of Directors' letter, 17th April 1711, paragraph 50: We would have all the Anjengo cloth or as much as you can get done in time white. If possible get the weavers to make it of eighteen yards long and a yard to a yard and three nails wide, and of no other lengths or breadths. You may buy it of different fineness and goodness so as it be well made of the sort.²

1713

Court of Directors' letter, 27th March 1713, paragraph 72: Objections against Anjengo cloth by the *Wentworth*. The cloth of ten and eleven nails wide did not yield prime cost freight and customs by twenty to forty per cent, that of fourteen nails wide yielded three per cent loss, that of a yard and seventeen nails and nineteen nails wide, yielded from twenty-five to thirty-eight per cent profit, not reckoning interest and insurance. These goods are pretty much of the nature of our coast long cloth Salampores as to the makes, but are some of seventeen and others of twenty-four yards long. Whereas our long cloth is generally thirty-six yards long and eighteen nails wide, and invoiced to us the ordinary and middling from twelve shillings and six pence to about sixteen and six pence a piece and yields here from seventy to a hundred per cent profit. The Salampores are of seventeen yards or better, and from sixteen and a half to eighteen nails broad, and invoiced the ordinary and middling from six shillings to seven and nine pence the piece, and yield pretty near the same profit. But the coast goods are generally well whitened, if brown they turn to no account. If the Anjengo broadcloth could be bought cheap and well whitened, we should be glad to have some to encourage that settlement, but we will have none of the narrow on any terms.³

Chintz,
1730

Court of Directors' letter, 12th March 1730, paragraph 39. Chintz *ponibegaji* ($1\frac{1}{4}$ yds broad) at Rs 110 the goize (or coize that is a seer) is more than we can afford to give and much dearer than the Pátna chintz stands us in, that are in greater esteem and sell much better. We therefore forbid purchasing any at that extravagant price.⁴

1731.

Court of Directors' letter, 30th March 1731, paragraph 50: As to the goods in general now ordered, we chiefly refer to what we say in the list of investments. We shall only add the chintz *ponibegaji* is so material an article that we send you some patterns which may govern you so far as to see thereby. We want some new works, and therefore we recommend to you once for all, as the cloth of the last sent was good, to keep up the same goodness, and that you endeavour every year to send us new patterns, as well of the flowers as stripes, at least five or

¹ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 87.

² Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 87.

³ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 87 &c.

⁴ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 97.

six sorts in a bale. And let the Indians work their own fancies which are always preferable to any patterns we can send you from Europe ; and if this be observed, we need never to say any thing more upon this head.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 19th January 1748 : Directed that Messrs. William Hornby and Robert Freemont proceed to the assistance of Anjengo factory and take passage on the *Restoration* galley as far as Tellicherry where the Chief and factors will furnish them with a proper conveyance to carry them to Anjengo. Considering the circumstances of the Honourable Company's affairs on the Coromandel coast it is resolved that the Chief and factors be particularly ordered to be careful in well completing their cloth investment already contracted for ; also to provide on the best terms they can as much more as may be procurable which we are well assured will be an acceptable piece of service although from the non-arrival of our Europe ships we have no list to send them for their guidance.²

Court of Directors' letter, 7th March 1749, paragraph 42 : As calicoes are at present in great demand, you must acquaint the Chief and Council at Anjengo that we expect they will exert themselves in that part of the investment by encouraging the merchants to increase the manufacture as much as possible, at the same time having a due regard to keep them up to the quality of those received last year.³

Court of Directors' letter, 5th April 1751, paragraph 72 : Although we observe but little cloth is vended at Anjengo, and what is sent thither is chiefly sold to the king of Travancor for the clothing of his soldiers, yet you must direct our servants there to be very attentive and lose no opportunity for opening a trade in that and the neighbouring countries if ever they find it practicable.⁴

Court's letter to the Surat President and Council, 22nd April 1682 : There is another matter of national concernment as well as relating to our own interest which we must in most special manner recommend to your assiduous care industry and invention, namely the procuring for us by all possible contrivance very great quantities of cassia lignum, cinnamon, tiamboon, and cinnamon de matt, which is the best expedient we can think of to keep down the exorbitant price the Dutch force England and all other nations to pay for cinnamon, since they were masters of the sole trade of Zeylone (Ceylon), wherefore to compass all that is possible of those bastard kinds of cinnamon, if our stock should fall short, you may take up money and for price we shall not limit you, knowing you will use this liberty with justice and discretion.⁵

Court's letter to Surat, 22nd April 1682 : Coffee, shellac, cotton yarn, and tumeric are bulky commodities and come to little money. You may do well to be always stored with a good quantity of them beforehand to ascertain the full loading of our ships at all times, and

Chapter II. Trade

Anjengo Cloth,
1748.

Calicoes,
1749.

Cloth,
1751.

Cinnamon,
1682.

Coffee, Shellac,
Cotton Yarn,
Turmeric,
1682

¹ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 96.

² Pub. Diary 21 of 1718, 19-20. ³ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 3 of 1712-1751, 196.

⁴ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 79. Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 4 of 1752-1756, 151.

⁵ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 10.

Chapter II.
Trade.Coffee,
1735.

to despatch on a sudden any small ship for Europe that may arrive with you from Bantam or the South Seas.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 21st February 1735: The season growing late and none of our galleys appearing, it is agreed to despatch the *Pictoria* grab now in the road immediately to Mokha with Messrs. Diaper and Goodwin in order to purchase a loading of coffee for the *King William*. Rev. Adán Amadorís offering to give bills payable at Mokha for 10,000 Sp. dollars at the rate of Rs. 210 per 100, in part payment of his debt to the Company, and as the gentlemen will be in want of money to carry on the investment of coffee, it is agreed to accept thereof.²

Cotton,
1651.

Court's letter to Surat, 7th April 1681: Take fit seasons for the buying of our cotton at Broach when it is cheapest, and keep men constantly picking and pressing it hard with our screws at Swally or Surat that you may have quantities thereof always lying by ready to ship upon any emergency.³

Cotton Wool,
1708.

Court of Directors' letter, 20th April 1708, paragraph 35. As for cotton wool our own plantations produce such vast quantities besides what comes from Turkey that we lose more than the capital thereby. We therefore absolutely forbid your sending any till further orders.⁴

1737

Court of Directors' letter, 7th October 1737, paragraph 27: We direct that you annually purchase a thousand *khands* of the best Broach cotton upon our account at Surat to be disposed of according to the directions we shall think fit to give from time to time. It must be your care to procure it in the most proper season upon the most reasonable terms.⁵

1743.

Court of Directors' letter, 13th March 1743, paragraph 31: A stock of 1000 bales of cotton must always be on hand. We expect that pursuant to our directions some years ago, care has been taken to have such a quantity by you, as that article was in great demand in Bengal last year. We direct in case you should be doubtful whether you shall be able to load home all the tonnage consigned to you, that the first of these ships that arrives at Bombay be loaded with cotton, and that you put on board what surplus treasure can be spared, despatching her away with all expedition to Bengal. We shall give directions to our President and Council in Bengal to load on her such a number of bales proper for the Europe market, and what saltpetre can conveniently be spared, with her dunnage in redwood, and to give the Commander orders to proceed therewith to Tellicherry, where on the ship's arrival, the Chief and Council must fill her up with pepper, and despatch her to us without loss of time. You must give the Chief needful directions, adding withal that only such part of the saltpetre must remain on board as they are obliged to continue in the ship for the filling up her tonnage or what the Captain shall require at the low freight, reserving the rest for some of our other ships.⁶

¹ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 10.

² Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 81.

³ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 86.

⁴ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 100.

⁵ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 35-36.

⁶ Pub. Diary 8 of 1731-35, 71-72.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Cotton,
1743.

- Court of Directors' letter, 8th June 1743, paragraphs 5 and 6 : We have resolved that the *Hardwick* shall proceed from your side of India to Canton in China, and Messrs. Laseoe Hide, Henry Hadley, and Richard Pinnell supercargoes take passage on her to transact our affairs there. Therefore you must put on board a quantity of cotton at your place or Surat and also what pepper you judge can be spared. In case no ship is sent to China on your own account, you must fill the *Hardwick* with sandalwood, putchoek, olibanum, and other articles proper for the Canton market, making up in silver per invoice to amount in the whole to Rs. 2,40,000 or more. If the supercargoes desire it consign the same to Messrs. Hide Hadley and Pinnell, who must be present at the packing of each article to see that every thing is in good order, and you must give the commander sailing orders to proceed to the port of Canton, and to obey the orders of the said Messrs. Hide Hadley and Pinnell.¹

Court of Directors' letter, 20th March 1744, paragraph 28 : This paragraph directs that a large stock of cotton should be purchased at the cheapest time of the year to answer the demand of the China and Bengal markets.²

1744

Bombay Government Diary, 15th December 1779 : Account sale of 3212 bales of the Honourable Company's cotton at public outcry at Bombay, at two months' credit and to be paid for when taken away³ :

1779.

Bombay Cotton, 1779.

Bals.	Year	Rupees the <i>Khandi</i> .	Bals.	Year.	Rupees the <i>Khandi</i> .
200 ...	1778	91	200 .	1779	98
200 ...	"	90	200 ...	"	103
200 ...	"	91	200 ...	"	102
196 ..	"	91	200 ...	"	101
200 ...	"	93	200 ...	"	99
200 ...	"	95	176	"	97
200 ..	"	92	200 .	"	96
200 .	"	93	210	"	99

Bombay Government Diary, 26th May 1780 : Estimate (25th May 1780) of the expense of bowing and packing one *khandi* of Broach cotton in which operation two days are required⁴ :

1780.

	Rs.	q.	r.
Bowing ...	20	0	0
Loss in cleaning 30 <i>seers</i> at Rs 90 per <i>khandi</i>	3	0	86
Gunnies, 12 pieces, at Rs. 5 per co. (covit)	3	0	0
Duties, 19 yards, at 61 <i>res</i> per yard	2	3	59
Fine Rajapur hemp ropes, two at Re. 1 each	2	0	0
Twine, one pound	0	0	58
Sewing wrappers	0	1	0
Packing two bales	1	0	0
Total ...	41	2	3

¹ Pub. Dep. Comt's Letters Vol. 3 of 1712-1751, 47-48.

² Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 78. Pub. Dep. Comt's L. Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 64-65. Pub. Diary 76 of 1779, 609-670. Pub. Diary 77 of 1780, 238

Chapter II.

Trade

Court
1719

Court of Directors' letter, 14th November 1719, paragraph 11: Cowries (*lards*) are a commodity if alive and bright coloured shells, that we would never be without, they being necessary for the Guinea trade. Some we do at times get from Bengal where they have our standing orders to send us a quantity yearly. We say, then, we to you. Send us all we write for, if good and tolerable the price of our orders to Cahent and Anjingo that they procure all they can with the greatest industry and application. Explain to us what are the common weight of the word called by them used in the Port Anjingo letter.¹

1719

Court of Directors' letter, 12th March 1739, paragraph 11. Cowries if at thirty-five to forty shillings per cent, the small ones the best.²

Topails,
Nutmegs,
Gingers and
Barks,
1717

Court of Directors' letter, 25th June 1717, paragraph 20. We would have been glad to have read that you have provided a quantity of broad topails, nutmegs, Guineas, taff, and Broad, also of Negapants. You will on perusing our lists of five years find for several years past we always wrote for these when we forbade other sorts of white and coloured goods. The reason is they are necessary for the Guinea trade and must be had, or else got from Holland yearly. They pay little or no duties being prohibited to be worn in England. We are sorry you give us this occasion for complaint. Be so good provide of these sorts according to the quantities we order, or if before our ships arrive, then according to the lists of the preceding year, till we forbid them or any of them.³

1718

Court of Directors' letter, 27th February 1718, paragraph 38. Indigo is always a ready money commodity, and takes up a great deal of time to purchase a quantity. Therefore first get us Guinea good and cowries, then indigo if not above Rs. 50 the *can*, or other piece-goods mentioned in the investment.⁴

1719

Court of Directors' letter, 14th November 1719, paragraph 12. But you must always remember to send us the several species of Guinea goods we write for, because we have none or but very few from the other coast to answer the same purposes, and they are absolutely necessary for exportation.⁵

Musl,
1682

Court's letter to Surat, 22nd April 1682. We desire you to provide 6000 oz or thereabouts of good fresh Agra musk in grain provided you can have it from 12s. to 14s. the oz, taking great care it be fresh, well coloured, and well grained and put up in leaden pots if to be had, for we find that the toothanaque (intenaque) pots do dry it very much. We would have any pots under 200 oz pickled very hard and closed with skins over the pots; and pray put no paper within the pots, for that dries the musk, but instead thereof a put of lead to keep it close, and let special care be taken in the goodness.⁶

¹ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 90

² Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 95.

³ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 89.

⁴ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 90.

⁵ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 90.

⁶ Pate. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 12

Surat letter to Bombay, 7th March 1676 : We desire you by the first conveyance to send us up 2000 paving stones of the same dimensions as was formerly sent : 4 inches thick. If the whole quantity is not at present procurable, we desire you to send so many as you can and the rest when you can procure them.¹

Surat letter to Bombay, 27th August 1734 : We requested to have the paving stones we indented for last year as the new warehouse we have built is quite useless till it is paved.²

Court's letter to the President and Council at Surat, 22nd April (1681 or 82) : We must enjoin you particularly that you do endeavour to secure 600 or 800 tons of pepper beforehand to be in readiness at the respective places on the coast of India or at Surat that you shall judge most certain and expedient to answer our end. For the price whereof we do not limit you, because we find it indispensably necessary to our affairs to have about that quantity and we depend upon your integrity to get it as cheap as you can.³

Court's letter to Surat, 7th April 1684 : To procure great quantity of pepper you may (if you think fit) settle a cheap factory at Billiapattam and make a firm and lasting agreement with the Queen of Atcheen near Puocat who made us a fair offer formerly.⁴

Court's letter to Surat, 2nd July 1684 : We would have you by all means to procure some of the pepper plants from Mangalor, and not only to send them to St. Helena as we formerly ordered, but likewise to make a small plantation of them in some proper place upon Bombay where it cannot be otherwise, but you may now have labour very cheap, so many poor families having been forced to retire thither by the wars between Sambhaji and the Portuguese. But we had much rather you should let out some of the Company's land at halves or in such proportion as you can that way, to be employed in planting of pepper, than attempt to do it by days-men, which at hinc will never work for the Company so well as they will for themselves. The unlet land we have fit for any such purpose we suppose, must be either part of our drowned lands or of that wood-land upon Malabár point—both of which we would have you to consider well and how to improve it to our most advantage. This time of such numerous resort of poor strangers to our protection and island is most likely and cheapest to make a progress in the aforesaid improvement.⁵

Court of Directors' letter, paragraph 44, 20th April 1708 . Káiwár pepper is the best sort and therefore we would not desert that place, because we are assured it is capable of supplying 1000 to 2000 *khandis* yearly, if supplied with stock ; Anjengo has cost a great deal of money in buildings, and we will not willugly lose all by deserting it ; but then you must take care it prove worth the keeping, by making proper investments there.⁶

Chapter II.

Trade.

Stones,
1676.

1731.

Pepper,
1682.

1684.

Pepper
Plantation
at Bombay,
1684.

1708.

¹ Surat Fact. Out L B 2 of 1675-76, 88.² Surat Fact. Diary 617 of 1734-35, 17.³ Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol 1 of 1681-1685, 10.⁴ Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 80.⁵ Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 93.⁶ Comp. of Standing Ord Vol. I of 1715-1721, 87.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Pepper,
1717.

Court of Directors' letter, paragraph 43, 21st February 1717: We told you by the last year's shipping, our objections to the buying pepper at Surat or Bombay at the worst hand, when we might have it so much cheaper at our own settlements down the coast. In the aforesaid Diary, notice is taken that we might have large quantities more than the tonnage we send would take in, if they were constantly and fully supplied, and cheaper if they had the supplies early; that the Anjengo pepper is to be had cheapest, and Calicut next¹

1724.

Bombay Government Consultation, 16th October 1724: The Sunda Rāja has prohibited the selling of pepper to the people of the factory at Kāuwa because of the evil imputations of Venkaji Sinar who is too much credited by the Chief, which may occasion disputes and a breach of ancient friendship between the Company and the Rāja to the great detriment of the commerce. And the Rāja has ordered that the price shall be settled at Bombay and the pepper delivered at Kāuwa to such as your Honour (Bombay Governor) shall appoint to receive it²

Pepper Duty,
1728.

Bombay Government Consultation, 17th May 1728: In the letter to the Chief and factors at Surat, we also added a paragraph to remind them of our former orders for collecting a duty of Rs. 3 per *khandi* on all pepper belonging to the English landed there from the coast, that cannot produce a certificate of its having before paid it at the export from the pepper settlements³

1731.

Bombay Government Consultation, 23rd August 1731: We approve of the contracts the Chief and factors at Tellicherry have made for the quantity of the pepper directed, namely 1000 *khandis* at Rs. 65 which they say was already in warehouse and 800 *khandis* more at Rs. 67½ and to be ready in October.⁴

Dharmaputan,
1731.

Bombay Government Consultation, 17th September 1731: The Chief and factors at Tellicherry impute to us then apprehensions that the Dutch will let slip no opportunity to get possession of the island of Dharmaputan (three miles north of Tellicherry) and that if we do not improve the present disposition of the Prince to deliver it over to our Honorable Masters, we are not to expect hereafter the like occasion. Should it be delivered over to the Moors the Dutch might make a much easier conquest of the said island than while in the possession of the prince. Our gentlemen are likewise of opinion that though the Moors may highly resent the delivery of it over to us, yet they will not attempt to give us any molestation when once we are in possession of it, because we have it still in our power to make reprisals on their trading ships which are pretty numerous. To prevent the Dutch designs on the said island we condescended last year to lend the Prince 30,000 Fanams and to present him with 20,000 more, and to keep him steadfast in the interest of our Honorable Masters, our gentlemen at Tellicherry had since been obliged at times to make an additional loan of 40,000 Fanams. We have reason to apprehend that should we not take the necessary care to prevent the said island of Dharmaputan

¹ Comp of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 89² Pub. Diary 2 of 1724, 130.³ Pub. Diary 3 of 1727-28, 111.⁴ Pub. Diary 1 of 1731, 97-98.

falling either into the hands of the Moors or Dutch, the loans hitherto made would be in great danger of being lost and the settlement of Tellicherry not only greatly straightened but rendered of little use or signification to our Honourable Employers. It is therefore to be considered what methods we are to pursue in so critical a conjuncture. Duly pondering the forementioned considerations, it is resolved that we direct our gentlemen at Tellicherry to close with the Prince for delivering over to them in behalf of our Honourable Masters the entire sovereignty of the said island of Dharmapatan with all the rights and revenues thereunto belonging, upon the best terms they possibly can by paying him down such a sum as purchase money as they shall be informed by him will be most acceptable.¹

Court of Directors' letter, paragraph 102, dated 7th March 1733: Pepper is an article which of late years has turned to a very good account; and the tonnage now consigned you being more than usual, the proper measures must be taken to provide a sufficient quantity beforehand to fill up the ships. In order thereto our several factories upon the coast must be plentifully supplied with cash to command the market, and that our servants or others may not supplant us, all under our protection must be prohibited purchasing any pepper at those settlements till the Company has sufficient for their tonnage in the current year. We further recommend it to your consideration, whether it will not be proper that all the pepper should be sent up to Bombay from those settlements, to be ready in your warehouses to put on board our ships.²

Court of Directors' letter, paras 53-55, 5th March 1734: Repetition of the foregoing order concerning pepper, and in case Tellicherry fails in the supplies demanded, to have recourse to Onor Kāwār and other places upon the coast. If a double stock of pepper can be secured at moderate prices, when we have money to spare, it will be an acceptable piece of service, and answer very valuable purposes.³

Court of Directors' letter, paras 35 and 66, 15th March 1734: A repetition of former orders to secure pepper sufficient for their demands, and not suffer the country ships to forestall them or any difficulties be put in their way by the sale of pepper to our China ships. Confirmation of the duty of Rs. 3 per *khundi* on pepper exported from the coast.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 14th February 1735: Letter of 17th January 1735 from the Chief and factors at Tellicherry, advises that they had advanced the Chetty Rs. 16,000 and 1000 gubbers (gold ducats or sequins) for pepper, who had promised to deliver them 500 *khundis* of the new crop by the 10th February. This with what they had in warehouse they think would be sufficient for filling up the ships this season.⁵

Court of Directors' letter, paras 23 and 53, 11th March 1735: Continuation of orders for securing a double stock of pepper whenever

Chapter II.
Trade.
Dharmapatan,
1731.

1733.

1734.

1735.

¹ Pub. Diary 4 of 1731, 119-120.

² Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 97-98.

³ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 98-99.

⁴ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 98, 157.

⁵ Pub. Diary 8 of 1731 35, 69.

Chapter II.
Trade

Importance of
Dharmapatan,
1735.

practicable This para repeats and recommends the securing all the pepper possible and directs to suffer none to be appropriated to private uses¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 17th September 1735 The Tellicheerry advices of 18th April and 16th June being now taken into consideration, and recourse being had to their several letters wherein they make mention of the island Dharmapatan, the conveniences and inconveniences that seem most likely to attend our removing from Tellicheerry thither, gathered from the said advices, are as follows: That by its situation in the centre of the pepper country at the entrance of the river Tientapatam and Kodoh leading to Kolata and Bengal, from whence the pepper is usually brought, the procuring that commodity may be rendered more secure than in any other place thereabouts. It has an influence also on Randatana lying to the northward which supplies so large a quantity of pepper that they are made to believe that though the Dutch were in possession of Kadala it would not be in their power to deprive us of any great part of the pepper produced in those countries. Our settling there prevents the Dutch French and others getting a footing, and its nearness to Kolata's country will awe and induce him to keep fair with us at all times and prevent the step he is frequently inclined to put to our trade and even to impose new duties on it. As an island it may be more easily defended, prove a means of securing the Company a more certain footing in the country, and be attended at all times with less inconvenience than Tellicheerry. When it was in the most flourishing state under the Moors Dharmapatan was said to have yielded sixty thousand fanams a year, and admitting the Kánaris withdrawn, it becomes the Company's immediate property and the lands with time and pains will admit of great improvements and it is not to be doubted but in twelve years it will afford a revenue of full twelve thousand rupees per annum from the cocoanut trees, paddy grounds, and salt pans. We must give the Chief and Factors at Tellicheerry a caution to secure Dharmapatan in the best manner they can against the attempts of any enemy whatever, lest by delaying so to do, the French (in case of a war breaking out) or the Kánaris should attack them before they are prepared against their attempts. The loss of the island in such a manner would render our other settlements upon the coast entirely useless and we should be deprived of the means of sending home even a single ship with a loading likely to turn to any advantage. As to the Kánaris we must repeat what we wrote in our letter of the 14th October last that our greatest fear is still concerning the opposition our gentlemen may meet with from them. It appears to us that the Kánaris would never carry on their wars against the Malabars at the great expense it must put them to, but with a design of securing to themselves the pepper trade of that country for which we apprehend no place thereabouts is so proper as Dharmapatan. We need only remind the gentlemen of the Kánaris' treatment of the Portuguese last year at Mangalore to prevent any the like disaster befalling them which would tend to our eternal disgrace, the loss of all we have hitherto laid out, and all

¹ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 99.

pretensions to a quiet and advantageous situation on this coast and that of the pepper trade in general.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 17th December 1735, on the Tellicherry Chief and factors' letter of 17th November 1735: The Company traded largely in pepper and cardamoms got through their factory at Tellicherry. 550 *khandis* of pepper were sent by them in November and they expected some time after that to have in their warehouse 2851 *khandis* and 8 *mans* of more pepper. They add, the new crop promising well, they hope to procure sufficient for the *Richmond* and the ships going home in 1736-37 for which they desire to be properly supplied. They will procure the cardamoms ordered on the best terms they can for which they have advanced 501 Venetians.²

Court of Directors' letter, para 12, 12th December 1735: This paragraph earnestly recommends the laying in a double stock of pepper the first favourable opportunity (see the 55th paragraph per *Scarborough*).³

Bombay Government Consultation, 13th January 1736: We are very sorry to find by the Tellicherry letter of 12th December that the report we had heard of the Kánaris' intention of sending a powerful army to the Malabar country with desire to wrest from us the island Dharmapalan, is now confirmed. As we are fully persuaded that our being deprived of that island will be attended with the loss of the pepper trade, we think it our duty to resolve upon taking the most effectual measures to prevent it. Though we do not pretend to be competent judges whether the pepper trade be worth preserving at the expense we must necessarily put our Honorable Masters to (but must leave that to be determined by them), yet should it be so and we suffer it to be lost without applying our endeavours to prevent it, we must certainly incur a very severe censure. On the other hand, we are of opinion that should our Honorable Masters not think the securing the pepper trade and fortifying Dharmapatan to be necessary, some of our rivals in trade would be glad to take it off our hands, were it to cost more than it is likely to do. Our garrison is so bare and our present occasions both for our vessels and military men so pressing that we can send them no other force than four or five galivats with the proper detachment of sepoy. We must therefore write to Madras (as it is now agreed to do) requesting the President and Council to send with all expedition to Tellicherry what force they can possibly spare by one of the Honorable Company's vessels or else to freight one for that purpose. It is likewise agreed to direct the gentlemen at Anjengo to supply them with what men they can list or be able to spare from their garrison if the country round them be quiet.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 28th January 1736: Should the Kánaris give our gentlemen at Tellicherry factory any molestation, it is agreed to give the gentlemen permission to employ the vessels in preventing their army getting provisions or in otherwise annoying them, which when they find in our power, we believe they will not attempt.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Importance of
Dharmapatan,
1735.

Tellicherry or
Dharmapatan,
1736.

¹ Pub. Diary 8 of 1731-35, 195, 201.

² Pub. Diary 8 of 1731-35, 274.

³ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 93.

⁴ Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 10.

Chapter II.

Trade

Tellicherry or
Dharmapatan,
1736

to impede us in our designs. Considering that the Kánaris and French are determined if possible to get possession of the island Dharmapatan, which at present is not in a condition to be defended against the attempts that may be made, we judge it absolutely necessary to set about securing it by raising a strong fort thereon as speedily as possible. As Mr. Archibald Campbell, our clerk of the works has taken an exact survey of the island and is perfectly acquainted with the situation thereof, we think him the proper person to give directions in what manner to fortify it which we must leave to his judgment. It is agreed to give directions to this purport in our next letter to Tellicherry; and as we have reason to apprehend that a war may shortly be declared between England and France, we doubt not but in such case the French would openly attack us on that island and at present we are not in a condition to withstand them. But by beginning the works now we hope they will be in such forwardness that we may be able to defend ourselves against the attempts the French or others may make, which is a consideration that in our opinion renders it absolutely necessary that the works be set about as soon as possible. When the Dharmapatan works are finished and Tellicherry thrown up, we doubt not but our expenses will be less and our footing in that country as well as the command of the pepper trade be much more secure than at present¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 13th February 1736. Mr. Campbell, our clerk of the works, has according to the President's directions, drawn a plan of a square fort of ninety yards contain to be built for the security of Dharmapatan. This of itself (admitting it completely built according to rule) exclusive of all other necessary buildings, will amount to no less than Rs. 9,50,000. We cannot think of setting about this work if upon examination it shall appear likely to cost near half that sum. However it is directed that the said plan and calculate be sent to Tellicherry, and that we acquaint the gentlemen that we think the fort proposed is not only too large and the wall too high and too thick but that it must take up several years in building. That we are informed that the hill Parambu, whereon it is proposed to be built, is a solid soft rock and if so we do not apprehend it will be necessary to sink a foundation or for the wall to be built so many feet high as is computed, because of the side of the hill that is cut away will serve for the facing of the ditch and the wall be raised upon that. Till we know whether the hill Parambu be a rock or only loose earth, we cannot frame any judgment of the height the walls of the intended fort ought to be and consequently not of the expense. Therefore we must recommend to the gentlemen to view the said hill and make an experiment whether it be rock or loose earth, that they also give us their opinion of the size of the work necessary and make a calculate of the expense and let us know whether a fort raised on this hill will effectually secure the island and the pepper trade, till when we must yet defer coming to a final determination²

Bombay Government Consultation, 16th February 1736. The President acquaints the Board that since our last Consultation he had

¹ Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 26

² Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 17

directed Mr. Campbell to draw out another plan of a fort for Dharmapatan island of only seventy yards extent, the wall twenty feet high from the bottom of the ditch, the ditch to be sixty feet broad and ten feet deep, the expense of which Mr. Campbell computes may amount to about Rs. 3,38,000; but should the hill prove a solid rock (as it is supposed to be), there will not be occasion to lay the foundation of the wall below the bottom of the ditch as is allowed for in the calculate, and a great part of the expense will be saved. Directed that this plan and calculate be sent to Tellicherry; and that we acquaint the gentlemen that though this is more agreeable to us than the other, we shall not permit them to set about it till we know their opinion, and are well assured of its being capable to secure the island and thereby a sufficient share of the pepper trade.¹

Chapter II.
Trade.
Dharmapatan,
1736.

Bombay Government Consultation of 12th October 1736: We cannot consent to the Tellicherry factors' raising a small fortification at the inland extremity of Dharmapatan island, as we are of opinion that then having so many small works at a distance from each other, very much weakens their garrison. As to the principal fort proposed to be built on Parambu hill, we have not the least thoughts of setting about such a work, as our Honourable Masters have forbidden our raising any expensive fortifications at Dharmapatan, and told us they can never consent to the throwing up Tellicherry after the large sums that have been laid out there. Though the maintaining possession of so many fortifications as we now hold upon that island creates a very great charge, yet, as we have laid before our Honourable Masters the advantages or inconveniences likely to accrue to their affairs by keeping or relinquishing the island, we are unwilling to throw up any of the places we now hold thereon till we receive their final directions which we expect by the next ships.²

Court of Directors' letter, para 29, 22nd December 1736. This para prescribes a compliance with the several paragraphs foregoing in their letter for the purchase of pepper.³

Pepper.

Bombay Government Consultation, 9th May 1737: The Tellicherry Chief and factors had contracted for 2013 *khandis* and 3 quarters of pepper of the new crop of which 557 *khandis* and 3 quarters are outstanding. They greatly fear they shall not exceed 2500 *khandis*, the price being advanced to Rs. 78 (the *khandi*); and they are assured the Chetty must suffer considerably by what he has engaged for, nor can he comply with his bargain without great difficulty. They have laden on our cruizers 277½ *khandis*.⁴

1737.

Court of Directors' letter, para 28, 7th October 1737: This para enjoins the utmost endeavours to be used for securing a sufficiency of pepper.⁵

Court of Directors' letter, para 40, 2nd April 1740: When Tellicherry and Anjengo fall short of the quantity of pepper requisite for the Company's service, they would have their money dispersed on

1740.

¹ Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 52.

² Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 393.

³ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 100.

⁴ Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 116-117.

⁵ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 100.

Chapter II
Trade

Peace with
Travancor,
1742

other parts of the coast, and recommend the sending a covenant servant to Onor.¹

Translate of the king of Travancor's letter to the President, dated the 23rd October 1741 and received at Bombay the 8th January 1742: The agreement I am disposed to make with the Honorable Company shall consist in the furnishing them with all the pepper and cloth produced in my territories including those in Pentally, saving only such a quantity of each as shall be required for the use of my subjects. The price between us shall be settled on moderate conditions. As the Dutch have without just cause entered my country in a warlike manner, the Honourable Company shall, in consequence of the above advantages, undertake to mediate a peace. On peace being concluded, I will engage to deliver the pepper as heretofore to the Company at Quilon Canapalla and Canigapalla. Should the Dutch refuse to fix a peace time it will be sufficient that the Company pursue the proper means for hindering the Dutch from violating the tranquillity of any of the preited places granted to them (the Company) as their sole privilege. The price for the pepper to be delivered to the Honourable Company, shall be conformable to the current rate of the country. But I am to desire and expect the Company will furnish me with some guns, small arms, mortars, gunpowder and other kind of ammunition wanted, and to be at the value they were bought for. The customs and annual present shall continue as heretofore; but as the Dutch have blocked up my ports and give them protection for the free navigation of vessels appertaining to powers in enmity with me, and also do violate the authority of English passports, these points must be settled between us. The Honourable Company are to protect the pepper with their flag. Provided the preited proposals are accepted I engage to furnish them with above 3000 *khundis* of pepper (meaning it is supposed annually, though this is not expressed). And as the Dutch may prove troublesome, it will be necessary that forts be erected at Quilon, Quilech, Teivanda Eddava, as also in Pentally where requisite. These forts must be provided with the requisites for defence, and bear the English flag. Provided the English Company will not pay the expense of the forts, I will undertake the same myself they affording, however, a competent garrison to each with all requisite appurtenances, and the expense attending the so doing I will discharge. Should not the English agree to these, and my enemies do continue to distress me, I shall be compelled to seek assistance from some other European power though I should much rather prefer the English to whomsoever. The guns to be applied for the forts I will satisfy the cost of.²

Many of the places mentioned in this letter being subject to the Dutch and granted to them, the Board did not think it useful to enter into any discussion of the matter, but referred the letter to the Chief and factors at Anjengo.³

Count of Directors' letter dated 11th March 1742, paras 45-47: Our President Mr. Wake, during his residence at Tellicherry, did

¹ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. I of 1715-1721, 76

² Bom Gov. Diary 12th Jan 1742, Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 28-29

³ Bom Gov. Consultation 12th Jan. 1742, Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 27.

Chapter II.

Trade

Pepper,
1742.

us eminent service in securing annually large quantities of pepper by making purchases at all the adjacent places without limiting the price; which method his successor will do well to continue, guarding in the most prudent manner against enhancing the markets. Here we judge it proper to mention that it has been hinted to us, a thousand *khandis* or more of pepper may be procured yearly at Onor, by a covenant servant or two residing on the spot attended only with a few peons. Thereby an advantageous commerce and intercourse may also be maintained with the neighbouring territories. This affair we offer to your consideration, expecting that our welfare will be promoted by sending a very trusty servant, if the prospect affords any encouragement, whose conduct if satisfactory to us shall not fail of being suitably rewarded.¹

Court of Directors' letter dated 13th March 1743, paras 46-48: Having good reason to think the French will be very bare of money this season in the several parts of India, our Chief and Council of Tellicherry may thereby secure a larger proportion of pepper for us in the country round about them. We observe with satisfaction that previous to the receipt of our orders upon that head last season, a couple of covenant servants were sent to Onor, who having purchased some pepper in those parts, we hope a further progress has been made on their growing more conversant with the customs and manners of the people. As Onor has not been visited for many years by any of our servants upon our account some difficulties might probably at first occur. But by a residence managed with prudence, the difficulties would daily lessen, and hearty vigorous measures being exerted we doubt not they were crowned with success by increasing the quantity next season. As pepper answers very well, you must have recourse to other parts of the coast for securing all the pepper possible at reasonable prices, you having a flowing cash to command the market.²

Court of Directors' letter dated 30th March 1744, para 54: We take due notice of our Chief and Council's good services at Anjengo in sending us 1300 *khandis* of pepper and upwards the last season, being a much larger quantity than usual. We persuade ourselves that Mr. Bouchier and the new Council will tread in the same steps by making considerable investments for us in this important article.³

Court of Directors' letter dated 10th January 1745, para 11: We should not have you purchase for us more than 2000 *khandis* of pepper unless to be had at Rs. 70 a *khandi* at which price go on purchasing what you can.⁴

Court of Directors' letter dated 7th May 1746, para 25, directs to procure all the pepper possible if at Rs. 70 the *khandi*.⁵

¹ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 6-7.

² Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 88.

³ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 85.

⁴ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 118.

⁵ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 128. - Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 102.

Chapter II.

Trade

Pepper,
1716.

Court of Directors' letter dated 7th May 1746: The best means we apprehend to prevent the detention of shipping and to lower the present extravagant price of pepper, will be to have on all times a considerable stock on hand. We therefore earnestly recommend it, to you to take every opportunity of purchasing or causing to be purchased such quantities whenever it can be had, so as that you may always have at Bombay and at the several settlements a stock of at least twelve hundred tons by you after the despatch of the ships; and we think the principal magazine should be at Bombay. We shall leave it to your discretion to purchase more or less, according to the prices pepper shall be at.¹

1748.

Bombay Government Consultation, 5th February 1748: Though at present none of our latter shipping are arrived, considering how acceptable it may be were we able to despatch a ship directly from hence to England, and as the 19½ tons of pepper lately received from Tellicherry is not sufficient, also seeing that Captain Francis Walmsley of ship *Augusta* belonging to Bengal is willing in behalf of his owners to let her out to the Honourable Company for a voyage to Tellicherry and back again to this port at the very reasonable rate of Rs 7000 for 1000 Tellicherry *khandis* of pepper, it is agreed that the same be accepted; and that an obligation be accordingly drawn out to be signed by the said captain on the one part and the Secretary on the other in behalf of the Honourable Company.²

1749

Court of Directors' letter dated 7th March 1749 paragraph 45: We find that our servants at Anjengo made no contract for pepper in the year 1748, occasioned, as they allege, by the villainy and ingratitude of the king of Travancor, and his delivering the Dutch a large quantity at the extravagant price of Rs. 86 the *khandi*. As further by the last advices our affairs there appear to be in a precarious situation, you are seriously to consider of the state of that settlement, and from time to time give such orders and instructions to the Chief and Council as you shall judge the nature and circumstances may require.³

1750

Court of Directors' letter dated 6th March 1750 paragraphs 56 and 57: How the French and Dutch find their account in giving such extravagant prices for pepper we cannot conceive, and as it is reasonable to believe they will, before this reaches you, have seen their error, our servants at the subordinate factories will not, we hope, find it very difficult to get as much as will be wanted at moderate prices. If pepper cannot be had at Anjengo but by supplying the King with wailike stores, we must under our present circumstances submit to those terms. But our servants at that settlement must be directed to prevent its growing into a custom, and take the very first convenient opportunity of discontinuing the practice.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 29th May 1750: As pepper is at such an exorbitant price as Rs. 140 the *khandi* and so small a quantity as only about 50 *khandis* is to be procured, the Chief and factors at

¹ Comp of Standing Ord. Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 102.² Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 196.³ Pub. Diary 21 of 1748, 40.⁴ Pub. Dep Court's Letters Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 257.

Tellicherry acted very right in not contracting for it. But they must be directed to make the earliest inquiry what quantity of this article may be procurable to the southward the ensuing season, where we hope it may be purchased at a much more moderate rate, as at the abovementioned price it cannot answer at any market in India, nor we believe in Europe, except on such emergency as the despatch of a ship rather than bear the expense of her abroad, which it may be supposed was the case of the French the past season. As the Chief and factors have the Honorable Company's orders for their guidance in purchasing pepper, no farther directions are necessary to be given them on this head. Resolved also that we in due time send a proper person to Káiwár, Onor, and other Malabár ports to make inquiry if any and what quantity of pepper may be procurable at those places the next season.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 13th April 1752: We are sorry to observe that according to the advice of the Chief and factors at Tellicherry there is not any probability of accommodating their troubles by pacific measures, and that they depend upon our sending them at least 500 men before the rains. Upon looking over the state of our military and sepoys on this island of Bombay, we find that we cannot possibly send more than 70 soldiers and 130 sepoys without depriving ourselves of the means of safety and defence, or making the Island a temptation to any one that should be inclined to invade it. Though there is no apparent present danger, we know the nature of these people too well to throw such a temptation in their way, as no articles nor obligations are binding with them when an appearance of gain offers itself. It is therefore resolved that that number proceed on the *Prince George*, and that we likewise ship on board two lakhs of rupees which, including their balance of 1,59,000, we judge will be sufficient for defraying their expenses and advancing on account of pepper.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 24th June 1755: Letter from Captain Jacques De Funck representing that he sent home all his fair draughts of Dharmapatan on the *Prince Henry*; and has ever since been employed on a survey of Bombay and its fortifications, which is near finished but shall immediately set about a fair plan of Darmapatan, though he cannot lay it before us in less than a month or six weeks. Directed that he attend with the foul one at our next meeting to prevent so great a loss of time, and as we imagine, that will sufficiently describe it.³

Court of Directors' letter dated 23rd November 1759, paragraph 22, directs that in future no ships be sent to be filled with pepper at the west coast as the Court intend sending all surplus pepper from Malabár to China.⁴

Court of Directors' letter dated 22nd March 1765 paragraph 173: As the pepper for some years past has been sent from the west coast of Sumatra to China, and our only dependance has been upon you for providing this article, we are sorry to observe you have failed in sending such a supply as this market annually requires and in particular

Chapter II.
Trade.

Pepper,
1750.

Aid to
Tellicherry,
1752.

1755.

1759.

1765.

¹ Pub. Diary 23 of 1750, 185.

² Pub. Diary 25 of 1752, 127-128.

³ Pub. Diary 28 of 1755, 248.

⁴ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol 2 of 1759-1783, 1. Pub. Dep. Court's L, Vol. 5 of 1757-1761, 221.

Chapter II.

Trade

Pepper,
1763.

the *Speaker*, the only ship which arrived from your side of India this season, brought us but 308 tons, a quantity greatly inadequate to the demand here and what we had reasons to expect. Notwithstanding, therefore anything mentioned in this letter with respect to the disposition of our ships, you are hereby positively directed to exert your utmost endeavours to send us annually 600 tons of pepper at the least, divided equally upon two ships and as much more as the said two ships can take in consistently with the rest of their cargoes.¹

1766.

Court of Directors' letter dated 12th September 1766 paragraph 10. As pepper is in great demand at this market, you are to provide as large a quantity as will be sufficient for the several ships to be despatched from your side of India, and that is to be done even by giving every ship as large a surplus tonnage at the low freight as can be conveniently taken in.²

1768

Court of Directors' letter dated 18th March 1768 paragraph 75: It is with much concern we observe that the conquests made by Haider Ali Khán on the Malabar Coast, seem to have prejudiced our investment of pepper in a very remarkable manner. For though before his departure to the Karnátak he seemed to keep up an outward appearance of friendship, yet since his arrival there, circumstances must have been greatly changed which we at present are not acquainted with. Upon the whole we can only recommend to you to use your best endeavours to procure as much pepper as you can. We depend upon our President and Council of Fort St George for giving you the proper information of what passes there with regard to Haider Khán which will be some direction for your proceedings.³

1769,

Court of Directors' letter dated 31st March 1769 paragraph 36: As the greatest part of Malabar Coast, from whence the largest proportion of our pepper investment is collected, is in one continued scene of trouble, we positively enjoin that you exert yourselves to the utmost in procuring as large a quantity of this article at Anjengo as possible, especially as it still continues much in demand and yields a good profit.⁴

1770.

Court of Directors' letter dated 6th April 1770 paragraph 21. The dissolution of the French East Indian Company will, we hope, lessen the number and importance of your competitors for pepper. We therefore desire you will afford strict attention to reduce the price and keep it as low as possible. We are pleased to find by letter from Anjengo that pepper comes in fast and that the king of Travancor has considerably exceeded the quantity for which he had contracted.⁵

1776.

Bombay Government Consultation, 23rd January 1776. Copies of the committee's report at Fort Marlboro (in Sumatra) of the state of the pepper plantations must be transmitted to the settlements at Onor Tellichery and Anjengo with directions to the gentlemen at these places to give us the best accounts they can obtain of the cultivation of pepper.

¹ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol 2 of 1759-1768, 111. Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol 7 of 1765-1768, 57-58. ² Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 7 of 1765-1768, 191.

³ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol 7 of 1765-1768, 326.

⁴ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol 8 of 1769-1771, 30.

⁵ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol 8 of 1769-1771, 141.

on the Malabár Coast, when we will comply with the Honourable Company's commands on this head as far as we can by giving the gentlemen at Fort Marlboro such information as we may procure and our own knowledge can suggest.¹

Court's letter to Surat, 28th August 1682 : For rubies sapphires and other precious stones we shall allow you the same commission as for diamonds, to be shared two-thirds for our President and one-third of the said commission for our second upon the place at Surat. You must send us no emeralds except they be very large and fine. Small emeralds are a commodity rather to be sent into India than to be brought from thence.²

Court of Directors' letter, 4th November 1719 paragraph 11 : The manifest of diamonds to be sent in a distinct list from that of the private trade, and must show the value of each bulce.³

Court of Directors' letter, 25th March 1724, paragraph 76 : As effects are sometimes sent out from hence to your side to purchase diamonds, we think fit to advise you that we have written to Fort St. George this season to prevent in future the crafty management of the traders therein and their correspondents, which we have for some time suspected but of late more fully discovered. So far as the same orders happen to be necessary for your notice we require you to put them in execution. We found that several who sent out money or coral for the purchase of diamonds, have instead thereof applied the same effects to trade in the country, and others, when the diamonds were scarce or dear, paid the silver into our cash and remitted it Home by bill on us. By this arrangement they made a voyage at our cost without any risk except of the bullion outwards; because their silver being sold for pagodas, and those pagodas being paid into our cash did not stand them in more than seven shillings and three pence to seven shillings and five pence each, and we paid for them by the bills drawn at nine shillings. That we might cut off both these branches of mischief we have altered the former draughts of the bond. By the copies now sent you will see we have, we hope, pretty well guarded against any new attempts of the like kind by making it a part of the condition that the diamonds to be purchased with silver sent out shall be laden on our shipping within eighteen months after its arrival, and in the interim the silver shall be employed in trade or at interest. If coral or coral beads be sent out, the diamonds to be purchased with their produce shall be laden within twelve months after their sale. Do you cause enquiry often to be made and let us know. In future we expect our President to take care to see these and the other conditions of these new bonds duly and fully complied with. We have told our President of Fort St. George that we could not forbear complaining of his ill returns for our kindness in securing to him two and a half per cent commission on all consignments, in that he has not vouchsafed to send us yearly accounts of what part of each were returned us, by what ships, on whose account, and on what consignments, although our general orders were positive for

Chapter II. Trade.

Precious
Stones,
1682

Diamonds,
1719.

1724.

¹ Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 23.

² Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 1 of 1681 - 1685, 21.

³ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715 - 1721, 23.

Chapter II
Trade.Diamonds,
1721.

sending the same, and that we expected there would be no failures of this kind in any of our Presidents, if they expect we shall secure them their commissions. We told him we had yearly lists of diamonds sent, by whom, and for whom, but these do not show whose effects produced them, or when sent out, and whether they are the full returns, or what part of the consignment, and when sent out. Whereas we should know both and not take them only from the proprietors. How else can we with certainty know how to deliver up the bonds to be cancelled when demanded and because alleged to be fully complied with¹

Bombay Government Diary, 27th November 1721: Manifest of diamonds laden on board the *Duke of Cambridge*, Captain Matthew Bookey, for Great Britain,² namely:

Laden by:

1. Honourable W. Phipps, Esquire, one bulce of diamonds valued at Rs. 209-2-67 to be delivered by the Honourable Court of Directors to Alvaro Mendiz of London or his assign, being marked and numbered as per margin ...	Rs. qrs rs.
2. Honourable W. Phipps 1 bulce of diamonds to be delivered by the Court of Directors to Captain T. Boone of London or his assign, value Rs. 766-0-56, being marked and numbered as per margin ...	766 0 56
3. Honourable Phipps, Esquire, two bulces of diamonds, being in part of 16,000 ounces of silver consigned to him per ships the <i>Morrie</i> and <i>Cad.</i> to be delivered the Honourable Court of Directors and by them to Mr. Isaac Franks, merchant in London, or his assigns, value Rs. 4362 2-23, being marked and numbered as per margin ...	4362 2 23
4. John Hope, Esquire, 1 bulce of diamonds valued at Rs. 16,000, to be delivered by the Honourable Court of Directors to the executors of Captain Daniel Small, deceased, being marked and numbered as per margin ...	16,000 0 0
Total ...	21,338 1 52

Alc —The marginal marks and numbers are not available, the record being in place tern

1786

Court of Directors' letter, 11th March 1786, para 148: For the encouragement of the diamond trade, we have agreed to allow a bounty of two and a half per cent upon the gross sale at the candle of all registered diamonds brought home on our ships, which we think proper to acquaint you withal, as some coral is consigned for the purchase of them on your side of India, and as formerly few ships came without a register of them, which of late has been otherwise.³

1766

Court of Directors' letter, 12th March 1766, para 135: We absolutely direct that in future you are to give notice in the most public manner before the despatch or departure for Europe of any ship or vessel belonging to His Majesty or in the service of the Company, that every person or persons who intends to send any diamonds gems or precious stones by such conveyances, do regularly, and truly register them with you; which register is to be transmitted to us by

¹ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 120-111

² Pub. Diary 2 of 1724, 151-152

³ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 72.

such ship vessel or man-of-war together with the necessary advices in your general letter relating thereto. We do hereby declare it to you as our firm resolution and do accordingly positively direct that if any of our servants of what rank or station soever shall after the receipt hereof be guilty of a disobedience of these orders, they be immediately dismissed the service and sent to England by the first conveyance that offers. And if free merchants or any other person or persons whatsoever residing under the Company's protection, shall be guilty of a breach of them, such protection is immediately to be withdrawn and such person or persons are in like manner to be sent to England by the first conveyance; and if any of the black merchants or natives shall be guilty of a breach of those orders, the Company's protection is likewise to be withdrawn from them and they be immediately sent out of the Company's bounds. We declare these to be standing orders and you are not only to enter them in the books kept for that purpose, but you are likewise to make them known in as effectual a manner as possible by fixing them up at the usual public and other proper places, and giving such other informations that no person in any part of your presidency may have it in his power to plead ignorance of them¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 10th November 1772: The advices from the factors at Seindy received since our last letter to them, are now read and the following directions are given. The diamonds and pearl which were pledged to the late Resident by Mirza Mendy for woollen delivered him, must be sent hither on the *Speaker*, as we find they cannot procure the amount in money from him.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 18th June 1773: The President acquaints the Board that some time ago he sent to Mr. Mostyn the Resident at Poona the diamond received by the *Speaker* from Seindy, in order to try what might be offered for it at that place where it was more likely to sell to advantage than at Bombay. Mr. Mostyn has lately informed the President that after several lower offers had been made, he has at last been offered Rs 350 the *ratti*, which is the most that will be given and will amount to upwards of Rs. 8000 for the diamond. He requests the Board's opinion whether it should be sold at that price. Upon this the letter from Seindy of the 17th December last (1772) is referred to, by which the Board find that this offer is nearly the same as the value put upon it at that place. It is therefore agreed that the offer be accepted and the President is desired to write to the Resident at Poona accordingly.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 18th September 1741: Notwithstanding the apprehensions the Chief and factors at Surat are under of putock being at so high a rate as Rs. 20 the *man* yet as we conceive it will be required for the China market and generally yields from 35 to 40 tale the *pecul*, we think it best to repeat our directions for procuring the quantity specified.⁴

Chapter II.

Trade.

Diamonds,
1766.Sind
Diamonds,
1772.Putock,
1741.

¹ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1739-1788, 226-227. Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 7 of 1765-1768, 151-152.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 8th June 1773, Pub. Diary 62 of 1772, 1051-1052.

³ Pub. Diary 14 of 1740 41, 356.

Chapter II.

Trade

Other Incense,
1713-14.

Court of Directors' letters, 13th March 1713 and 30th March 1714, para 21. Had a voyage been set on foot to China by our servants, we should cheerfully have acquiesced in appropriating thereto the sandal wood, patchcock, myrrh, and olibanum purchased upon our account for the *Harrington* they reimbursing us the cost in such manner that we should be no losers. Thus we mention for your guidance and encouragement on any the like case in future.¹

Saltpetre,
1713.

Comt of Directors' letter, 13th March 1713, para 55: When any refined saltpetre is sent us, the bags must be marked with an R to distinguish them from the common sort.²

Sandal Wood,
1766.

Court of Directors' letter, 12th March 1766, para 46: You must order our servants at Tellicherry to provide annually at the proper seasons three hundred *khandis* of sandal wood for the China market. If at any time it happens that we should not have occasion for it, it may always be sold on the spot to advantage.³

Silk,
1730,

Comt of Directors' letter, 12th March 1730, para 42: This paragraph recommends the sending for raw silk from Bengal for the Bombay weaver.⁴

1769.

Court of Directors' letter, 18th March, 1768, para 46. The information you have sent us about the Glutan silk as well as the silk received from Bushme makes us despair of ever having any. We shall not permit any cloth or money to be sent to Rasht or any other place in the interior parts of Persia so long as the country continues in the unsettled state it is at present. In short, if raw silk is not to be obtained on or about the terms we ordered, we shall be obliged to drop that plan. But as the importance of this article and the vend. of our woollens in that country would be a very desirable branch of trade to the nation as well as to the Company, we permit you to increase your price for the silk and to give as far as Rs 80 per *mon*. This alteration we will submit to and hope it will have the desired effect.⁵

- rt Stuffs for
England,
1731.

Bombay Government Consultation, 6th August 1731: In their letters the Chief and factors at Surat promise to use their utmost endeavours in providing the quantity of goods indented for in the list of investment received by the *Ockham*. At the same time they observe to us that through the present troubles in the Surat government, the high price of cotton and the great dearth and scarcity of all sorts of provisions which has occasioned a great number of weavers to remove to other parts, it will be not only impossible to complete the whole investment, but that every species of goods will be considerably dearer than what was provided last season.⁶

Bombay Government Consultation, 8th September 1731: Received a letter from the Chief and factors at Surat assuring us that all possible

¹ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 16 Pub Dep Court's L. Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 33, 79

² Comp of Standing Ord. Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 111. Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol 3 of 1742-1751, 39

³ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 2 of 1759-1783, 111. Pub Dep Court's L. Vol 7 of 1765-1768, 124

⁴ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 95.

⁵ Comp of Standing Ord, Vol. 2 of 1759-1783, 112 Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 7 of 1765-1768, 313-314.

⁶ Pub. Diary 4 of 1731, 82-83.

care was taken to complete the present investment, that they had in town and at Runael (Ránder) above 1200 weavers at work and were in hopes to increase them soon to 2000 which would in all likelihood complete the quantity of goods ordered.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 18th March 1733. Directed that pursuant to the orders of our Honourable Masters mentioned in para 29, our gentlemen at Surat provide 2000 small lemmanies and 1000 large of good substantial silk as part of the tonnage of our returning ships, and to advise us at what price they can now be procured.²

Chapter II.
Trade.

Surat
Lemmanies,
1733.

Bombay Government Consultation, 2nd April, 1733: The reasons which in their letter of 24th March 1733, the Surat Chief and factors give for so considerable an advance of the price in connection with the investment to be provided for England, is the dearthness of indigo, the want of weavers and other artificers that formerly were employed in those fabries, of whom great numbers have been swept away by the late sickness and famine that happened in Surat and the places adjacent. Taking into consideration the above and paragraph 23 of our Honourable Masters' commands last received by the ship *Mary*, in which they tell us that 13s. for a chelloe, 8s. 4d. for a tapsel, and 10s. 7d. for a neganepant is what they cannot afford; and in a former letter we have been told that chintz naffermany that cost Rs. 80 the corgé, such as was sent by the *Prince William*, did not answer and therefore we must send none of that sort; also that chintz *ponábegaji* at Rs. 110 the corgé would not do, and whereas the two last species of chintz will this year cost much more than those sent home by the *Prince William* and *Leshiennier* we think we can by no means answer to the Surat letter indenting for any. At the same time we may reasonably expect two ships more from England in August or September next which with the *Mary* already here will be three. We shall therefore have to provide return cargoes for such a quantity of tonnage as we cannot possibly complete without a considerable number of coloured goods from Surat. It is agreed that we direct our gentlemen at Surat to comply with our former order of completing the list of investment sent them except the white calicoes, chintz, naffermony, *ponábegaji*, and neganepants. If they find a difficulty in providing the full quantity of the other species, let the deficiency be in tapsels small rather than any other.³

Surat Coloured
Goods,
1733.

Bombay Government Consultation, 11th September 1735: Received a letter from the gentlemen at Surat owning the receipt of ours of the 17th ultimo and advising that the brokers had undertaken the provision of two thousand pieces of chintz *ponábegaji* on the terms we had limited of Rs. 102 the corgé for those of 18 vees and Rs. 85 for those of 16 vees and that our directions concerning the said goods should be complied with.⁴

The investments are usually begun in April or May and the whole investment should be completed in one month from that time.⁵

¹ Pub. Diary 4 of 1731, 113.

² Pub. Diary 5 of 1732-33, 66.

³ Pub. Diary 5 of 1732-33, 95-96.

⁴ Pub. Diary 8 of 1734-35, 191.

⁵ Surat Chief and Factors' Letter of 12th Dec. 1735 to Bombay Government referred to in Bom. Gov. Diary 12th Dec. 1735, Pub. Diary 8 of 1734-35, 282.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Byrampaut,
1735.

Bombay Government Consultation, 18th May 1735. Wrote a letter to Surat, directing the gentlemen there to let us know on what terms any merchants would undertake to provide the Byrampauts, Lemmanies, and Guinea-stuffs last indented for from England which may be procured about Cambay. Wrote also to Mr. Bidwell at Cambay to inform himself at what rate any merchant there would contract for the above goods and to send down their proposals with musters of the goods. We also directed him to provide and send us twenty bales of tannahs that we may set our weavers to work on the Bombay stuffs.¹

1737.

Bombay Government Consultation, 4th April 1737. The President lays before the Board a list of the prices at which Māneekji Navroji had offered to provide the ensuing investment. We observe these prices differ little from those paid in 1734,² namely:

Prices of Indian Fabrics, 1734-1737

	Rupces the Corg.	Rupces the Corg.
Byrampauts	80	80
Calendered	82	82
Chellac, Blue, 11 vics	10	10
Do do 8 vics	50	50
Do do 11 vics	101	101
Nicmanies, large	68	68
Do small	50	52
Tapeels, large	75	75
Do small	52	None
Chint, Cadley (Khadi)	45	41
Do do 12 vics	50	63
Do Nuffernan	101	101
Do do 12 vics	100	118
Do do 16 vics	91	None
Guinea Stuffs, blue	11	
Do red	11½	

Tin,
1721

Bombay Government letter to Surat, 13th August 1721. Pursuant to what we wrote you under the 1st instant (August 1721), the Bombay and Fort St. George galleys proceed now to lie at the Bar in order to give a countenance to our affairs. On them we have laden 167 chests 10 ps of tin for your market.³

Carmania
Wool,
1713.

Court of Directors' letter, 27th March 1713, para 41. Do not forget our standing direction to Persia to send yearly all the red Carmania wool they can get. Do you write them pressing orders to this purpose and quicken their memories by often reminding them of it, and whenever you find them deficient as to quantities reprimand them.⁴

1730

Court of Directors' letter, 12th March 1730, para 28. We are concerned to find by your 31st paragraph per *Prince Frederick* that the inhabitants of Carmania have found out a way to manufacture the wool of that country in calamancoes and seiges, as it may be an introduction to their supplying themselves with woollen goods independent of Europe. We therefore enjoin you by all means possible to discourage the same and direct you to send us patterns of each sort with their prices. We are glad at the same time to see that it is your opinion that these stuffs being made of a much finer sort of wool than that

¹ Pub. Diary 8 of 1731-35, 137² Surat Fact. Diary 612 of 1723, 25⁴ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 67³ Pub. Diary 10 of 1730-37, 84

brought by Europeans, we can no way be affected in the quantity that we may want to purchase.¹

Court of Directors' letter, 7th March 1733, para 32, directs that the investment of Carmania wool be as considerable as possible upon the cheapest terms that the different circumstances will admit.²

Court of Directors' letter, 15th March 1734, para 32, is a repetition of orders for purchasing wool at Carmania on the cheapest terms possible.³

Court of Directors' letter, 11th March 1735, para 50, approves of the agreement made with the Dutch for buying in concert Carmania wool, the price not to exceed thirty shahes the *man*.⁴

Court of Directors' letter, 2nd July 1736, para 33, represents Carmania wool to be a dull commodity and therefore must not exceed the limited price.⁵

Court of Directors' letter, 5th April 1754, para 86, earnestly enjoins the endeavouring to procure all the Carmania wool possible.⁶

Court of Directors' letter, 18th March 1768, para 47: Our servants at Bushme were wrong in deviating from our orders with regard to the price of Carmania wool, for which we find they have given Rs. 6 the *man* instead of Rs. 5, more especially as we wrote you it was an article in very little demand. They must therefore in future not exceed Rs. 5.⁷

The following is a specimen of the indents sent from Bombay for Europe goods:

Bombay Government indent of goods wanted from England, April 16th, 1741, per *Jenny* ketch to be forwarded overland from Basra: Broadcloth 454 bales: Scarlet 25 bales, each piece 17 yards long, the list to have black stripes and each bale to contain six pieces. Ordinary red 200 bales, each piece to be 22 yards, and six pieces in a bale, the list to be black. Popinjay 125 bales, each piece 21 to 22 yards long, six pieces in a bale, and the list to be green and blue. Aurora 100 bales, each piece to be 21 or 22 yards long, the list black, and six pieces in a bale. Blue 2 bales, the length of each piece 16 yards, and six pieces in a bale, the list to be white and blue. Black 2 bales, each piece 16 yards, and six pieces in a bale, the list to be white and green. Perpets 125 bales: scarlet 50, red 50, popinjay 20, and yellow 5. Elephants' teeth 25 tons, three-fourths of which must be sized, the remainder from 14 to 15 pounds to be free from flaws and of equal thickness. Iron 100 tons $\frac{2}{3}$ whereof to be flat bars and $\frac{1}{3}$ square bars. Lead 160 tons, Steel 20 tons, Copper 30 tons 15 tons in round plates

Chapter II. Trade.

Carmania Wool.
1733.

1734.

1735.

1736.

1754.

1768.

Europe Indents.
1741.

¹ Comp. of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 95.

² Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 96.

³ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 98.

⁴ Comp. of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 99. Shahes, an imaginary coin in Gombroon, is equal to one-seventh of a Bombay rupee. Mil. Or. Com. I. 121, 131.

⁵ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 100.

⁶ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 102. Pub Dep Court's L. Vol. 4 of 1752-1756, 158.

⁷ Comp of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 112. Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 7 of 1763-1768, 311.

Chapter II
Trade

Exports and Imports
1711

and 15 in square plate. Red lead 20 tons and White lead 16 tons. Quick-silver 1 ton. Cochineal will not answer, the present price Rs. 6 the pound.

The medium price of the Honourable Company's goods at 1711 were, Broad cloth, fine white and French yelk, Vining pogenjy blue, and fine scarlet, at Rs. 4 600 the yard. Red ordinary pogenjy cloth at Rs. 2 600 the yard. Aurora at Rs. 3 600 the yard. Purple scarlet at Rs. 50 the piece. Pogenjy red and French velvet at Rs. 12 the piece. Lead at Rs. 10 700 the ton. Steel at Rs. 5 700 the Surat man. Medium of the best Surat cloth at Rs. 17 the *puta* or. Elephant's tooth Rs. 5, 900 the Surat man. Iron at Rs. 625 the Surat *thanda*. Copper round plate with a hole at Rs. 22 the Surat man, the square plate at Rs. 23 the Surat man. Red lead at Rs. 11½ to 15 the cwt.; White lead from Rs. 12 to 15 the cwt.; Quick-silver Rs. 110 to 115 the Surat man.¹

Freight,
1725

The two following extracts give the orders issued by the Court of Directors regarding freight.

Court of Directors' letter, 2nd April 1725, para 70. We hope due care is taken that all goods shipped on any of our vessels are made to pay the usual freight from port to port, but then belong to whom they will, we would have nobody excused.²

1735

Court of Directors' letter, 5th March 1735 para 72: As an answer to the paragraph 110 concerning the method you have taken relating to freight by encouraging our servants to send small sums or parcels on our ships to Surat or the coast settlement freight free, we have no manner of objection to such a practice provided that it is not abused, and due care is taken that all goods, merchandise, and treasure sent on our ships or vessels to Bengal, Madras, Johore, or Persia as well as all brought from thence pay the usual freight.³

Imports
Soap,
1676.

The following extracts show the restrictions placed on the import of soap into Bombay:

Surat letter to Bombay, 8th February, 1676: As to the soap it is already ordered to be the Company's commodity and we would have you continue it. To this end whatsoever is brought in from abroad must pay 9 per cent custom, and if that will not discourage the merchants from bringing it in, you must raise the custom higher to 12 per cent, till they be totally discouraged. We would have you study all just and prudent means to improve that commodity the most you can to the Company's advantage. If you want any material from hence to be bought at the best hand, advise us thereof and they shall be sent you.⁴

Goods must
land at the
Wharf,
1710

The two following orders relate to the disposal of contraband goods.

Court of Directors' letter, 24th March 1710, para 84: All goods, after public notice, not landed at the wharf, are seizable.⁵

¹ See Out L.B.S. of 1738-1741.

² Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1716-1721, 166.

³ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1716-1721, 157, 158.

⁴ Surat Fact Out L.B. 2 of 1675-76, 70. Fort's Home Series, 1, 82.

⁵ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1716-1721, 145.

Court of Director's letter, 5th March 1724, para 25, directs that all unlicensed contraband goods from Europe be seized.¹

Next follow orders as to the storekeeper's responsibility :

Court of Directors' letter, 24th March 1710, para 85 : Take care that whoever look after the stores, be charged with all they receive in, and discharged by only so much as they can prove to be delivered out and be held accountable for the remainder.²

The following extracts show how the Europe goods imported by the Company were disposed of :

Bombay Government Consultation, 8th November 1731 : This being the day appointed for the sale of the Honourable Company's woollen goods, lead iron and copper received by their ships *Stratham* and *Cekham* the doors are thrown open and the merchants are called in and the woollen manufacture is then put up at the following prices :

1. Aurora cloth at Rs. 4 the yard.
2. Coarse reds and greens at Rs. 2 *Gas.* the yard.
3. Scarlet cloth fine at Rs. 6 the yard.
4. Scarlet perpets at Rs. 30 the piece
5. Scarlet perpets common colours at Rs. 17 the piece

Three per cent discount to be allowed on the sale and one yard the piece on the cloth, the amount to be paid on the 31st October next ensuing and the goods to be sent to Surat at the Company's charge and risk. Nobody appeared to advance anything on the prices abovementioned, and Laldás, Framji, Bamanji, Navroji, Ambairlis, and Shrivji being all severally asked if they would advance anything on the prices before mentioned, they all declined. The sale of the piece goods was therefore laid aside and the lead and iron are next put up. Two-thirds iron and one-third lead, the whole to be divided into three lots, namely two hundred *khandis* of iron and one hundred *khandis* of lead. The iron at Rs. 62 and the lead at Rs. 90 the *khandi* with an allowance of Rs. 3 per cent discount on the sale, the amount to be paid on the 31st October, and no man to bid less than a quarter of a rupee a time, Laldás Vithaldás appears to be the highest bidder for the three lots as follows :

- 1 For the first lot, lead Rs. 102½ the *khandi*, iron Rs. 72½ the *khandi*.
2. For the second lot, lead Rs. 103½ the *khandi*, iron Rs. 73½ the *khandi*.
3. For the 3rd lot, lead Rs. 10½ the *khandi*, iron Rs. 74 the *khandi*.

The copper is next put up which Laldás likewise buys on the same terms and conditions at Rs. 18 the Surat man. The merchants are then ordered to withdraw. It is taken into consideration in what manner to dispose of the woollen manufacture, and, debating thereon, it

Chapter II. Trade.

Care regarding
Stores,
1710.

Auction Sales,
1731.

¹ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715 - 1721, 29.

² Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715 - 1721, 145.

Chapter II.
Trade
Auction Sales,
1731.

is observed that there appears a repugnancy in the merchants to offer for the same, because of the troubles and unsettled condition of Surat and the country about it which has been the case for several years past no body ever attempting to purchase those sorts of goods but the Company's broker. It is therefore agreed to call the broker in and see to what terms we can bring him for taking these off our hands as we may reasonably expect a further supply by the next ships from England. Accordingly he is called in and a tender made him of the said goods at the prices he gave last year for the same sorts. He makes sundry objections and more particularly to the quantity of auroras which he observes are not treble the number that has been usually sent of late years or indented for from hence, besides that considerable quantities of all sorts of cloth both French and English are constantly brought from Jidda to this Surat market. He likewise objects to the quantity of scarlet percepts because sundry parcels of those goods are annually brought from the other side of India. Upon the whole, after sundry arguments used, the broker is with much difficulty persuaded to give for the following goods the following prices -

1. Aurora cloths Rs. 1 4s. the yard.
2. Green and red cloths Rs. 2 10s. the yard.
3. Scarlet percepts Rs. 33 the piece.
4. Common colours Rs. 15 the piece.

For ten bales of yellow cloth 25 per cent, upon the invoice, reckoning Rs. 8 to a pound sterling with other usual allowances, and the amount of the whole to be brought to account the 31st October next. The scarlet cloth, neither the broker nor any other merchant would meddle with on any account, alleging they are much too fine and high priced from England for any market in these parts, and we have no hopes to get them off our hands but by sending them to Persia¹

1734

Bombay Government Consultation, 18th February 1734: This being the day appointed for the public sale of the iron, sugar, turmeric, and raw silk received on our Honorable Masters' account by their ship *Royal Guardian* from Bengal, the doors are thrown open and the merchants are called in and the terms of sale explained to them, namely that the said goods were to be sold to the highest bidder and three months' credit given for the payment of the money. The sugar was first put up; one hundred bags in a lot at Rs. 12 the bag. There appearing no inclination in the merchants to advance on that price we suspended the sale. We next tried the iron putting it up fifty *khundis* in a lot at Rs. 55 the *khundi*, but there appeared as little inclination in the merchants to bid for that as the other; neither did they offer the Bengal price for the raw silk thereof. It is agreed that we send up these three articles to Surat for sale reserving seven bales of raw silk for the use of our weavers to be delivered to them at the price the others shall sell for at Surat. The ginger is then put up two hundred Surat *mans* in a lot at 44 *seis* the Surat *man* when Amlavidás Takidás (Sakhidás) appears to be the highest bidder for the whole parcel at Rs. 3 10s. the Surat *man*. The turmeric is put up likewise in one

¹ Pub. Diary 4 of 1731, 142-144

parcel of 160 Surat *mans* and Nārandās Haridās appears to be the highest bidder at Rs. 3 1a. the *man*.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 1st November 1734: Having put off till this day the sale of the cargoes of the *Wilmington* and *Middlesex* sundry merchants who now attend are called in. After considering on what conditions to sell the goods so as to give satisfaction and encouragement to the merchants without prejudicing our Honourable Masters, the terms are agreed and declared to the merchants to be as follows: That twelve months' credit be given for the whole, an allowance of three per cent on every article except the steel, one yard in a piece of cloth to be also allowed, the accustomed deductions to be made on such of the elephants' teeth as shall be broken or found under weight. On such money as shall be paid before the expiration of the contract, the interest shall be discounted for the difference of time in proportion to nine per cent per annum, any part of the goods shall be delivered here or at Surat, and the person who buys the woollen goods and elephants' teeth shall take what of those goods may come on the *King William* on the above terms the amount to be paid at the same time. The sundry goods are then put up in the following manner and sold to the highest bidders at the prices undermentioned:

Woollen goods: Broadcloth, 2 bales mazarine blue, 15 bales scarlet, 3 bales fine yellow, 2 bales wine-colour, and 3 bales emerald green, in all 25 bales of fine broadcloth at Rs. 4 9as. the yard; 15 bales middling red at Rs. 2 15as. the yard; 80 bales popinjay, 68 coarse red, and 7 yellow or in all 155 bales of ordinary broadcloth at Rs. 2 13as. the yard. Perpets, 15 bales scarlet at Rs. 31 8as. per piece; 30 bales popinjay, 18 red, 3 chocolate, and 3 yellow or in all 54 bales of coarse perpets at Rs. 21 8as. the piece.

Elephants' teeth seven hundred and thirty-four poise, about six hundred and forty Surat *mans* at Rs. 51 4as. the Surat *man*; cake copper thirty Surat *mans* at Rs. 24 the Surat *man*; copper plates ten tons or six hundred Surat *mans*, namely 300 Surat *mans* at Rs. 22 6as. the Surat *man*, and 300 Surat *mans* at Rs. 22 6as. the Surat *man*. Steel 600 Surat *mans* more or less, namely 300 Surat *mans* at Rs. 9 the Surat *man* and the remainder at Rs. 9 1a. the Surat *man*. Iron 260 Surat *khandis*, namely 130 *khandis* at Rs. 84 the *khandi* and 130 *khandis* at Rs. 85 8as. the *khandi*. Lead 1200 *paka mans* at Rs. 7 13as. the *paka man*, and 600 *paka mans* at Rs. 7 14as. the *khandi*.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 22nd October 1735. At the request of some of the merchants having put off the sale of the goods received by the *Queen Caroline* and *Scarborough* to this day, it is now debated whether or no to permit the export of lead and iron to the Maráthas' country. As we think the inconveniences in so doing would be greater than the advantage which we might experience in the difference of the price it is resolved not to grant such license for the present, and the quantity of lead to be sold not being very great and several of the merchants having large parcels remaining

Chapter II. Trade.

Auction Sales,
1734

1735.

¹ Pub. Diary 7 of 1731, 40.

² Pub. Diary 7 of 1731, 201-206.

Chapter II
Trade.Auction Sales,
1735

of the last and former years' purchases; it is agreed not to part with that by us unless it will go off on as good terms as the last year's. And having received only one sort of copper by the *Scurborough*, which is but a small quantity and the Honourable Company directing us to send them a particular of the produce of each sort, it is agreed to keep this till the *Derby's* arrival, when the people having made trials of both sorts we shall with more certainty advise our Honourable Masters which is most proper for the market. The doors are then opened and the sundry merchants attending being called in, the terms of sale are declared to be as follows. That the amount of the goods purchased shall be paid the 31st October next, the usual deductions three per cent on every article (except the steel) and one yard in a piece of cloth to be allowed. That allowances according to the custom of Surat shall be made on such of the elephants' teeth as shall be found cracked or undersized. That on such money as shall be paid before the 31st of October next the interest shall be discounted for the difference of time at the rate of 9 per cent per annum. Any part of the goods shall be delivered either here or at Surat and the person who buys the woollen goods and elephants' teeth shall take such quantity of those articles as may be on board the *Derby* at the same rate they shall give for these now to be sold and pay the amount at the same time; and if she does not arrive before the 1st of March, it shall be in the buyer's choice to take or refuse the elephants' teeth. Whoever purchases any part of the goods, shall give such security for the amount as shall be approved of by the Board. The several goods are then put up to sale in the following manner and sold to the highest bidders at the following prices.

Lion, 110 Surat *khanda*s at Rs 78 the Sn *2*, *khandi*, 110 at Rs. 76½, 110 at Rs 76½, and 110 at Rs 78. Steel, 3500 Surat *man*s more or less. 300 at Rs. 8 the *man*, 300 at Rs 7 1½ the *man*, 300 at Rs. 7 15as, 300 at Rs 8, and the remainder at Rs 8. Lead put up at Rs 7 the *paku man*, but nobody advancing upon that price, the sale of it is laid aside. Elephants' teeth about 600, *Surat man*s at Rs 58½ the *man*.

Woollen goods are then put up in sortments at the following prices, namely: fine cloth, 12 bales scarlet, 3 mazarine blue, 3 purple, 2 whitened and 3 yellow or in all 23 at Rs 1 the yard, 28 bales amoia at Rs 3 3as the yard. Ordinary 52 bales popinjay, 57 red, and 5 yellow or in all 114 at Rs. 2½ the yard. Perpet's scarlet 8 bales at Rs 27½ the piece. Ordinary 14 bales red, 3 yellow, 28 popinjay, and 3 blue or in all 48 bales at Rs 17 the piece. When Manekji Navroji appearing the highest bidder they are sold to him as follows: Fine cloth, 23 bales at Rs 4 10as. the yard; amoia 28 bales at Rs. 3 13as the yard, ordinary 114 bales at Rs 2 14as the yard, perpet scarlet 8 bales at Rs. 32 the piece; and perpet ordinary 41 bales at Rs. 22 the piece.¹

Court of Directors' letter, 22nd December 1736, para 13. We approve of giving the most public notice to all the merchants at Surat of the sale of our goods which must be continued exposing them

1736

¹ Pub. Diary S of 1734-35, 227-229.

to view, a convenient time beforehand, to all comers. Selling them with all faults is the fairest method and least liable to exception or imposition. By this means all after-allowances will be avoided whereby we suffered to a great amount in the elephants' teeth and perpets by the *Scarborough*: Rs. 10 a *man* on the teeth for cracked pieces and Rs. 7 a piece on 475 pieces of perpets being touched with the worm. We open and examine all goods we receive from the several parts of India before the sale, and separate the damaged from the sound, and sell the damaged, as such, whereby the buyers are not imposed on, and we obtain the full value. This is a practice we recommend as worthy of your imitation.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 10th November 1737: Thus being the adjourned day for the sale of all the cargoes of the late arrived ships, the sundry merchants attending are called in and after some discourse with them concerning the terms of sale, they are declared to be as follows: That the amount of the goods purchased shall be paid on the 31st October next discounting interest at the rate of 9 per cent per annum on all sums paid in before that time, one yard to be allowed in every piece of cloth, and three per cent rebate on all the goods, the steel only excepted. A reasonable abatement to be made for any damage that shall appear in the cloth or perpets on delivery. The elephants' teeth to be taken with all faults, but those undersize shall be delivered according to established custom. The goods to be delivered either here or at Surat free of charges but the whole to be weighed here and also the damage adjusted on the cloth and the buyer to receive them from the warehouse within one month from the time of sale and before they are taken away to give such security as shall be approved by the Board. The conditions of sale being thus explained to the merchants, the goods were at their request divided into lots and put up in the following manner, when the lots were sold to the respective highest bidders. Elephants' teeth 600 Surat *mans*, more or less, sold at Rs. 50½ the Surat *man*. Iron 440 Surat *khandis*, of which two lots of 110 each, sold at Rs. 88 the Surat *khandi* and one lot of 110 at Rs. 87½ and one of 110 at Rs. 87. Steel 1200 Surat *mans*, of which three lots of 300 each, sold at Rs. 6 *Gas*. and one of 300 at Rs. 6.4 *as*. Red lead 100 cwt. at Rs. 15 12 *as*. per cwt. The woollen goods were then put up at the following prices, it being agreed that the purchaser of the present goods shall take what there may be of the like sorts on board the *Heathcote* on the same terms, he being allowed one year's time from their delivery. Auroras 39 bales fine at Rs. 3 *Gas*. the yard and 31 ordinary at Rs. 3 3 *as*. Red 21 bales fine at Rs. 2 *Gas*. the yard and 28 ordinary at Rs. 2½, popinjay 83 bales at Rs. 2½ the yard and yellow 3 bales at Rs. 2½ the yard. Scarlet 15 bales at Rs. 30 the piece; and popinjay 30 bales, red 6, and yellow 3 or in all 39 bales at Rs. 17 the piece. To advance one anna the yard on the cloth and half a rupee the piece on the perpets. None of the merchants offered to advance anything which obliged us to decline the sale and the purchaser of the last year's parcel declares he has now remaining thereof upon his hands upwards of 200 bales.

Chapter II.
Trade
Auction Sales,
1736.

1737.

¹ Comp. of Standing Ord, Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 72

Chapter II.
Trade

Auction Sales,
1737.

The proposals of the Surat merchants are so exceedingly low that we judge it better to wait some time longer in hopes better prices may be offered than accept of those. It is agreed that in our next letter to Surat we direct the gentlemen to use their utmost endeavours for bringing the merchants there to better terms and in the meantime the President is desired to do the like with the merchants here.¹

1740.

Court of Directors' Letter, 6th February 1740, paragraph 52. We have no objection to your allowing the buyers six or twelve months' time to take the goods away, but then no part must be delivered upon any pretence whatsoever until the full amount of each part is paid for, and for a further encouragement to the buyers, and in order to a speedy clearance of the goods, we are willing to allow a discount of nine per cent to such buyers as take them away within six months, and but six per cent to such as take them away within twelve months after the sale.²

Auction at
Bombay,
1740

Court of Directors' letter, 6th February 1740, paragraph 51. We recommend it to you again to sell all our goods by auction at Bombay agreeable to our former orders. Nothing can be more for our interest than to make Bombay the mart of your side of India.³

1740.

Bombay Government Consultation, 27th October 1740. Auction sale of the Honourable Company's goods. Iron 92 *handis* of which 3 lots one of 12 and two of 20 each were sold at Rs. 100 the *handi*, one of 20 at Rs. 101½ and one of 20 at 100½. Steel 500 Surat *manis* of which 200 were sold at Rs. 5½ the Surat *man*, 200 at Rs. 5 13rs, 200 at Rs. 6½, and 200 at Rs. 6½.⁴

1741.

This is (27th August 1741) to give notice that on Monday 2nd November ensuing (1741) will be put up at public auction by the Honourable the President and Council of Bombay in the Council Chamber at Bombay, the following goods more or less in quantity on the following terms and conditions. The highest bidder to be the purchaser, no allowance for rebate to be made on any article, the goods to be permitted to lie one year in warehouse after the expiration of which, what shall be found remaining will be again sold and the loss that arises charged to the purchaser or contrariwise he to have the benefit. A discount of nine per cent to be allowed such buyer as takes his goods away within six months and but six per cent to such as take them away within twelve months. Any part of the goods to be delivered in Surat within twelve months on the Company's risk free of duties, provided conveyance offer. The amount wanted to be taken out of the warehouse to be paid for before delivery. Every person to declare at the time of sale his or others interest in the purchase. Particulars of the goods are as follows. Iron 6323 cwt, lead 2002 cwt, steel 314 cwt, cochineal 506 pounds, elephants' teeth 1140 cwt.⁵

1742

Bombay Government Consultation, 5th January 1742. The President acquaints the Board that on reconsidering the resolution of putting the woollen goods up in lots, and apprehending that some part might

¹ Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 260-261

² Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 77.

³ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 76.

⁴ Pub. Diary 13 of 1739-40, 372. ⁵ Acc. Out. L. B. 8 of 1735-1741

fall into such hands as may not be able to pay for them, he hints it might be most eligible as one of the conditions of sale to make the merchants give security to take away their goods within a time limited. By this means the Honourable Company would be no sufferers by those purchasing who are prompted to it only for credit sake. He therefore denies the opinions of the Board who after debate, judging that such a declaration would prejudice the sale by hindering some people from bidding who would else clear the warehouses within the time prescribed, it is agreed to decline such a procedure at present as, till the money is paid, the cloth will of itself be security to our Honourable Masters, and, should any inconveniences arise, the same be remedied at the next sale since this is the first time the Company's woollen manufacture has been divided into lots. The doors being then thrown open and the merchants admitted, they were acquainted with our design of dividing the goods into lots which are to be composed of fine and coarse cloth intermixed. But they requesting to have the superfine sold separate, the same was agreed to and the terms of sale declared to be as follows. That the goods should be permitted to lie one year in the Company's warehouse after which what should be found remaining should be resold and the loss, if any, charged to the purchaser or contrarywise he to have the benefit. One yard to be allowed in every piece of cloth, and a regular delivery to be made of the whole within two months after which all damage or loss (saving what may happen through fire or other accident not to be foreseen or guarded against) to be on the purchaser's risk; 9 per cent to be allowed to such buyer as takes his goods away within six months and but 6 per cent to such as let them remain after the expiration of the first six months from the day of sale; any part to be delivered at Surat within the space of twelve months on the Company's risk, provided conveyances offer; no part to be delivered before the money is paid. It was conceived no more woollen goods would be sold upon the Honourable Company's accounts until the end of October next.¹

Court of Directors' Letter, 13th March 1743 paragraph 38: When any of the buyers refuse to pay for goods by the limited time, follow our method here by reselling the goods, and charge them for the difference. In case they do not make us full satisfaction, give public notice forbidding them or any other person on their account to purchase at our sales for the future, and prosecute such delinquents in a legal way for the loss we may sustain and in order to deter others from the like unfair practice.²

The following order relates to the allowance made to Company's servants buying goods from the warehouses: Court of Directors' letter, 21st February 1717, paragraph 32. We find in paragraph 36 per *Stanhope*, you allow the Company's servants two per cent on what goods they buy out of our warehouse, because Rāma Kāmāti had the same. Your Consultation of the 6th September takes notice that he had it and therefore our servants should. How it came that he was

Chapter II.
Trade.

Auction Sales,
1712.

1743.

Purchases by
Company's
Servants,
1717.

¹ Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 13-14.

² Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 77. Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 36

Chapter II

Trade

Purchases by
Company's
servants,
1717.

allowed it doth not appear in that Consultation, but it is said others had it not. It is very probable that the precedent was taken from the brokers at Surat, when they bought any of our goods, who thereby losing their own perquisite for selling them on our account, and because they paid ready money, and a great price for them, as in the instance of Rustam's buying a large quantity of cloth, he insisted on and had that allowance as also another of a yard on a piece; perhaps also an allowance of two per cent to Rāma, was to encourage the taking of quantities, and at the better prices. On the whole we are willing to put our servants on the same footing with other merchants, they paying down ready money. We expect that you take care we be faithfully dealt with and do not suffer by this indulgence, for time hath been, and we have complained of it, that an example had been made on one account to make it a precedent for another. Though we are persuaded better things of you yet we hint the caution¹

Imports

The following extracts relate to various kinds of goods imported into Bombay :

Aloes,
1735.

Bombay Government Consultation, 28th November 1735: The warehouse-keeper acquaints the Board that he has received into the warehouse from Revādās Anibādās 8½ cwt. and 16 lbs of aloes which appear very good in their kind. It is therefore agreed to take them on the Honourable Company's account at the rate of Rs 8 the *man* gross of 48½ *seers*, being *mans* 208 and 9 *seers* amounting to Rs 1665 1 qr 93 res, which the treasury is directed to discharge²

Perpetuanoes,
Norwich Stuffs
and Coloured
Cloth,
1677

Bombay Letter to the Court, 24th January 1677 We have lately disposed of pretty good quantities of Europe goods, 2000 *mans* of iron, 1000 *mans* of lead, and 150 pieces of broadcloth, 200 pieces of bowdy and 50 pieces of red perpetuanoes Besides we are daily selling off the old remains of perpetuanoes of which we have almost 300 pieces by us, but most of them sadly damaged by worms and carelessness. If possible we will put them off though at low rates before the next ships arrive Our Norwich stuffs go off pretty well, partly to the Portuguese but most upon the island, the vend of which we do much encomage by wearing it for the most part ourselves In a short time the greatest part will be disposed of. We do believe we may be able to sell 100 pieces yearly, this being no commodity for the natives, nor coloured cloth of which a small quantity will be sufficient We will likewise induce all the officers and soldiers to appear every muster-day in a red coat, and do intend to make all people who receive pay of the Company, take a coat or two yearly, which will insensibly carry off a good quantity. Our iron we are forced to sell at near prime cost by which we shall be able to dispose of great quantities; for then it will spoil the vend of country iron becoming almost as cheap and is far more beneficial than for your Honours to send over so much ready money Our lead we sold at the Surat price, but then we save the custom and charge and bring trade and credit to the port Our cloth which was the coarsest bales at Rs. 3½ the yard 8 months time, bowdy &

¹ Comp. of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 65 66.

² Pub. Diary 8 of 1731-35, 261.

Rs. 2½ the yard and red perpetuanoes at Rs. 1½ same time to receive it by the billet or bale. We expecting the ship *Polymosa* from China with Japan copper shall dispose of all our plates which is 320, that copper which is in bars being only proper to make piece, being less loss and the plates selling here for more.¹

Letter from the Comt of Directors to the Lientenant-General and President and Council of Bombay and Surat, dated London 27th October 1693: Of the said manufactures we have made large provision already and shall therein fully comply with our obligation to their Majesties. So that if you have any sort of English manufactures by you after so many express orders we have given you to sweep our warehouses of such goods, you will be very much to blame.²

Bombay Government Letter to Surat, 18th December 1724: We are in want of some duttys proper for embalming our piece goods, the manufacture of the island; snpply us with 10 corge of 36 covits long and 2 covits broad, being esteemed the most fit for that use.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 27th February 1735: The President acquaints the Board that aurora cloth being sold in Persia among the coarse and yielding no more than 2½ and 26 shahees the *gaz*, he had offered those now in warehouse and designed for Persia to be sold to the merchants of Bombay and had prevailed upon Shivji Dharamset to give Rs. 3¼ per yard on having the usual allowance of three per cent and one yard in a piece, he paying for the same the last of October. As these terms are more advantageous than the cloth would be sold for in Persia, it is agreed to accept of them accordingly.⁴

Bombay Government Diary, 20th October 1735: Received a letter from Mr. Hugh Bidwell enclosing bill of exchange for Rs. 2814 and 61 pice being the amount of 20 bales of tannahs bought for the use of the island which he ready for a conveyance. As regards the bill drawn on Surat Factory not being immediately accepted, to prevent any inconvenience happening by the like in future he desires we will give orders that he had a good parcel of the Byampants and Guinea stuffs in warehouse and hope to complete the investment in time, and desend our orders to forward the same hither.⁵

Bombay Government Diary, 22nd October 1735: Read the letter from Mr. Hugh Bidwell of Cambay received the 20th instant. The bill drawn by him in favour of the President and Mr. Lambton for Rs. 2814 and 61 pice the amount of 20 bales of tannahs bought for the use of the island, being presented is accepted and ordered to be discharged.⁶

Bombay Government Consultation, 29th December 1747: The general storekeeper representing a want of 400 pieces of dangri as likewise red and white goats' skins, 15 corge of each, as those last received from Surat were all black instead of those sorts which were

Chapter II. Trade.

English
Manufactures
for India,
1693.

Surat Duttys for
embalming Bombay
Piece Goods,
1724.

Aurora,
1735.

Cambay Tannahs,
1735.

Dangri and
Goat Skins,
1747.

¹ Sec Out L B 4 of 1677-1687, 9, 10. Forrest's Home Series, I. 121-122

² Sec Out L B 5 of 1691-1696, 7.

³ Pub Diary 8 of 1731-35, 77.

⁴ Pub. Diary 8 of 1734-35, 227.

⁵ Surat Fact. Diary 612 of 1723-1725.

⁶ Pub Diary 8 of 1734-35, 221.

Chapter II

Trade

1748.

particularly indented for, it is directed that the Chief and factors at Suat be ordered to comply therewith by the first opportunity.¹

Bombay Government Diary, 15th January 1748. Received a letter from the Chief and factors at Suat, informing us that the goat skins they sent down on the 7th of October and 27th November last, were conformable to our indent of the 10th August.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 29th March 1748. It is agreed that we write to the Chief and factors at Suat to send hither 60 shawls of sorts and 600 pieces of duttys wanted for the service of our warehouse.³

Scarlet Perpets,
1774

Bombay Diary, 26th December 1774: On the 26th December 1774 came to hand by *patamar* a letter from the Resident dated the 3rd December in which he desired us as soon as possible to send 200 pieces of scarlet perpets for the use of the Nabob of Onor.⁴

Sea Coal,
1677

Bombay Letter to the Comt, 19th March 1677. Whensoever your ships come out not full laden, we think it would be very necessary to fill up the remainder with sea coal. This will not only be necessary stores of firing in case of a siege or war with our neighbours, but be as useful upon any other occasion as these country coals, being in a manner as cheap.⁵

Coral,
1730

Court of Directors' Letter, 12th March 1730, paragraph 51. At the request of several persons concerned in sending out coral, fearing that their returns in diamonds may not be advantageous, we have agreed to permit them to pay the produce into our cash, for which we direct (if they desire it) to give them bills of exchange upon us, drawn in the usual form and term at two shillings and six pence the rupee.⁶

1731.

Court of Directors' Letter, 15th March 1734, paragraph 63: The coral merchants have represented that they labour under some hardships in that trade, so as not to afford the present duties payable on that article upon exportation from hence and at our settlements abroad. And being willing on our parts to secure that branch of trade in its old channel, we hereby direct that you charge only four per cent duty (for our account) upon all coral and coral beads imported at your place or at Suat, and that our President (instead of two and a half) take no more than two per cent commission for his share.⁷

Court of Directors' Letter, 6th January 1738, paragraph 76. As coral is sometimes consigned your way, on its paying the duty of four per cent on the sale (as it does at Fort St George) you must grant bills upon us for the produce, on its being paid into our cash at two shillings and five pence the rupee, oath being made thereto.⁸

1769.

Court of Directors' Letter, 30th June 1769, paragraph 11: This paragraph revokes the license for the traders in coral importing (in England) gold or silver in specie or bullion, duty free.⁹

¹ Pub Diary 20 of 1747, 178

² Pub Diary 21 of 1748, 14

³ Pub Diary 21 of 1748, 119.

⁴ Bom Gov. Diary 20th Dec 1774, Pub Diary 66 of 1774, 910

⁵ Sec. Out L B 4 of 1677-1687, 22 Forrest's Home Series, I. 127.

⁶ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 69

⁷ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 70.

⁸ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 71

⁹ Comp of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 196.

Chapter II.

Trade

Coral,
1769.

Court of Directors' Letter, 15th September 1769: The coral merchants have presented a memorial to us, desiring we would facilitate the means of having their remittances made to them in return for their coral. We cannot make a particular exception in their favour from our general orders respecting the remittances, but recommend it to you to consider them as entitled to every indulgence in this respect, and if you can open any new channel for furnishing them with diamonds, or can contribute to the safety of their transportation to our settlement, you will render a very essential service to this country, which is much benefited by their commerce.¹

Court of Directors' Letter, 7th February 1772, paragraph 30: It having been represented to us by several of the traders in coral that when any coral manifested for Madras or Bengal has been landed at Bombay from any of our ships, it has been customary for the Governor to draw the usual commission at Bombay. As the like commission is charged on the sale of the coral at the place it is originally consigned to the traders are put to a double expense in that respect. Of this we do not approve and therefore direct that the Governor of Bombay do in future desist from charging any commission on such coral as may be consigned to Fort St. George or Bengal and laden on any of our ships bound from hence to Bombay. Care must be taken that such coral be sent round agreeable to its consignment on one of our freighted ships, free of any charge to the merchants who export that article from England.²

1772.

Court of Directors' Letter, 11th March 1742, paragraph 34: Copper bearing so good a price as Rs. 72 a cwt. our late President and Council acted right in desiring Bengal to send a thousand *mans* on the *Habifax*.³

Copper,
1742.

Bombay Government Consultation, 9th October 1776: The President lays before us an account of the copper belonging to the Honourable Company now remaining in warehouse amounting as particularised in the said account to the very great sum of Rs 19,13,948-2-19. He proposes as the only method to prevent the importation of the article by private merchants, owing to which the sale of the Company's copper is greatly obstructed, to raise the import duty to 20 per cent both at this place and Surat. This is agreed to as we think it a better method than a total prohibition, and the necessary orders must be issued for this purpose.⁴

1776.

Bombay Government Consultation, 7th November 1777: Read a letter from Mr. Andrew Reid that he has found by experience that the advanced duty of twenty per cent laid upon the copper imported at this place has proved totally ineffectual to answer the end we intended. Notwithstanding every effort there is no possibility of preventing this article from being introduced into the country not only from Surat but from Daman and several other ports. As by persisting in demanding this duty the Company will be deprived of the customs

1777.

¹ Court to Bombay 15th Sept. 1769 para 15, Pub. Dep. Court's Vol. 8 of 1769-1771, 113. ² Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 9 of 1772-1777, 11

³ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 5. ⁴ Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 778.

Chapter II

Trade

Copper,
1777

they might receive if the duty was more moderate, without reaping any benefit to counterbalance this loss, it is unanimously resolved to lower the duty to 10 per cent not only on Mr. Reul's copper, but on all that may in future be imported.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 26th November 1777: A quantity of old copper having been exported from Mokka, the Custom Master requests to know whether the advanced duty is to be levied thereon. In reply he is acquainted that this duty was meant to prevent the importation of copper of Europe which cannot be effected by the old copper in question, on which he is therefore to levy only the former duty of six per cent.²

Guns,
1677.

Bombay Letter to Court, 19th March 1677: We can dispose of 40 or 50 small guns yearly to very good profit. Let not the biggest be above 8 or 9 cwt. and let 25 or 30 be from 1 to 3 cwt each. We can also sell 20 or 30 small anechois from 4 to . . . weight each.³

Iron,
1742.

Court of Directors' Letter, 11th March 1742, paragraph 35. The fall of iron by large imports to Rs 68 a *khundi* we must submit to, not doubting the markets will mend as there is great consumption constantly of that useful merchandise.⁴

Ivory,
1736

Bombay Government Consultation, 29th September 1736: As it hath been maliciously and unjustly insinuated that too large an abatement was made for the damage on the Honourable Company's elephants' teeth sold last year, to prevent any room for suspicion of that kind for the future, the Secretary is directed to give public notice that we will make no abatement for any teeth that may be cracked, but only for such as are under weight. But that the buyers take them with all faults and that the purchasers may have no room for complaint, the merchants are at liberty to view the goods before the sale which he ready in the warehouse for that purpose.⁵

1742.

Court of Directors' Letter, 11th March 1742, paragraph 37. By encouraging profits on elephants' teeth and the very large stock on hand having a quick vend, we are induced to supply you with all that was procurable on moderate terms.⁶

738.

Bombay Government Consultation, 25th January 1742. The President opens this meeting with acquainting the members that his principal design in calling them together was to consider on the means of transport for our Honourable Masters' elephants' teeth which were landed at Telicheerry from the *Godolphin* and lately brought hither on the *Onslow*. In Consultation of the 12th instant we proposed sending these teeth to Surat on some of the cruizers. But as at present from the numbers of the Marathas said to be in the neighbourhood, and the uncertainty we are under of their designs so variously reported, it cannot be thought prudent to divest ourselves of the countenance of our vessels by employing them on any distant service. On the other hand the forwarding the teeth so as they may arrive before the expected

¹ Pub. Diary 72 of 1777, 500.² Pub. Diary 72 of 1777, 729.³ Bombay to Court, 19th Mar 1676-1677. See Out. Let. Book 4 of 1677-1687, 22.⁴ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol 3 of 1742-1751, 5.⁵ Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 361.⁶ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol 3 of 1742-1751, 5.

Bengal shipping (who possibly may bring some) will be a means of advantage in the sale. He had therefore been induced to have recourse to Mr. Sterling supercargo of the ship *Prince Edward* now in port who is bound hither, and he declaring his readiness to carry them without any claim of freight, he (the President) leaves it to the consideration of the Board whether it may not be eligible to embrace this offer of conveyance. The Board reflecting that should this opportunity be shipped, we cannot pretend to say when another will present as from what premised it is certain our vessels cannot be spared at least whilst those rumours subsist, therefore agreed that the elephants' teeth be laden on the *Prince Edward* with all possible expedition. And, for the better security of the ship, that the *Bombay* and *Restoration* grabs be ordered to see her as high as St. Johns (Sanjón) which is thought far enough to 'secure' her against any attempts of the enemy and then return to their station of the Breach and Máhum bar.¹

Court of Directors' Letter, 11th March 1742, paragraph 36: Lead fetching an extraordinary good price, we have sent as much of that article as our ships could conveniently carry.²

Surat Diary, 22nd August 1719: Our brokers have brought in several parcels sail cloth which we have agreed with them for at Rs. 21 per eorge of 400 covits. The same is now sorted and made up into 12 bales to be sent to Bombay.³

Bombay Government Letter to Surat, 7th August 1731: We desire you would send some sealing wax for the Secretary's office.⁴

Surat Letter to Bombay, 14th August 1676: The juice of tobacco you are in want of, is not here procurable at this season of the year; but we have by this bearer sent you 7 *seis* of China roots.⁵

Bombay Letter to Surat, 23rd February 1726: Provide and send us down as opportunity shall offer 150 bales of 1500 *mans* of tobacco of the first second and third sort, 50 bales of each.⁶

Court of Directors' Letter, 21st January 1703, paragraph 6: This paragraph directs to send them by every shipping large samples of the sorts and colours and prices of all woollen goods vendible, and all other Europe commodities.⁷

Court of Directors' Letter, 4th June 1703, paragraph 30: We recommend to you to use your utmost endeavours in promoting the vend of our woollen and other manufactures as much as possible, we being obliged (as you will see by the Charter) to export yearly one-tenth part in the product and manufacture of England. Wherefore advise us yearly what quantities and sorts of goods we shall send. In this be very particular, and though it be more trouble to us here in purchasing them than bullion, and also to you, putting them off, yet we should not omit sending as much as can be vended, although

Chapter II.

Trade.

Ivory,
1712.Lead,
1712Sail Cloth,
1719.Sealing Wax,
1731Tobacco Juice,
1676

1726.

Woollen Goods,
1703

¹ Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 40-41 ² Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 5.

³ Surat Fact. Diary 611 of 1719-20 ⁴ Surat Fact. Diary 614 of 1729-1732.

⁵ Surat Fact. Out L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 173. Forrest's Home Series, I 99.

⁶ Bombay to Surat, 23rd Feb. 1721. Surat Fact. Diary 613 of 1721-1726.

⁷ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 61.

Chapter II
Trade
Woollens,
1717.

they should produce no more than bullion, because of the advantage which the expense of our own manufacture brings to this nation.¹

Court of Directors' Letter, 21st February 1717, paragraph 27
This paragraph is a continuation of the order for patterns of the colours and sorts of woollen goods.²

Court of Directors' letter, 29th March 1717, paragraph 26 We have often acquainted you that we must send out quantities of woollen goods yearly to India in proportion to our export. Therefore the first care is to get it off, and leave empty warehouses to receive what comes the following year. The next is to get a handsome price for it, but so far as the cheapness will enlarge the consumption on your side (so as not to prejudice the sale of what we send to other parts), we could be content to let it go at a less profit. Otherwise you ought to make the most of it, first taking care all goes off from time to time.³

1719

Court of Directors' Letter, 4th November 1719, paragraph 23: This paragraph is a continuation of former orders for sending home patterns of every species of woollen goods, to describe the colours liked or disliked, and to mention the bale number and mark of the cloth it was cut from, and by what ship with the invoice price, if of the stuffs, the number of the bale, the price, and by what ship.⁴

¹ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 16

² Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 61

³ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 61

⁴ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 66.

Section V.—Industries.

I. WEAVING.

Chapter II.
Trade.

Weaving,

Bombay Baftas,
1672.

The following extracts relate to the encouragement of cotton and silk weaving on the island of Bombay :

Surat Letter to Bombay, dated Swally Marine 24th October 1672 : The 12 bales of baftas, manufacture of the island, are received on shore ; the 40 or 50 bales that (you) may have more in readiness we could wish they were sent off to the ships as they return to you ; but if that cannot be, we will have it in remembrance to appoint some ship to leave room for them.¹

Surat Letter to Bombay, 15th February 1676 : This is to desire you to send us up an account how many corge of broad and how many corge of narrow baftas you can make against next year on the island of its own true and pure manufacture. For we do not desire that your broker should endeavour to buy any cloth whatever in Broach Cambay or other bazás as formerly he did of his own head and without orders. For thereby the Company's investments here have been hindered and the price of cloth raised upon them. We would have you keep your weavers to their fineness, goodness, strength, and price of their cloth, such as used to be made when the President was there ; for we are fully assured that if you look well to them, the island can afford as good cloth as any made in India ; also we would have you encourage the weavers so much as possible. This affair we heartily commend to your serious considerations.²

1676

Surat Letter to Bombay, 14th June 1676 : We formerly desired you to send us an account of broad and narrow baftas we might expect from you as the pure manufacture of the island, but you have hitherto omitted it We expect it in answer hereunto.³

Surat Letter to Bombay, 4th November 1676 : Notwithstanding we wrote you long since to send us an account what calicoes and other Europe goods we might expect from you, yet hitherto you have omitted it. We must needs complain of much neglect in the calico investment. We are assured if you and your brokers there would be as industrious as you ought in inviting and encouraging weavers to settle with you, that manufacture of calicoes would be increased much more than it is. We desire you therefore seriously and earnestly to take this affair into your consideration and to use all just means possible to invite and encourage weavers of all sorts to inhabit on the island. It is our opinion that seeing the country of Shuváji and Deccan is harassed and much ruined by the wars, if you did employ some persons to invite the weavers of those parts to come over to you, they would gladly accept it only for a secure livelihood sake. Wherefore use your endeavours herein We give you notice that it is the Company's particular directions to us to procure as many dangri weavers to settle on the island as we can in regard that commodity is in request to whom

Cotton Yarn
for Bombay,
1676.

¹ Surat Fact Out. L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 306.

² Surat Fact Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 79.

³ Surat Fact Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 141.

Chapter II.

Trade

Cotton Yarn
for Bombay,
1676.

also we would have you procure as many pantka weavers as you can ; for they also will be necessary ; and assure yourselves what industry and ingenuity you employ in this affair will be well esteemed by your Honorable Masters and by ourselves. For your better supply of cotton yarn for the keeping the said weavers at work we shall send you down by the *Hough* a considerable parcel of Rajápur yarn which will be with you in a few days after receipt of this letter, whereof what is proper to be delivered out to the weavers for the making any sort of calicoes fit for Europe above mentioned, we would have you so dispose of and the remainder be sold to the Company's best advantage. In the mean time fail not to get ready what bistas broad and narrow you have provided for England to be sent up by the *Hough* whom you must not fail to despatch so soon as you conveniently can that the goods may arrive timely with us and that the *Hough* may be serviceable in lading the ships. Otherwise the Company will be put to the charge of hiring boats. To this end you must quicken your dull and dilatory broker Gindhar, who too much wants a spur in all business that relates to the Company.¹

Surat Letter to Bombay, 14th November 1676: We now send you the *Hough* laden with 65 parcels of Rajápur cotton yarn, invoice whereof goes enclosed amounting to Rs 4203 and 18 pice. The said cotton yarn you must dispose of among the weavers on the island to be made into calicoes proper for England.²

Bombay Factory,
1677

Bombay Letter to the Court, 24th January 1677. We have this year sent up to Surat above 2000 pieces of bistas all made by the weavers of the island that have been induced to come and inhabit here, formerly the broker for his credit's sake deceived us with Comlay cloth instead of Bombay. This does but hinder the Surat investment though we believe it not very cheap, yet suppose it not extraordinary dear, the weavers' charges of 5 per cent enhancing the price, which cannot yet be removed, they at last wanting encouragement to their repair hither. Besides that, we have hopes to make cloth cheaper than hitherto, there having not been any factors who have had judgment to oversee such a work and daily to superintend the weavers, but have been forced to confide in the broker who perhaps may be as honest as others, yet few or none of that profession, if business be wholly entrusted to them, but will pry themselves extraordinarily for their pinn. Whereas we do now intend when we can procure fitting persons (the island being at present in great want of able factors) to set them over the weavers, who shall deliver out the cotton by weight, learning how many threads go into every piece, receiving it again by weight and tale of threads, and allowing so much per piece for weaving according to its fineness which is but a small matter and easily learnt, and there can be no deceit or over-reaching. This we esteem a very necessary work. We have great hopes to give your Honours much satisfaction in the increase of the cloth investment on the island, though we find it difficult to induce weavers to leave their ancient habitations, it being inbred in all people to esteem no place like home. Yet if we do not

¹ Surat Fact Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 241-242. Forrest's Home Series, I 108-109.

² Surat Fact Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 252.

fall out with Shiváji, we dare promise three times the quantities as this year sent. We are induced to say if no quarrel happen between us and Shiváji, because we shall be forced to make the greatest part on the other side of the Bay, about 20 miles up the river of Sálsette, where we have got together a good parcel of weavers whom we cannot yet persuade to come over, though we have hopes in time to effect it. However the 5 per cent which we now put upon the cloth for weavers will be taken away, instead of which we must pay 2 per cent to Shiváji and perhaps 2 or 3 per cent more for charges; yet if we paid 15 per cent, it will bear less than the expenses of any factory. Then it will be objected, the cloth is bought by that expense cheaper than the island cloth. To this we answer that we have yet probable hopes to equalise the cheapness of other factories' cloth. For, besides the reason above given, we have hopes to have our cotton yarn come cheaper to us than it hitherto has done; so that at leastwise to make it stand in competition or surpass any of the Gujarát cloth, if not come very near the prices of Rájápur and Kárwár.¹

Bombay Letter to the Court, 17th February 1677: We have the promise of half a score silk weavers to come and inhabit here, but with this condition that the Company build them houses and be obliged to take all their silk off for three years. We are thinking of a better medium if your Honours so approve thereof. Their silk we dare promise them shall go off without troubling the Company, which we can engage persons now to do; but there will be no such occasion there being more consumed and bought up here than they can make. For their houses let there be half a Xeraphin custom put upon each piece which in short time will reimburse the Company for what they shall lay out. Please to send your orders concerning this particular.²

Surat Letter to Bombay, 12th March 1677: We also recommend your endeavours to invite silk weavers to inhabit on the island and do approve of the overture you make touching this affair. Still we would rather have your pautka and dangri weavers settled on the island, for it will be more to the Company's advantage to have calicoes than silk manufactured on the island.³

Bombay Letter to Surat, 27th March 1677: We are not unmindful of inviting cloth weavers so well as silk, but it is very difficult procuring them. There is a parcel at Bimurly (Bhiwandi) who have promised to weave us a good parcel of cloth this year. We shall try if we can win them over by degrees.⁴

Surat Letter to Bombay, 22nd March 1677: We have had so little assistance from you in supplying us with broad and narrow baftas for our Europe investment that we are not a little ashamed to find our hopes of that necessary manufacture so much frustrated. The grand fault and obstruction whereof we cannot but impute to the broker Gndhar who, we justly fear, is not so faithful and zealous to our Masters' interest in this and other particulars as he ought to be.

Chapter II.
Trade.

Bombay Cloth,
1676.

Silk Weavers,
1677.

Calicoes rather
than Silks,
1677.

Bombay Baftas
for Europe,
1677.

¹ Sec. Out L B 4 of 1677-1687, 8-9 Forrest's Home Series, I 121

² Sec Out L B 4 of 1677-1687, 18 Forrest's Home Series, I. 125.

³ Surat Fact Out. L B 3 of 1677-1700, 16

⁴ Sec. Out. L B. 1 of 1677-1687, 24. Forrest's Home Series, I. 128.

Chapter II.
Trade

Bombay Bistary
for Europe,
1677

We again remind you of this most important affair and desire to know what quantities of broad and narrow bastas we may depend upon from you this year, that we may govern ourselves accordingly. Also we desire to know what hopes you have of settling the dangri and pantka investment on the island and how that affair may best be managed.¹

Bombay Letter to Surat, 3rd April 1677. We were always mindful of our cloth investment which we look upon to be one of our principal concerns. Our broker has promised to get ready in this place all made in the island. About 6000 pieces of broad and narrow bastas we formerly advised of the weavers of Bimurly (Bhivandi) who though we cannot prevail with them to come and dwell here, yet they have promised to supply us with a good quantity. We intend to see a muster of half dozen pieces and accordingly proceed in it. How much we shall get there we are not able to advise, but shall forward that investment with all our diligence.²

Bombay Calicoes,
1677.

Surat Letter to Bombay, 23rd May 1677: The Company in their letters overland do advise that the calicoes sent off late from Bombay are very dear. Unless they can be made better and procured cheaper, it will be to their loss to have any made there. At this we cannot but admire and believe it some abuse in the broker, wherefore we would have you look after him more diligently in the future. It is the Company's desire that all their bastas broad, narrow, and *small galls* be made but 20½ covits long the old dimensions, which order you must observe for what cloth you make hereafter.³

Deanness of
Bombay Cloth,
1677.

Bombay Letter to Surat, 27th June 1677: Concerning the deanness of Bombay cloth we can only say this that the broker lays the fault in the deanness of the cotton yarn which was always the Company's and moiced at Rs. 2 or Rs. 1½ the pound, more than it was worth or more than he could provide it for in Pattan or Rajapur. He likewise complains much of the deanness of this Rajapur yarn now sent. We shall make what pieces are upon the loom and already wove and what yarn is already made into lengths for the waste of the cloth cannot be remedied, but what is made in the future shall be but 20½ covits long.⁴

Bombay Bastas,
1677.

Bombay Letter to Surat, 6th December 1677: We have laden aboard the *Sucree* 18 bales of Bombay bastas. We should have procured a far greater quantity but that the weavers run all away from Bimurly (Bhivandi) where we were promised a good price. As to their goodness we must leave the goods to speak for themselves.⁵

Bombay
Stockings,
1663

Comt's Letter to Surat, 18th August, 1683. We have seen some cotton knit stockings said to be made at Goa and Bombay which cost there about 12d to 16d per pair and some finer to 18d, provide for us 300 dozen of men's ditto stockings and 100 dozen of women's, upon

¹ Surat Fact. Out L. B. 3 of 1677-1700, 23.

² See Out L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 27. Forrest's Home Series, I. 130.

³ Surat Fact. Out L. B. 3 of 1677-1700, 12. Forrest's Home Series, I. 115.

⁴ See Out L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 36. Forrest's Home Series, I. 132.

⁵ See Out. L. B. 1 of 1677-1687, 66.

the best and cheapest terms you can and of different fineness, some of the meanest and some middling, and some of the best that are usually made.¹

Court's Letter to Surat, 16th November 1683 : Set up in Bombay the manufacture of knitting cotton stockings such as are usually made at Goa and send us four or five hundred of them of several sorts most fine.²

Court's Letter to Surat, 7th April 1684 : We consider that Boraeh is as cheap a place for the buying of cotton wool as any place we know in India, and we consider that a great deal of it may be bought for a little money and may be transported by some of our ships to Bombay while they lie still in Swally Hole without any charge (charge ?) to us ; and therefore we do recommend to your consideration the sending of 40 or 50 tons thither, to be put out to spinners and weavers to be made into such sort of cloth as the poor people upon Bombay can best perform. If such a thing were known to be intended and that such work would be constant upon the island, we are apt to persuade ourselves that many good spinners and weavers would repair from the mainland to that island, especially if you keep always such a store of paddy and rice by you that the price may be moderate and no danger of scarcity. We know it is not easy to fall into a right method for delivering out cotton and receiving our own again justly in yarn or cloth ; but it is not impossible, we having long practised the same thing by silk at Cassum Bazár where we have peons expert at it who do ease our Chief and Council of much of the trouble.³

Court's Letter to Surat, 7th April 1684 : Besides cotton send some proper silk to Bombay to be wrought into manufacture such as they can best perform ; but let them not be made so strong as those of Thána, which by reason of their strength were greasy. Let none have our work but such only as will become inhabitants upon our island of Bombay, and persuade all you can from the main to go over and settle at Bombay upon the terms of having constant work.⁴

Court's Letter to Surat, 7th April 1684 : Agree with all our workmen (at Bombay) in silk and cotton (which we hope with your care and contrivance may prove to be very profitable) to take half their pay in rice at the Company's price, the other half in money. When we speak of rice before in this letter, we frequently mention the Company's price, but have not told you what that is, neither can we tell you. That must be set from time to time by yourselves as the assize of bread is at London by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, at such moderate rates that we may be sure to be paid for the charge and freight of our shipping, rent of our storehouses, officers' and labourers' wages in receiving and delivering, 10 per cent interest for our money, with some allowance for waste and spoil that will sometimes happen by vermin or otherwise though you do what you can to prevent it. Great care must likewise be taken that the storekeeper you trust in this business

Chapter II. Trade.

Boraeh Cotton
Wool for Bombay
Weavers,
1684.

Silk for Bombay
Weavers,
1684.

Weavers to be
paid half in
Rice and half
in Money,
1684.

¹ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 53.

² Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 64.

³ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 77.

⁴ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 70.

Chapter II.
Trade

be a right careful and honest man whom we will have to pass his account of stores with our book-keeper once in every month; and the balance and remainder thereof always monthly entered in your Consultation Book that our Council may always have a record before them for what we have in store, as they have of our cash.¹

Weavers from
Thana and Chaul,
1686

Bombay General Letter to the Company, 29th December 1686. This island did formerly vend a considerable quantity of Europe manufactures as broadcloth, perpetuanoes, and lead, and it would be convenient such things were in the warehouses for sale, by which means it would draw trading to the island, and advance the customs yearly. Here is of late many silk weavers and others come from Thana and Chaul, and if encouragement is given, they will daily come from other parts to us. The Portuguese merely tyrannise over those poor people and exact such great taxes and customs from them that they fly from the cities and principal places of trade.²

Surat Tannahs for
Bombay Weavers,
1719

Surat Diary, 2nd December 1719: Received a letter from the President and Council of Bombay, dated the 24th ultimo, advising that on complaint of the weavers the tannahs (warp) provided by our brokers being dearer than usual they will send them up to be returned.³ They also direct samples of the several sorts and colours of broadcloth with proper remarks thereon to be sent down and recommend the speedy provision of Guinea stuffs and the Niccannees for the Europe shipping.⁴

Advance to
Weavers for
Raw Silk,
1724

Bombay Government Consultation, 25th January 1724: Jánóji *mukádam* and other weavers petitioning the Board to be advanced Rs. 6000 for making a provision of raw silk the ensuing season and for laying in batty for the season for their families, their account on the general books being now almost cleared, it is agreed that we advance them that sum.⁵

Kalyán Weavers,
1724

Bombay Government Consultation, 2nd October 1724: The Kalyán weavers having brought in 2598 pieces of Guinea goods, which on examination appearing to be better than muster, they are accordingly accepted of; and the Accountant laying before the Board their account current with the Honourable Company, there is a balance due to said weavers of Rs. 1518 1 q. 20 res; it is directed that the same be paid them and agreed that their request we advance them the sum of Rs. 1500 more.⁶

Cambay Cotton
Yarn for Bombe,
1725.

Bombay Government Letter to Surat, 24th January 1725: Our weavers are in want of the cotton yarn we formerly directed to be provided at Cambay; renew your orders to our factor there that it be sent us with all expedition.⁷

Bombay Government Letter to Surat, 6th March 1725: We must not omit to remind you of sending the cotton yarn we formerly directed by the first conveyance, our weavers here being in great want thereof for carrying on that manufacture agreeable to the contract made with the Honourable Company.⁸

¹ Pub Dep Court's L Vol 1 of 1681-1685, 81, 83

² See Out L B 4 of 1677-1687, 42, 43

³ See above under Imports, an extract regarding Cambay tannahs for the use of the island

⁴ Surat Fact. Diary 611 of 1719-20

⁵ Pub Diary 2 of 1724, 17.

⁶ Pub Diary 2 of 1724, 123-124.

⁷ Surat Fact. Diary 612 of 1723-1725.

⁸ Surat Fact. Diary 612 of 1723-1725.

Bombay Government Letter to Surat, 7th February 1726: Our weavers are in want of 500 pieces of blue cotton thread, each 3½ gross, which do you give Mr. Innes directions to provide and send hither by the first opportunity that offers by any of your boats or sloop.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 31st May 1728: Jánóji *mukádam* of the weavers, employed on making Bombay stuffs, presents a petition in behalf of himself and others setting forth the hardship and loss will accrue to them if the Honourable Company take not off their hands the quantity of those stuffs for making of which they had provided themselves with materials, the tannahs as part thereof being bought of the Honourable Company at an advanced price which they have no other means to dispose of but to the Company except at such a loss as they are not able to bear. They do therefore pray as they have left wherewithal on their hands to make about 400 pieces, we will take into consideration the relieving them by taking off that quantity at the usual price of Rs. 7 a piece. This their case seeming to be as they represent it, that the materials remaining with them cannot be otherwise applied than in making those stuffs except to their very great loss, it is agreed the said weavers be so far considered as that we accept of the said quantity of 400 pieces or thereabouts at the rate of Rs. 6½, provided they be made equally good with those already received.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 27th August 1731: Upon receiving orders by the *Duke of Cumberland* to send home no more coloured goods, the weavers formerly encouraged to come hither for the making of Bombay stuffs were forbid making any such as it was apprehended that those goods were included in the general prohibition. The *mukádam* of the said weavers petitions the Board setting forth the distressed condition that they and their families are in for want of employment, which chiefly consisted in making the said fabric and humbly implores we would take their case into consideration and permit them to deliver into the Company's warehouse such a quantity of the said goods as they shall be able to make hereafter at the usual price of Rs. 7 a piece, as the only means of supporting them and their families. Debating on this petition, the President observes that on the *Windham's* departure for England we took such of the said goods as they had then remaining in their hands in consideration that they had paid the Company 10 per cent on the cost of the materials whereof the said goods were made, but paid them no more but Rs. 6½ per piece for the same, and proposes to offer them the same price for such a quantity as they shall be able to make before the departure of the next returning ship for England. Accordingly the *mukádam* is called in and acquainted with the said proposal. But he pleads that several materials are much dearer now than formerly as well as all manner of provisions and that he cannot possibly abate any thing of Rs. 7 at which rate he makes it appear the workmen get no more than 8 pice a day. At length he is brought to accept of Rs. 6-14-0. Though the said goods are not specified in the list of investment now ordered from England, yet as no fault has been found with those that were sent by the *Windham* and that by complying with the weavers' petitions we shall employ a great

Chapter II. Trade.

Weavers' Stuffs
to be Bought,
1728

Weavers' Wages,
1731

¹ Surat Fact. Diary G13 of 1724-1726.

² Pub. Diary B of 1727-28, 119.

Chapter II
Trade

number of poor inhabitants on the island, it is agreed that we accept of such a quantity of the said stuffs as they shall be able to deliver into the warehouse to the 1st of January next (1732) and the warehouse-keeper is directed to receive them accordingly, and that we give directions to the *mukádam* to continue making the said stuffs until he has orders to the contrary.¹

Encouragement
to Weavers,
1733

Court of Directors' Letter, 7th March 1733, para 34. The small quantities of Bombay stuffs turned to a better account than any article of piece goods whatsoever, and as they are manufactured upon your island, do you encourage the weavers by increasing the demands. As then number is but small, you may promise to take off their hands as many as they can make of the same goodness with those we received this year. And raw silk being part of their fabric, you must write to the President and Council in the Bay to send you annually a sufficient supply upon our account to furnish the weavers, obliging them to make a proportionable allowance in the price of the stuffs.²

Bombay stuffs
much esteemed,
1735.

Court of Directors' Letter, 11th March 1735, para 52. You supply us with but a small quantity of Bombay stuffs year after year, notwithstanding we have told you how well they answer. A great number of weavers are residents in Surat and the parts adjacent, and if some proper measures were taken, some of them might be induced to take up their abode on your island, especially if you engage to employ them constantly which may safely be done in this article provided they are kept up to their goodness, as they turn much better to account than any species of goods from your side of India. We recommend it to you to use your utmost endeavours to provide a large quantity for us.³

Weavers from
Ahmadabad and
Dholka,
1735

Bombay Government Consultation, 1st October 1735. Being informed that sundry weavers have deserted from Ahmadabad Dholka and other parts where the investment is usually made, and as their settling in Bombay would in time prove of great advantage to the island, it is agreed to direct the gentlemen at Surat to endeavour to persuade them to retire hither and to promise them employment and all fitting encouragement, advising us on what terms they are willing to come.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 23rd November 1735. The Surat Chief and factors in their letter of 16th November 1735 say they will endeavour to prevail upon the weavers who have deserted from the parts about Ahmadabad to retire hither, but they apprehend they shall meet with some opposition therein from those who benefit by having the care or inspection of their investments.⁵ In a subsequent letter of 11th December 1735 they add, by opposition they did not mean it from any of their own servants but from the *mukádam* of the said weavers.⁶

Advance to
Weavers,
1735

Bombay Government Consultation, 31st December 1735. The *mukádam* of the weavers having requested us to advance him Rs 4000 to enable him to carry on the investment of Bombay stuffs, the amount of which will be repaid by the goods they will deliver in and as the

¹ Pub. Diary 4 of 1731, 102-103. ² Comp. of Stand. Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 97.
³ Comp. of Stand. Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 99. ⁴ Pub. Diary 8 of 1731-35, 239.
⁵ Pub. Diary 8 of 1731-35, 263. ⁶ Pub. Diary 8 of 1731-35, 262.

Weavers to be
brought to settle
on the Island,
1736.

advancing them such a sum will be an encouragement to them to increase the quantity, the President is desired to pay the same.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 31st March 1736: According to our recommendations to procure a body of weavers to settle at Bombay the supervisor brings with him one Bamanji Patel who has offered his services on that occasion.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 13th September 1736: Bamanji Patel, *mukádam* of the weavers, who came down hither from Surat with Mr. Braddyll having agreed to bring hither forty or fifty families of weavers to settle upon the island on condition that we build small habitations for them and let them live thereon rent free for two years, when they will either pay rent or reimburse the Honourable Company the charge of building said habitations. As a number of weavers settling here will certainly be of great advantage as well in lowering the price of the goods as mending the fabric as they will be more immediately under our inspection, it is agreed that a double range of houses to the number of forty be set about, but that the paymaster lay before us a calculate of the expensé before they are begun.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 8th October 1736: The land paymaster lays before the Board a calculate of the charge of building forty small habitations for the accommodation of so many families of weavers which, supposing the walls to be of mud covered with chunnam and the roofs tiled, will amount to Rs. 4736, and if the walls be of *tallás*, the same is computed at Rs. 3386. But as the first mentioned will be safer from accidents of fire, more durable and in want of less repair, it is agreed that they be built after that manner and directed that the paymaster see them set about and finished with the necessary expedition, taking care that all possible frugality be observed therein.⁴

Their Houses,
1736.

Bombay Government Consultation, 12th November 1736: The vercadores of Bombay having made an examination and report of the loss that will accrue to sundry Kunbis and others who occupy the ground whereon the habitations for weavers are ordered to be built by destroying the greens and others articles planted thereon, amounting to Rs. 225-1-65½, and it being but reasonable that said people should be satisfied for the damage sustained by them, the land paymaster is directed to make them easy on the best terms he can.⁵

Bombay Government Consultation, 19th November 1736: The *mukádam* of the weavers requesting an advance of Rs. 4000 to carry on the investment of Bombay stuffs, the same is agreed to and directed that it be paid out of the treasury. The said *mukádam* representing that the advance of ten per cent on the tannahs delivered to the weavers is a great discouragement to them, and that a large quantity might be procured if they were favoured more in that article, and considering that the Honourable Company tell us this sort answers better than any other coloured goods and that they recommend to us to increase the quantity, it is agreed to deliver the tannahs at only five per cent

Advance to
Weavers,
1736.

¹ Pub. Diary 8 of 1734 35, 295
² Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 323.

³ Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 149.
⁴ Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 385.
⁵ Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 438.

Chapter II Trade.

Advance to
Weavers,
1737.

advance to the weavers on the *mukádam's* promising to deliver fifteen hundred pieces of Bombay stuffs the following year.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 14th May 1737: In their letter of 7th May 1737 the Surat Chief and factors say they had been very pressing with Bannan Patel for preparing the families of weavers for this island, but he representing there was no cotton yarn provided to set them at work and pretending that they were unwilling to come on account of the Maráthás, they must defer getting them to us till after the rains, and no endeavours on their parts shall be wanting to encourage them.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 8th July 1737: Jánóji, *mukádam* of the weavers, requesting to be advanced Rs 5000 for carrying on the investment of Bombay stuffs, it is directed that that sum be paid him out of the treasury.³

1738.

Court of Directors' Letter, 6th January 1738, para 46: This para recommends and approves the encouraging the weavers and thereby procuring a large number of Bombay stuffs annually.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 30th March 1738: Jánóji, the *mukádam* of the weavers, having delivered in Bombay stuffs equal to the amount of the money advanced him within Rs 5000, and now requesting a further sum of Rs 5000 to carry on the investment of those stuffs, it is ordered that that sum be paid him out of the treasury.⁵

Raw silk to
Weavers,
1739

Bombay Government Consultation, 16th February 1739. Jánóji, *mukádam* of the weavers, applying for a quantity of raw silk to supply the Bombay manufactures, it is agreed to deliver him the nine bales received by the *Nancy* on the Honourable Company's account at twenty-five per cent advance on the invoice and the warehouse-keeper is ordered to deliver him the same.⁶

Work
for Weavers,
1739

Bombay Government Consultation, 30th May 1739: On this occasion of writing to Surat, it is agreed we take notice of the weavers' proposals of making essays both of the Begutapants and Guinea stuffs according to the masters of the several fortments from Surat, in the prospect we have of retaining and finding work for these artificers who have taken refuge here from the trouble of the neighbouring countries and are different from those employed on the Bombay stuffs. But as we are not thoroughly acquainted with the particular sorts most in demand at home and consequently where the least risk may be run in increasing the quantity ordered by the last letter of investment, we shall expect Mr. Lamb's opinion in this matter before we venture on any contract, the whole of which is entirely agreeable to our Honourable Masters' directions in the 43rd and 46th paragraphs of their letter by the *Nassau*.⁷

Advance to
Weavers,
1740.

Bombay Government Consultation, 30th May 1739: Jánóji, the *mukádam* of the weavers, applying for a sum to be furnished him for

¹ Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 167.

² Pub. Diary 10 of 1736, 37, 136.

³ Pub. Diary 11 of 1737, 35, 80.

⁴ Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 119.

⁵ Comp. of Stand. Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715, 1721, 101.

⁶ Pub. Diary 12 of 1738, 33, 68.

⁷ Pub. Diary 12 of 1738, 39, 199.

carrying on his undertaking, it is ordered that Rs. 2000 be advanced him on that account.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 8th August 1740 : Jánóji Harbáji, *mukádam* of the weavers, requiring an advance as customary of Rs. 2000 for carrying on the investment of stuffs on the island, it is ordered that the treasury issue the same and his account be charged therewith.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 13th October 1747 : Our weavers not being willing to contract for the Bombay stuffs under Rs 8½ the piece on account of the price of the raw silk being nigh double what it used to be when they undertook this investment at the rate of Rs. 6-14-0 the piece, it is agreed that we defer contracting for them until it can be done on more reasonable terms lest by consenting to raise it now, it should prove difficult to lower it hereafter.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 13th June 1758 : The President Mr. Richard Bourchier informs the Board that he has incurred a considerable expense in bringing a set of weavers upon the island from Bassein for setting up a manufacture proper for Jidda and other western ports and expects he shall be able to procure many more ; but that as he pays customs on the raw silk, cochineal, and other materials used by them, he finds he cannot carry it on if obliged to pay an export duty likewise, and desiring the opinion of the Board as to the propriety thereof, it is resolved that the same be referred to our Honorable Masters, and in order to encourage the manufacture which may in a few years become a great benefit to this island, that no export duty be levied thereon till their pleasure is known.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 10th February 1761 : The weavers at this place having represented in a letter to the President that they used formerly to be supplied with proper silk and blue cotton yarn by the Honorable Company for making Bombay stuffs on allowing 25 per cent on the former and 10 per cent on the latter, when they delivered them at Rs 7 per piece, but that those and the other necessary articles are now so dear that each piece will stand in Rs. 10½, but that if we will agree thereto and order 400 pieces of cotton yarn from Surat, they will pay 10 per cent on it clear of charges and undertake to deliver 500 pieces within six months from the time they receive the cotton yarn ; but as we imagine the Chief and Council at Surat may be able to contract for them on better terms, it is ordered that a muster be sent with directions for them to acquaint us as soon as they can in what time and at what price they can provide the above number of pieces for the Europe market.⁵

Court of Directors' letter, 16th April 1762, para 53 : You do well to enquire into the reasons that the contractors are deficient in completing the investment at Surat. Whatever the weavers may pretend, the principal contractor is the person you ought to look upon as deserving censure, when deficient in his contract ; and therefore as

Chapter II. Trade.

Weavers Raise
the Price of their
Stuffs,
1747.

Weavers from
Bassein,
1758.

Rise in the
Price of Raw
Materials,
1761.

Bombay Stuffs
Insufficient,
1762.

¹ Pub. Diary 12 of 1738-39, 201.

³ Pub. Diary 20 of 1747, 367.

² Pub. Diary 13 of 1739-40, 310.

⁴ Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 307.

⁵ Pub. Diary 36 of 1761, 167.

Chapter II.

Trade

Bombay Staff,
Insufficient,
1762.

Bamanji had failed in his engagements, we approve of your agreeing with Jagannath for the present investment, though Bamanji's proposals were a small matter lower. From this encouragement given to Jagannath and the precaution you took at the beginning to prevent any impediments from Bamanji, we shall expect to find it has been executed in a satisfactory manner and without any deficiency. For though the investment is not considerable a disappointment is so far prejudicial as it lessens the provision for the timely despatch of our ships consigned you as well from the want of the goods here. The Bombay stuffs are but an insignificant article in the list of investment. The demand the Bombay weavers now make for them is so extravagant they will in no degree answer, still we are unwilling to drop entirely the making that manufactory in the island. Therefore any reasonable encouragement you may think proper to give the weavers with you we shall not disapprove so as to reduce the stuffs to the usual price or near it.¹

2 FISHERIES.

Export of Coir,
1670

The following extracts contain some account of the fisheries of Bombay

Consultation held in Bombay, 1st February 1670: The Coolies (Kohs) of this island who sail in small vessels to Surat, having preferred a petition desiring leave to export some small quantities of coir which being formerly denied them they are much aggrieved, pretending they were not able to sustain their families and pay their yearly tax to the Company. The Council therefore thought it requisite (for their encouragement) that the Deputy Governor and Council that shall be, have license to gratify them with such small quantities as they shall think convenient, taking certificates from the customers how much is laden on each bark or vessel for the preventing of abuse.²

Right of Fishing,
1676

Surat letter to the Company, dated Swally Marine 17th January 1676. The right of fishing pretended by the Portuguese is thus. The inhabitants of Thana, Bándia, Karanja, and Chanl now under the Portuguese jurisdiction claimed by ancient custom the privilege of fishing in the open sea and in several bays and creeks belonging to your island. We, finding it prejudicial to your coolies or fishing stakes of Bombay Wadh Mázgaon and other places and much inconvenient to your people, thought good to dispute their said privilege and restore your right, having seized several boats with their men who presumed to fish there after full warning and prohibition given them. This caused some dispute at the time, but it was fairly accommodated, and the boats and men released on their promises to keep in their own bounds whereunto we shall confine them. We hope they will not molest hereafter therein.³

One Rupee Tax
per Fishing
Boat,
1681.

Court of Directors' letter to the Surat President and Council, 7th April 1681: We do hereby impose a yearly tax of one rupee a boat upon every boat that does or shall fish within our bay, whether they belong to ourselves, Portuguese, or any other nation; and one

¹ Pub. Ind. Court's L. Vol. 6 of 1762-1764, 29

² Surat Fact. Diary 1 of 1669-1695

³ Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 23

rupee per annum upon every shopkeeper that keeps open any shop in any part of our island, which we require our Deputy Governor and Council to levy accordingly impartially for our own use. Notwithstanding while you are in danger of differing with the Portuguese, if you shall think it on interest for political ends to keep a close friendship with Samblúji, you may excuse all his fishing vessels from the tax aforesaid, and the Portuguese if they agree to take off the customs they have injuriously laid on us at Thána and Karanja.¹

Comit of Directors' Letter, 5th April 1715, para 101: Do not suffer any body to oppress the fishermen by forcing them to sell the fish to a particular person. Let the market be free to every body. If you shall find good reason to lessen any duty on the licenses for fishing, or lay it open for all, and that it will be a general benefit, we give you leave so to do. But then let us know what were the motives that induced you therunto for our further orders thereon.²

Free Sale of
Fish,
1715.

Letter from Messrs. Owen Philipps, Horno, and Sutton to the Honourable Charles Boone, dated Bombay 15th June 1720: In obedience to the Honorable President's commands we summoned all the coolies of Mázgaon and Dongri to enquire into the reason of the complaints the English inhabitants make for want of fish and if possible to remedy it for the future. On examination we found several of the fishing coolies had been taken from the Dolkars or owners of large fishing nets for such government servants and others as had a right to the use of a palanquin and benches. We therefore took a muster of all the Kols and found a sufficient number to allow each Mázgaon Dolkar six men and a boy and the Dongri Dolkars five men and a boy each, and that there would be enough left for all the other services of the island. We therefore judge it will be now their own fault if they do not supply all the inhabitants with fish, and humbly propose that they be ordered to bring one cwt. every other day to the market, and that the price be lowered to one *dugáni* or *dukáni* the pound which will probably make them the more assiduous—all which is humbly submitted to your Honors' consideration and determination.³

Insufficient
Fish Supply,
1720.

Bombay Government Consultation, 20th June 1720: The report of Messrs. Philipps Horno and Sutton relating to the fishery was read; and after debate thereon, ordered that the price of fish be reduced to one *dugáni* the pound, and that one cwt. be brought to the market . . . and that Mr. Sutton, clerk of the market, give public notice as usual in the bazar.¹

On the 14th August 1726 Government write to the Collector: The decay of the fishery at Mázgaon being represented to be chiefly owing to the want of a due regulation in the coolery, it is thought expedient to appoint a certain number for such employments wherein they will be more useful and enrol them so as not to be taken for other services except on emergent occasions for the public; to wit: To be bred carpenters 24, canlkers 30, sawyers 30. The 12 Dolkars' houses to be supplied for fishing with 108 men and boys; their number to be kept

Mázgaon Fishery,
1726.

¹ Pub. Dep. Comit's L. Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 79.
² Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 182.
³ Pub. Diary 1 of 1720, 91.

Rev. Diary 22 of 1798, 2061.
Pub. Diary 1 of 1720, 89.

Chapter II
Trade

Palanquin
Kohls,
1736

up with fresh supplies as any shall be occasionally dropped off and those then remaining to be employed as hired servants to the inhabitants as there shall be occasion for them.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 21st October 1736. The Dolkas of Mazgaon and Dongri having made frequent complaints that so many Kohls belonging to those cooleries are employed in carrying palanquins, that they have not men enough left for the service of the fisheries, thereby rendering them incapable of paying the Honourable Company's pension. To remedy this for the future it is directed that nobody be permitted to have palanquin Kohls from either of the above mentioned places except such persons as are allowed them by the Honourable Company. It is ordered that the receiver of the revenues see that this resolution be strictly complied with.²

Coolery
Overseers,
1736

Bombay Government Consultation, 31st December 1736. And as Bhuku Sinay, the present overseer of the coolery at Dongri, is too much taken up with his business as farmer of the tobacco rent and interpreter to the Mayor's Court to give the due attendance to his other employ, it is directed that Rnstamji Dorabji be appointed overseer of the said coolery in his stead.³

Coolery Account,
1738.

Bombay Government Diary, 6th October 1738: Account of Bombay coolery for 1737-38⁴:

	Rs.	s.	d.
Amount outstanding for the former year (1736-37)	1487	0	60
Amount of the last year's tribute from the Kohls	1232	0	12
Total ...	2719	0	72
Paid into the Treasury at times last year (1737-38)	1234	2	0
Bad Debts lost among the Kohls ..	21	2	05
Servants' Wages ...	260	0	0
Balance to be collected ...	1200	0	7
Total ..	2719	0	72

Fishing Kohls'
Grievances,
1710

Letter from the receiver of the rents and revenues Mr George Scott, to the President and Council, 30th January 1740: This waits on your Honour for your notice regarding the cooleries of Mazgaon and Dongri, as the grievances complained of seem to call for some redress. The usefulness of these sorts of people renders them so necessary to the island in many respects, particularly that of ballasting ships, packing of the Company's goods, and the advantages accruing from the fishery business which could not well be carried on without them, induce me to believe your Honour will be pleased to take into consideration a proper encouragement in order to prevent their leaving the place, which, notwithstanding the precautions taken, some of them have made their escape in merchants' boats, affording them a better provision than the public service upon the spot. The palanquin service is what they most complain of in which your Honour will judge what number may be necessary for such persons of the Honourable Company's servants whose employments require their keeping a conveyance of this sort. If your Honour should esteem it

¹ Rev. Diary 22 of 1708, 2062-2063.

² Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 523.

³ Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 422-423.

⁴ Pub. Diary 11 of 1737-38, 233-234.

AND ISLAND.

145

Chapter II.
Trade.Fishing Kolis'
Grievances,
1740.

convenient to relieve them in this respect, I apprehend they will not be further troublesome.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 30th January 1740: Read the above letter from the receiver of the rents and revenue setting forth the grievance the Kolis complain of, particularly as to their being employed in carrying palanquins; which being taken into consideration, the former order which had been grown into neglect is now revived that no one that has not a right to palanquin Kolis by their station in the service or particular appointment, shall be allowed them; and that considering the increased price of all provisions and necessities of life and the encouragement given by the Maráthís to this tribe being the most useful for fishery, land-tilling, and in general all labour we give all licensed palanquin Kolis half a rupee advance on their present wages of Rs. 3½ per man (out of which they to pay half rupee monthly pension or head-money to the Company) the whole of which addition will not exceed Rs. 27½ a month, and serve to ease those especially who are put to the hardest duty with the least reward of their labour.²

Bombay Government Diary, 26th September 1740: The overseers of Bombay and Mázgaon coolery submit their respective accounts for 1739-40³:

Fishery Account,
1740.

Bombay.				Rs.	q.	p.
Balance of last account (1738-39)	...	...	...	1410	1	0
Several tributes of the present year (1739-40)	...	...	...	1459	0	11
Cash paid into the Treasury	...	...	Total	2869	1	11
Charges	...	...	...	1669	2	0
Bad Debt	...	...	...	267	2	64
Balance	...	...	...	4	1	8
			...	907	3	39
			Total	2869	1	11
Máhim				Rs.	q.	p.
Balance of last year's Account	...	...	...	213	1	26
Amount of this year's Account	...	...	...	667	2	94
Paid into the Treasury	...	...	Total	881	0	20
Sundry Charges	...	...	...	287	0	0
Balance	...	...	...	25	0	0
			...	569	0	20
			Total	881	0	20

Bombay Government Consultation, 12th February 1741: Read a letter from Mr. Charles Crommelin, Collector of the revenues, representing in behalf of the Kolis of Dhárávi their request for a loan of Rs. 100, that they had some years ago an indulgence of this nature which was punctually repaid; it is agreed therefore that as they are said to be a useful set of people and the sum now desired being for the repairing their boats to carry on the fishery, the same be advanced them and that the Collector see to the proper security being taken as well as receiving back the amount.⁴

Advance to
Dhárávi Kolis,
1741.

¹ Pub. Diary 13 of 1739-40, 60.

² Pub. Diary 13 of 1739-40, 351-352.

³ 493-19

⁴ Pub. Diary 13 of 1739-40, 59-60.

⁵ Pub. Diary 14 of 1740-41, 72-73.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Advance to
Wari Kolis,
1744.

Bombay Government Consultation, 16th March 1744. The Collector of the revenues representing in behalf of the Kolis of Wari that several of their fishing boats wanting repair they request a loan of Rs 100 to be repaid in two years; as it will be a help and encouragement to those useful people, it is agreed to, and that they be not charged with interest ¹

Fishery
Account,
1744.

Bombay Government Diary, 14th September 1744. Account of Bombay and Mázgaon coolery from 1st August 1743 to 31st July 1744²:

<i>Mázgaon.</i>			Rs.	q.	r.
Balance of the former year (1742-43)	...	...	314	2	32
Pension for the last year (1743-44) ...	...	...	81 ⁰	0	50
Total			1163	2	82
Cash paid in ...	...	...	872	2	33
Bad Debts written off ...	...	...	143	3	77
Sundry Charges ...	...	...	62	3	66
Balance Outstanding ...	...	...	81	1	0
Total			1163	2	82
<i>Bombay.</i>			Rs.	q.	r.
Balance of 1742-43	...	...	148	0	4
Produce of 1743-44 ...	...	...	1302	3	40
Total			1450	3	44
Cash paid in ...	...	...	1156	3	38
Bad Debts written off ...	...	...	33	2	66
Sundry Charges ...	...	...	260	1	40
Total			1450	3	44

1746

Bombay Government Diary, 30th September 1746. Overseers of Bombay and Mázgaon cooleries, account for 1745-46³:

<i>Bombay.</i>			Rs.	q.	r.
Balance of 1744-45	...	...	67	3	78
Several tributes, pension &c of 1745-46	...	...	2038	3	47
Total			2106	3	25
Paid into the Treasury ...	...	...	1680	0	0
Charges ..	...	...	272	0	0
Balance ..	...	...	151	3	25
Total			2106	3	25
<i>Mázgaon.</i>			Rs.	q.	r.
Balance of 1744-45	...	...	82	1	49
Amount of 1745-46	...	...	859	3	49
Total			942	0	98
Paid into the Treasury .	...	...	755	1	0
Charges .	...	...	63	0	17
Balance ..	...	...	123	3	81
Total			942	0	98

1747.

The account of the Bombay and Mázgaon cooleries for 1746-47 amounted to Rs. 2851-1-71 ⁴

¹ Pub. Diary 17 of 1744, 96.

² Pub. Diary 17 of 1744, 274-275.

³ Pub. Diary 19 of 1746, 323.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Diary 13th Oct. 1747, Pub. Diary 20 of 1747, 370.

Letter from the Collector Mr. Byfeld, to the President, 13th October 1747 : The Moory (Mori) Kolis at Warli have hitherto been indulged with the easy pension of three-quarters of a rupee each without having the least pretension to it. For notwithstanding they have no fishing stakes of their own, still by being employed in the boats of those that have, they receive the same advantage as the Woomanys and consequently ought to pay the same pension which is Rs 1-1-50 each.¹

Letter from the Collector to the President, 13th October 1747 : In the district of Mahim upwards of 400 other side (that is across harbour) Kolis have settled with their families and are exempt from paying any pension notwithstanding they receive the same advantage by going in boats as those settled at Bombay who pay annually Re. 1-0-36 each. This I presume ought to be levied upon them, more especially as many leave the cooley here annually and resort thither in order to screen themselves under that indulgence which is very prejudicial to the fishery in general.²

Bombay Consultation, 26th April 1748 : The Collector of the revenues in his above letter of 13th October 1747, representing that there are upwards of 400 other side Kolis settled with their families in the district of Mahim that are exempt from paying any pension notwithstanding they receive the same advantage by going in boats as those settled at Bombay who pay annually a pension of Re 1-0-36 each, it is agreed that in future said pension be levied on them in like manner as those at Bombay, as otherwise the latter will think themselves partially dealt by.³

Court of Directors' letter, 5th April 1754, para 163 : We are informed there may be about five hundred useful people called cooleys (Kolis) on the island, who fish for the inhabitants in general and procure a supply for exportation. They give a revenue of about Rs 3000 a year, are a nursery for carpenters and caulkers, and are frequently sent with expresses to the subordinate settlements. These people are said to be so much employed in carrying palanquins that the fishery is much distressed and the inhabitants as well as themselves suffer in consequence. In order therefore to remedy this apparent inconvenience, we direct that our Governor, Council, Superintendent, Mayor, Chaplains, Surgeons, and such English as have families, together with such others of our servants as may be thought entitled by the Governor, be alone permitted to have cooleys (Kolis) in their service.⁴

Court of Directors' letter, 25th April 1759, para 57 : We entirely approve of your easing the fishery in building small advice boats for our service, and we are satisfied that during the war they must be extremely useful.⁵

Court of Directors' letter, 25th April 1759, paras 147 to 150 : If there is no barrack master nor any care taken to furnish the soldiers

Chapter II. Trade.

Pension from
Warli
Fishermen,
1747.

Pension from
Mahim
Fishermen,
1747.

1748.

Fishermen
How Useful,
1751

Advice Boats,
1759.

Two
Fish Markets,
1759.

¹ Pub. Diary 20 of 1747, 372. Woomanys seems to mean Kolis of Old Woman's Island. ² Pub. Diary 20 of 1747, 372. ³ Pub. Diary 21 of 1748, 146-147.

⁴ Pub. Dep. Court's Letter Vol. 4 of 1752-1756, 182

⁵ Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 5 of 1757-1761, 173.

Chapter II

. Trade

Two
Fish Markets,
1759.

with provisions but that they receive then pay and buy food where they can get it, we say this is a most shameful neglect. For certainly the dissolute will lay out their money in arrack and then they must toil to support themselves or starve. But were they all sober and inclined to be regular, it is well known that flesh can seldom be procured by any but the principal inhabitants and fish is often as scarce. Therefore we can hardly believe you capable of such misconduct, because you must not only be divested of common humanity but blind to our interest and your own safety. If the complaint of the bread is just, they have been scandalously injured.

To relieve the soldiers and our subjects in general, we lay down the following rules which we expect are immediately carried into execution:

Receive proposals for a barrack master to furnish the soldiers with good and wholesome food with such allowances and encouragements as may be adequate to his trouble.

In like manner receive public proposals for the bread and biscuit. The bakers to be subject to heavy penalties inserted in their contract if the bread or biscuit is short in weight or goodness. Justices of Peace to hear and determine all such complaints and the clerk of the market to be directed to be strict in his duty to forward all information. If more than one baker is employed we recommend it as a right measure. No covenant servant to be directly or indirectly concerned in this contract as they value our service.

We positively forbid the exportation of fish from any part of our island but as hereafter directed; and it is our express orders that two public markets be erected for sale of every kind of fish, the one at Bombay the other at Máhúm. If any person whatever shall be found to purchase fish from the boats or at any other place but these markets, the buyer and seller to forfeit such sums as you may judge will suffice to check the evil. You are then publicly to settle upon reasonable terms the price of every species of fish, and there our marine paymaster may occasionally buy the sorts required for the sailors, and the traders in this article such as they want to export, observing always that no exportation be allowed but in times of plenty. By these means our subjects will never be distressed. Our Chief of Máhúm nor none in his service are to purchase fish but at the markets in common with all others. As our President is obliged to keep an open table and may at times be distressed for provisions, from fishing Kohis are to be appropriated to his use and to him only; and that this indulgence may not be abused, such Kohis are to wear a badge or some distinguished mark. The fish caught by these Kohis will be carried to the Fort, not to the market, the President paying the market price. For the information of every one we order that these our regulations for the bakers and public markets be fixed up at the custom houses and bandari in the several languages¹.

Fish Market,
1759.

Bombay Government Consultation, 2nd October 1759. Ordered that the publication made in November 1757 for establishing two

¹ Pub Dep Court's Letter Vol. 5 of 1757-1761, 197-199.

fish markets in this town and two at Máhim be renewed declaring whatever person shall be found to purchase fish from the boats or at any other place but at those markets, that both the buyer and seller shall forfeit such sums of money or be punished in such manner as we shall think fit to order.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 23rd October 1759: The fish market having proved a very great nuisance to the neighbourhood since it has been kept under the tamarind tree near the Church, the clerk of the market must be ordered to remove it to a proper place without the Apollo Gate.² As the country (county) is not in cash to defray the expense of erecting sheds for that service, it is agreed that sufficient money be advanced from the treasury to be repaid by the country (county) when their circumstances will admit.³

Letter from the Máhim Custom Master to the President and Council, 6th July 1762: As the fisheries of Warli, Mahim, Dhárávi, and Sion have been the subject of some consideration with the Honourable Court of Directors, and as fish is of such consequence to the inhabitants of this island and the military and marine in general, that they have thought proper to give very particular orders for preventing the exportation thereof, I did, in order to comply therewith, direct the Serjeant at Warli Fort to send me a daily report of the importation of this article, which he has done ever since my first coming hither. As, before they are permitted to pass, all fishing boats bring to under a battery situated at the point of Warli which commands the entrance, such an examination was not only convenient but the Serjeant could always be certain there was no possibility of landing their fish any other way. In the same manner I directed all boats belonging to Máhim Sion and Dhárávi to stop at the Mándvi and be examined by the Serjeant of the custom house before they pass up the river or land their fish. A daily account thereof was regularly taken by the Serjeant and entered in a book kept for that purpose, as also of what fish has been imported from Bándia. In this way the actual quantity of fish of all kinds brought to this island by the foregoing people and from the other side may be seen at any time. Enclosed is an account of three months' fish drawn out from these memoranda, which I now deliver for your Honour's satisfaction. For although it has long been the received opinion of everybody well acquainted with this branch of business, and my own in particular, that the Kohs have some method or other of concealing their fish or landing it privately without our knowledge, still I made no doubt but the above regulations would effectually put a stop to the same and establish such a check on them that no evils of this sort could possibly continue any longer. But I am sorry to observe to your Honour there is great reason to believe the Warli Kohs do still deceive us and that they make a practice of landing their curven (*karbe*) at Bándia

Chapter II. Trade

Fish Market,
1759.

Fishing Abuses,
1762.

¹ Pub. Diary 33 of 1759, 567 - 568.

² The guarded tamarind still close to the north of the Cathedral apse

³ Pub. Diary 33 of 1759, 601.

⁴ *Karba* singular *karbe* plural, a fish about a foot long and six inches broad. It is dried and sent to the Deccan.

Chapter II
Trade.

Fishing Abstract,
1762.

and Vesāva, or somehow or other dispose of their fish without our knowledge. This is evident by referring to the above account wherein it is plain from the 1st October to the 31st December, they have landed only 515 curvens with a quantity of buckshins. Whereas in that time the Bāndra Kohs have imported 1116 curvens besides what they must have sold amongst the Matāthās. Although it is well known in these three months the Warh Kohs usually got formerly vast numbers of curvens, it being the proper season for those fish. Here it is to be observed also that the Warh Kohs have returned in my time for several days together, bringing only a few baskets of buckshins at this fine season for getting curvens. This decent being likewise more obvious on a comparative view of one month with another throughout the whole of this year's importation, plainly evinces they must have a great greater plenty of all kinds of fish than they have given an account of. As I have already remarked under the above regulations, it is impossible to find fish anywhere on this island without our knowledge. So it is undeniable the Bombay Kohs must have recourse to other methods for the rogues they suspect they practise. Concerning this I have all along entertained the greatest doubts and have made the best enquiry possible in order to detect them therein and entirely prevent such proceedings in future. But they are so close in their schemes and in some of their relations to the Bāndra people that no positive proof can be obtained from them about it, or any satisfactory answer except that they would have caught more fish if they could. However it may be reasonably inferred from hence they must have some connections with the Bāndra and Vesāva Kohs belonging to Sakette as aforesaid, to whom they either sell or deliver their fish which are daily brought over from the other side in large quantities and sold on this island. By this means they seem to consult their own advantage by keeping up the price which they are sensible would be much lessened if they brought the fish to Bombay in their own boats as they could afford and would be obliged to sell them cheaper. For when they are regularly sent to market in the manner the Honourable Company have pointed out reserving what is necessary for the marine, such an increase of fish must of course cause a fall in the prices, and the inhabitants, military and marine, be all supplied in general with greater plenty on cheap and reasonable terms. These are truths that speak themselves and my suspicions in regard to the Warh Kohs are founded on the opinion of some who have resided at Mahim many years and on information I have received that they do actually make a practice of exchanging their fish at Chum Villogi (that is Jhu village)¹ near Vesāva for mackerel every springtide. This may I presume therefore be admitted especially as the large quantity of fresh and salted curvens that have been daily brought over from Bāndra, particularly in the last three months, is another corroborating circumstance that proves the possibility that the Warh Kohs are able to catch curvens as well as the Bāndra Kohs, their stakes being very near to one another. I may also add that having occasion to comply with some demands for

¹ Chum Villogi is Jhu village still known to the local Christians as Jhum Villagem. Jhu is immediately south of Vesāva. The memory of a still remains at Capaxem in the north corner of Jhu touching Vesāva. Mr. L. M. Platt, I. C. S.

curven for the marine when our Kolis had none to supply, I directed the customs people to stop what came over from the Bándra side till the quantity required was made up. This had its proper effect, for the Kolis finding they could not as before, pass the curvens for sale at Bombay brought them on shore in plenty from the sea during that time although they had been sent for several days previous thereto and returned without any, pretending that they could not get them. This restriction being shortly removed, few or none were landed by them afterwards. All which I submit to your Honour's consideration, esteeming it my duty that I should represent the above that the necessary orders may be given to prevent in future evils so pernicious to the good and welfare of this island in general. P.S.—Besides the 1416 curvens which the Bándra Kolis have brought over from the other side as above mentioned, they have also sold to our Sattias (Shetrás), who are people that never fish themselves but follow the trade of buying up the curvens from the Bándra and Vesáva Kolis, and who are always allowed a certain price for them on condition that they reserve the whole of what they get for the marine service, within those three months 1160 curvens more. So that exclusive of the consumption amongst themselves, the Bándra Kolis have caught 2576 curvens and the Warli Kolis only 515, although the Warli Kolis have forty boats employed in the fishing trade, which is more than the Bándra Kolis have, allowing for what is reserved for their *sir'ár* business and other services.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 6th July 1762: Read the above letter from the Máhm custom master, setting forth a great abuse he has discovered in the fisheries of Máhm, Warli, Son, and Dhánávi by the Kolis carrying the fish to Salsette instead of bringing them upon this island, by which means he is not only prevented from supplying the marine, but the inhabitants are greatly distressed for this article. This being taken into consideration, it is observed that the custom master in his letter says he prohibited the importation of fish last year from Salsette during which time our Kolis brought in greater quantities of fish than they had done for some time before. This therefore appearing to be a very proper and effectual remedy for the inconvenience he points out, an order must be issued to him for this purpose, though he must be very cautious that this measure does not distress the inhabitants of this island, and report to us what effect it may have by the end of December next.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 21st June 1763: Read a report from the committee appointed to fall upon a proper method of supplying the garrison with provisions, acquainting us that they have prevailed upon the Kolis to consent to enter into a written contract for providing fresh and salt fish on certain conditions, and proposing that we should issue a publication prohibiting all persons whatever under fixed penalties from purchasing elsewhere but at the public markets. Both proposals being agreed to as highly proper a contract is ordered to be drawn out and executed by the Dongri Kolis, their proposals

Chapter II.

Trade.

Fishing Abuses,
1762.

Fish Supply to
the Garrison,
1763.

¹ Pub. Diary 38 of 1762, 378-381.

² Pub. Diary 38 of 1762, 376.

Chapter II.
Trade

Fish Market for
English Families,
1763.

being esteemed better than those of the Kols at Máhim and Wadh. Also that the markets may be kept under proper regulations; it is resolved that two members of the Board superintend every month alternately, to commence the 1st of next month.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 5th July 1763. A fish market having already been established for the military and native inhabitants, the committee have endeavoured to establish one for the English families within the town. They now present to the Board an agreement they have made with some Kols for fishing in Back Bay for that purpose. This being approved, a contract is ordered to be drawn and the necessary orders to be issued to the collector and the clerk of the works.²

One General
Fish Market,
1763.

Bombay Government Consultation, 13th September 1763. The having separate fish markets for the military, native inhabitants, and families within the town, having given rise to many disputes, and been the occasion of much heart-burning and discontent amongst the inhabitants in general, and being thereby induced to believe one general market will answer our intention much better, the same is agreed to and ordered to be held accordingly without the Bazar Gate.³

Court's Offer to
give up Fish
Revenue,
1765.

Court of Directors' letter, 22nd March 1765, paragraph 124. In your letter of the 25th March 1764 by the *Speaker* you mention an attempt you made by opening two markets in order that the inhabitants might be better supplied with fish, which we are sorry to find has not answered the intent.⁴ As we should be very glad to contribute anything in our power to the benefit of the inhabitants particularly regarding fish, which we are persuaded is a very essential article both to our own servants and the black inhabitants, we ordered that the revenues arising from the fishing Kols be laid before us. These amount to about Rs. 1171 per annum, of which Rs. 515 is paid by Kols from the other side; the net produce from the Bombay Kols is Rs. 3626. Part of this sum or even the whole of it we are inclined to give up if thereby you judge great plenty of fish could be caught and brought to our market, and there sold, so as all our covenant servants, military and marine, might be plentifully supplied at a reasonable price; and the inhabitants in general be also benefited by it. We mean only hereby to encourage the fishery as much as possible and such of your country people of whatever caste they may be, as shall choose to fish for themselves and their families or for the consumption of the island, may, if you think fit, have free liberty to do so without being liable to pay us any duty whatever. But such persons as fish for exportation may still be subject to any reasonable duty you shall direct them to pay. We recommend this affair to your deliberate consideration. If you find it does not greatly interfere with any other branch of our business, we permit you

¹ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 220. Pub. Diary 11 of 1763, 436.

² Pub. Diary 11 of 1763, 438.

³ Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 193-194. Pub. Diary 41 of 1763, 567-568. Bombay to Court 25th Mar. 1764 para 109, Pub. Dep. Letters to Court Vol. 11 of 1761, 70-71.

⁴ Bombay to Court 25th Mar. 1764 para 109, Pub. Dep. Letters to Court Vol. 11 of 1761, 70-71.

to do therein whatever you think may conduce most to the public benefit, taking the necessary care that if the present duties paid for fishing be given up, the inhabitants may have an adequate advantage in being plentifully supplied with that necessary article of provisions. Otherwise our end and design in permitting you to relinquish the duty cannot be answered.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 21st January 1766: Messrs. William Hornby Samuel Court and Rawson Hart Boddam are appointed a committee for taking into consideration that part of the Honorable Company's commands relative to the increase of the quantity of fish upon the island, and report to the Board whether the proposal for relinquishing the revenue arising from the fishing Kolis or any other method the committee may be able to point out will answer the intended purpose.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 8th July 1766: Taking into consideration that part of the Honorable Company's commands of the 22nd March 1765, wherein to promote the good of fishery they are pleased to agree to relinquish the revenue arising from the coolery, we are unanimously of opinion that the giving up of the same to the Kolis would by no means answer our Masters' good intentions, but that it may be appropriated in such manner as greatly to increase the quantity of fish brought to market and consequently the inhabitants will be more plentifully supplied either by building well boats or granting premiums to such of the fishermen as bring most to market, and on this occasion the agreement entered into in 1763 with the patels is referred to and must now be enforced.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 5th August 1766: Messrs. Hornby Court and Boddam are appointed a committee for forming a set of regulations for conducting the fishery, and disposing in the best manner of the revenue arising from the coolery which we have already determined to appropriate to this purpose.⁴

Letter from the Committee of the Fish Market to Government, dated Bombay 7th October 1766: Having, agreeable to your Honour's orders, met and taken in consideration the state of the fish market, we have drawn up sundry regulations regarding them which we herewith enclose for your approbation, and are of opinion that if published in the usual manner and strictly adhered to, they will very effectually answer the intended purpose. The proposed rules are given below:⁵

1. That fishing boats be all numbered and the patel and Kolis give in their names to be registered by the inspector, and none suffered to fish without observing this rule that on their coming to land with fish it be regularly inspected, by which means a proper judgment may be made whether what they bring on shore is adequate to their charges and labour and conclude whether they conceal or otherwise dispose of the best sort of fish.

Chapter II.
Trade.

Fishery
Committee,
1766

Their Report,
1766.

¹ Pub Dep Court's Letters Vol. 7 of 1765-1768, 40-41.

² Pub. Diary 46 of 1766, 42.

³ Pub. Diary 17 of 1766, 191.

⁴ Pub. Diary 46 of 1766, 400.

⁵ Pub Diary 17 of 1766, 623-628.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Fishery Rules,
1766.

2. The fish to be divided into three parcels, one for the town market, one for the military, and one for the black inhabitants, all sorts equally alike; and the women to be ready in three companies, one for each respective market; and a division of money to be made into seven equal numbers, out of which one number whose turn it shall be, after the fish is sold, shall daily clean the market of all filth which they must be obliged to carry away and throw into the sea to prevent infection, taking it day and day about.

3. The constables of the county, till these regulations have properly taken place, to attend by rotation one to each market daily and be strictly charged to do their duty, to suppress any disturbances that may arise, or if charged to carry before any of His Majesty's Justices of Peace any person or persons so offending, and that some allowance may be made them for their trouble herein.

4. Every person selling their fish must be obliged to bring their scales and to have with them a $\frac{1}{2}$ -lb. a 2-lb. and a 5-lb. weight stamped, and to sell the different sorts of fish both fresh and salt at the following prices of which a board to be affixed at each market, specifying the same.

Fish Prices, 1766.

POHAR KOLIS THEIR PRICE						
Sorts		Fresh.			Salt and Dried	
		lis	qrs.	price	lis	qrs. price
1	Caricus (Karbo)	0	0	3	The lb.	0 0 1
2	White Pomphret	0	0	1	Do	0 0 1
3	Black do.	0	0	4	Do	0 0 1
4	Sardis (che. sh)	0	0	2	Do	0 0 1
5	Rahals	0	0	1	Do	
6	Mullies	0	0	3	Do	
7	Scurra	0	0	4	Do	0 0 1
8	Nurs (ner or nerla)	0	0	4	Do	
9	Prawns	0	0	1	Do	0 0 4
10	Doekas (dikan)	0	0	2	Do	0 0 3
11	Maidoor rip (mudir)	0	0	1	Do	0 0 3
12	Shutis	0	0	2	Do	0 0 3
13	Contis (kantrie)	0	0	1	Do	0 0 4
14	Robilo Gallos or sturgeons	0	0	3	Do	0 0 4
15	Pumndoes	0	0	1	Do	5 0 0
16	Bhang	0	0	5	Do	0 0 3

WARR KOLIS THEIR PRICES

Sorts		Fresh.			Salt and Dried	
		lis	qrs.	price	lis	qrs. price
1	Caricus (Karbo)	6	0	0	The corgie	10 0 0
2	White Pomphrets	0	1	10	Do	0 2 0
3	Black do.	1	2	1	Do	2 0 0
4	Sardis (che. sh)	0	2	0	Do	0 2 0
5	Rahals					
6	Mullies					
7	Scurra	1	0	0	The corgie	1 0 0
8	Nurs (ner or nerla)					
9	Prawns	0	1	0	The bundle	0 0 16
10	Doekas (dikan)	0	3	0	The corgie	1 0 0
11	Maidoor rip (mudir)	3	0	0	Do	3 1 0
12	Shutis	0	1	0	Do	0 1 0
13	Contis (kantrie)	8	0	0	Do	8 1 0
14	Robilo Gallos or sturgeons	0	1	0	The bundle	0 3 0
15	Pumndoes	0	0	1	The lb	4 0 0
16	Bhang	1	2	6	The corgie	1 3 0

N B.—Three of the Pombay old fishery dried mummeloes at 1s. 3d. the bundle of 100.

MAHIM KOLIS, SATTIAS TUPUR PRICES

Sorts	Salt and Dried.			Rate.
	Rs	qrs	pie	
Curians (Karihe)	4	0	0	The corg.
White pomphrets	0	2	0	Do
Black do	2	0	0	Do
Savels (Chivalis)	1	0	0	Do.
Seers	1	2	0	Do.
Bummlows	5	0	0	The 1000.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Fishery Rules,
1766.

5. The boats always to land their fish at the places appointed by the inspector where they shall be properly inspected and ordered by him to the several markets, being first weighed by him in the gross.

6. On any complaint of insult or injustice offered by any person or persons whatever to the inspector, he will immediately order a constable to carry the offender or offenders before one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the complaint being enquired into, who will give him such satisfaction as the nature of the case requires.

7. That any person or persons attempting to forestall the market by giving a greater price than herein ordered or purchasing out of the market excepting those hereafter mentioned, shall be fined or receive such corporal punishment as one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace may judge adequate to the offence, and the informer be entitled to one-half of such fine as may be levied.

8. That any person going to the stakes or boats from the shipping in the harbour on complaint and proof the officers in command of such ship or ships shall be fined as above.

9. That no persons whatever shall catch any fish in Bombay or at Old Woman's Island, but the inspector or renter who has agreed with him for the same, without previously acquainting the inspector and the Kolis being furnished with his note, and that any one so offending shall be fined or otherwise punished.

10. That fishing boats which are numbered shall be exempt as much as possible from ballasting the ships, and that the Collector should rather order the Kolis of Suri and other places that do not supply the market with fish to that duty.

11. As there are daily complaints of the soldiers abusing the people who bring their fish to market to sell, often taking out what fish they please for them, such offenders must be sent by the inspector to a Justice of Peace who is to inflict on them such corporal punishment as he may deem reasonable.

12. Boats that carry drift nets are to land in Back Bay and from thence are to carry their fish to the market as ordered by the inspector.

13. All fish caught on Old Woman's Island or elsewhere in the Company's own nets and boats to be for the town use.

14. A boat to be sent every day to one of the moorings with a signal to serve the shipping at the market price, and no person is on any account to attempt to beat or otherwise ill treat the Kolis. If Kolis are guilty of any misbehaviour, the person injured is to write a *chit* to the inspector and send two or more witnesses of the crime of which the Kolis may be accused.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Fishery Rules,
1766

15. That the inspector noways interfere with the sale or division of fish brought to the public markets save only such as are caught by his own boats and the people in his own immediate pay; but the fishermen or women have the sole disposal of them at their own liberty without distinction of persons and free of all restraint at the market price hereinbeforementioned

16 That whoever may inform against any boatmen fishermen or others who act contrary to these regulations, as well sellers as buyers, they shall either be fined or receive a corporal punishment at the discretion of any one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace and the informer be entitled to one-half of such fine as may be inflicted.

17. That the inspector daily appoint such a number of women as he may judge necessary to carry fish from the market to the distant parts of Sonapur and Gungaoon in order to remedy by this means the inconvenience the inhabitants living at a distance might be subjected to by being obliged to send constantly to market, the inspector giving to such women his permit; and that any one daring to act herein without a permit shall be fined or otherwise punished as may be judged suitable to the offence by any one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace

18 That the inspector be allowed for his trouble in the execution of this service Rs 30 a month with a palanquin and a set of Kohls for the better enabling him to prosecute the same.

19. The inspector to apply to the Collector for the time being on any trifling cause of complaint which he may not think proper to make before a Justice of the Peace¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 7th October 1766 Received the above report from the committee appointed to frame a set of regulations for the better conducting the fish market, which being read, and a few alterations made therein are approved and ordered to be carried into execution by issuing a publication requiring all persons to comply therewith. The regulations to be affixed at the usual places and in the maine yard for the notice of people belonging to the shipping²

Kohls Palanquin
Duty,
1767

Bombay Government Consultation, 18th March 1767. Read a petition from the Kohls representing that the fishery is very much distressed by the number of them carrying palanquins. Ordered that the Collector enquire into the merits of this petition and after supplying the fishery with a sufficient number of Kohls, distribute the remainder amongst the inhabitants as nearly conformable to the Honourable Company's orders as possible³

Bombay Government Consultation, 28th April 1767: Read a petition from the patels of different Kohls upon the island, requesting that they may be excused attending palanquin duty. But as continuing this duty solely to the Dongri Kohls distresses the fishery and seems to be a hardship upon this caste in particular as they all pay a pension,

¹ Pub Diary 17 of 1766, 623-628.

² Comp of Standing Ord Vol 2 of 1750-1788, 151. Pub. Diary 17 of 1766, 607.

³ Pub Diary 18 of 1767, 197-198

it is resolved that fifty Kolis from the other castes be likewise required to do this duty.¹

Remarks by the committee of accounts on the fishery accounts: As the advantage accruing to the inhabitants in general from the establishment of a fish market within the town does not seem to be adequate to the expenses the Honourable Company sustain on this account, it is agreed we recommend to the Board that some other regulation may be considered of. The following is a statement of the expenses²:

Fishery:

To the amount of sundry disbursements made in the year by Mr. Batty
to pay to coolies, supplies of nets and sundry petty stores . . . 1873 Rs. 2 15

Fishery:

By fish sold from 1st August 1766 to 31st July 1767 .. 121 2 02

Remains of stores, namely:

	Rs.	q.	r.
1 Stillard (steel-yard) cost . . .	5	2	50
3 Batts cost . . .	70	0	0
1 Bundle fish hooks . . .	9	0	0
12 Nets . . .	25	0	0
2½ Muns sheet lead . . .	13	1	25
50 Pound and half-pound weights . .	10	0	0
10 Sticks . . .	4	0	0

A house for a fish market out of the Bazar Gate ... 215 1 51

352 1 29

Balance, being the net loss sustained by the Honourable
Company ... 1366 2 24

Total ... 1873 2 45

Bombay Government Consultation, 13th October 1767: Repeused the report from the committee of accounts, the remarks in which were entered last Council day and are now taken into consideration, particularly that relative to the state of the fishery. It is observed all the methods hitherto tried have proved ineffectual for procuring plenty of fish, and therefore a proposal is now laid before us for furnishing this article on certain conditions as entered hereafter. It is agreed to make trial of it for the ensuing year; when should it not be found to answer, we shall endeavour to fall upon some other method. The Collector must therefore be ordered to afford the undertakers all the assistance in his power.³ The aforesaid proposal is given below:

That Bhuku Smay, when he was a patel, did carry on his business very right, and supplied the inhabitants with fish. He also managed the Kolis, and when Rustamji succeeded him therein, he did conduct the markets, so that there had been no complaints regarding fish which was regularly supplied to that time. Some time thereafter the said Rustamji fell sick, and, there being nobody else to manage the fishery, Mr. Ryfield did establish the markets for that purpose, making contracts with the Kolis which was continued for a little time. When the said Rustamji departed this life, his sons were employed in his place, who being under age are not able as yet to carry on the business of that

Chapter II.

Trade.

Fishery Account,
1767.

Arrangement
for Fish Supply,
1767.

¹ P. 1. Decy 4th of 1767, 283.

² P. 1. Decy 1st of 1767, 517.

³ P. 1. Decy 19th of 1767, 557-558.

Chapter II.
Trade.

Arrangement
for Fish Supply,
1767

office So that Hirji Navroji acted in their behalf in recovering the Miskim pension and distributing the Kohs for the gentlemen's palanquins. But Hirji neglected the fish market which occasioned a great want of fish. When Mr. Boddam was Collector he proposed to the Kohs that if they would provide fish for the use of the town, the Governor and Council would acquit them of their pension which they annually pay, amounting to Rs. 1000. This the said Kohs declined. Mr. Boddam represented this to the Board who appointed Mr. Batty to take care of the fish markets with an allowance of Rs. 30 per month for a palanquin and other charges. Mr. Batty has already expended above Rs. 2000, but has not yet been able to supply the town with fish.

The Honourable Company have no occasion to bear so much charges upon account of the fisheries. This duty relates to the patel who has high pay and perquisites. If the patel requires any assistance in carrying on his business, it ought to be afforded him, if he does not choose to carry it on, there is another person who will agree to do it without charging any more pay than the patel is allowed. The following are the conditions that person will require: (1) The Governor and Council shall encourage the Kohs and appoint them such places for their lodging without receiving any ground-rent from them and not force them to carry palanquins, and he would bring them from other places. (2) That the Governor and Council will give him authority to prevent the Kohs selling fish in the town but make them bring it to the markets; and if any of them shall be found acting contrary thereto the Board will punish or lay such fines on them as they shall think proper. (3) That the Board allow six sepoy and one Purvoo to help in carrying on this troublesome business; for unless a proper man should run after the Kohs continually with great care, he cannot be able to get fish enough. (4) In case the manager should at any time have occasion for assistance, in such case the Honourable Company's Collector shall protect him as much as lies in his power. (5) That the person who will accept this management will agree to supply the inhabitants with fish and manage the Kohs, and will endeavour to find out some method to increase the supply as much as possible. (6) That no fishermen whatsoever must be permitted to go fishing without acquainting the manager, or in default of which the Governor and Council may lay such fines or punishments as they shall think proper. (7) That the Kohs may fish anywhere, except at the Beach, without any manner of impediment from the Honourable Company. (8) If there is any necessity a few Dongri Kohs are to be excused from the duty of the palanquins upon such important business. The above proposals this person is willing to agree to, unless Hirji or any other person will engage on the same terms, and promises to conduct the business with the greatest care and integrity. He further represents that no European will be able to carry on this business so properly as a black man. The European trusts entirely to his servants, the black man who will accept of it, will for fear of his credit being lost, take more care and run himself after this business and would not trust any servants who are only required to go errands.¹

¹ Pub. Diary 1st of 1767, 560-561.

Court of Directors' letter, 18th March 1768, paragraph 39: It is very agreeable to us to find that the fish market is better supplied now than for some years past, which must be of great service to the military and other inhabitants. This we expect you will attend to and make any alterations that you may find expedient, as well as to the fish market which we find has been much improved by new regulations, and we hope with the continuance of your attention will shortly answer what we wished it might be brought to.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 14th July 1769: The Grand Jury at the last Sessions of the Peace having very pressingly represented to the justices the present great scarcity of fish, notwithstanding the several regulations made by this Board for these many years past. As it occurs to us that if the farmers of the Old Woman's Island would give up their lease, or at least relinquish their right to the fish thereon, the market might be better supplied with this very necessary article. It is therefore agreed to apply to them accordingly to know on what terms they will consent to either.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 29th July 1769: Received a letter from the lessees of Old Woman's Island in answer to that written them in consequence of our resolution at our last meeting. This being considered, it is agreed to refer the propriety of accepting their proposals for relinquishing their lease to Messrs. Hornby, Jervis, and Fletcher who are appointed a committee for this purpose and to prepare and lay before us such a plan as they may think most likely to procure a sufficient supply of fish for the market.³

Report from the Committee appointed to regulate the fishery to the President and Council, dated Bombay 19th August 1769: Having in consequence of your Honour's order to us under the 31st ultimo duly considered the proposals made by the renters of Old Woman's Island for giving up their lease, they appeared to us to be rather unreasonable, and having called on them, they have agreed to abate Rs. 500 therein. We are therefore of opinion it will be most advisable to accept the proposals and that the following plan may answer the desired purpose of supplying the European inhabitants with plenty of fish. Mr. John Jones, who is well acquainted with this fishery, has offered us to take on him the management of the same, provided your Honour will for his trouble therein allow him a set of palanquin Kols for his own use, and some peons to assist him in carrying it into execution. We therefore recommend that a patel and 25 Dongri Kols be ordered constantly to attend the fishery under the direction of Mr. Jones (with the allowance before mentioned). And as those Kols represent to us that they have not at present nets proper for this fishery, we recommend that they be for this time furnished with them at the Company's expense, as also with small boats should their own be too large for this purpose, and that all the fish-pond walls be repaired for them at the Honourable Company's expense. Could the whole or any part of them

Chapter II. Trade.

Improvement
in Fish and
Flesh Supply,
1768.

Scarcity of
Fish,
1769.

Committee
appointed,
1769.

Then Report,
1769.

¹ Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol 7 of 1765 - 1768, 311.

² Pub. Diary 51 of 1769, 591 - 592.

³ Pub. Diary 51 of 1769, 599.

Chapter II
Trade
Fishery Report,
1769.

be induced to live on the island with their families, we are of opinion that it would be better than their residing at Dongri; and we also judge it necessary that all other persons whatever should be prohibited from fishing round about Old Woman's Island save these Kols only. When the fish is caught, Mr. Jones is to weigh it in the lump and to send it to the clerk of the market to be sold by the Kols in the town market for the use of the European inhabitants. In order to give the Kols all due encouragement, we would recommend that all fish brought for sale within the town be sold at two pice per pound more than the present rate. We also recommend to the Board that one boat from the Waihi fishery during the fishing season be directed to be daily sent into Back Bay with some of their prime fish for the town use. It appearing to us that the employment of the boats belonging to the Dongri Kols in ballasting the ships, interferes greatly with the fishery, we recommend that the Board fix six boats from Sun coolery and six from Dongri for this purpose, which the Superintendent has acquainted us will in his opinion be amply sufficient, that they be put immediately under the Collector to be constantly employed on this service only; and all indents for ballast be made to the Collector by the Superintendent. As by their agreement with your Honour the Dongri Kols are obliged to furnish 90 Kols for the palanquin service, we would recommend, provided this number cannot be lessened for the benefit of the fishery, that your Honour fix their distribution that it be not exceeded. And that if a further number of Kols are required for this service, the Collector be ordered to raise them from Sonápm Kols, the greater part of whom formerly always carried palanquins. We recommend also that such additional servants be allowed to the Collector and clerk of the market as will enable them to see these regulations carried into execution.¹

Government
approve their
Proposals,
1769

Bombay Government Consultation, 26th August 1769: Read the above letter from the committee appointed to regulate the fishery and their several proposals being approved are ordered to be carried into execution. Agreeable thereto the Collector is directed to pay Rs. 2000 to the lessees of Old Woman's Island out of the Koli fund for relinquishing their lease and to let out the island again exclusive of the fishery. The person (Mr. John Jones) who, conformable to the recommendation of the committee, is to act under the Collector, is to be allowed a set of palanquin Kols for his own use and to have a Patel and twenty-five Kols with four peons who are constantly to attend the fishery; and the better to enable the Collector and the clerk of the market to carry these regulations into execution, the former is to be allowed four and the latter two additional peons for that purpose.²

Court Approve,
1771.

On the above measure in their letter of 25th April 1771 the Court write: We highly approve of your purchasing the lease from the farmers of Old Woman's Island for Rs 2000 as a means of better supplying the inhabitants with fish; and we recommend it to you to adopt every measure that shall occur for having the fish market plentifully supplied.³

¹ Pub Diary 51 of 1769, 645-617

² Comp of Standing Ord. Vol 2 of 1759-1789, 255 Pub Diary 51 of 1769, 636-637

³ Court to Bombay 25th Apl. 1771 para 43, Pub. Dep Ct's L Vol 8 of 1769-1771, 238

Bombay Government Consultation, 28th August 1770 The regulations made last year for establishing a fish market have been found ineffectual. As the town in general has been very ill supplied, it is agreed to permit of every one fishing where they may think proper, to lay the market open, and to oblige every boat to take a chop (*chháp* that is seal or stamp) from the clerk of the market which must be returned at a particular place to be appointed for landing their fish. Should they land fish elsewhere they will be fined Rs. 50 for each offence. The Máhim and Warh boats are to take their chops from the Chief of Máhim; and sheds for the sale of the fish are to be erected at the several slips which may be appointed for different boats to land. The palanquin allowance and peons hitherto given to Mr. Jones on this account are to be discontinued.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 9th October 1770: As the customs hitherto collected on fish prove an impediment to its importation and is but a mere trifle to the Honourable Company, the same is ordered to be taken off except on *kut* or buckshaw which must not be suffered to be imported on any consideration.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 19th January 1770. Read a petition from the fishery Kolis at Dongri representing that on account of the new works they have been removed from their houses by the sea side, and desiring that they may have a place allotted to them now occupied by some other inhabitants whose occupations do not require their being near the sea. We readily acquiesce therein. But the Kolis must satisfy the proprietors for their houses or if they cannot adjust their value among themselves, Messrs Jervis, Fletcher, and Keating must put such a valuation upon them as they may deem equitable.³

Report from the Committee to the President, 20th October 1770: Enclosed your Honour will receive account valuation of the Kolis' houses on the ridge of Dongri hill which the principal engineer represents he wants to have immediately removed, as also valuation of those houses on the spot assigned to the Kolis for rebuilding on. This latter item amounting to Rs. 1456-0-24 is to be paid by the Kolis themselves.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 26th October 1770: Read the above report from the committee appointed to value the houses to be removed on account of the new works, enclosing an account valuation of sundry houses wanted to be immediately taken away from the ridge of Dongri hill which is ordered to be paid accordingly.⁵

Comt's letter, 28th April 1791, para 29. As we understand that an old arbitrary power, which was established when the island belonged to the Portuguese, has been exercised in later times, and perhaps is in some degree still exercised, against that most useful set of people the fishermen, a certain number of them being obliged to fish in the Branch water and to act as palanquin bearers to some of the gentlemen in office, for the first of which duties they either receive no pay or scarce any and for the latter not near the wages customary, and that

Chapter II.

Trade

The Plan Falls,
1770Customs on Fish
taken off,
1770,Koli
Accommoda-
tion by the Govt.,
1770.Fishermen to
be Free,
1791.¹ Pub Diary 56 of 1770, 460² Pub Diary 56 of 1770, 539³ Pub Diary 55 of 1770, 70.⁴ Pub Diary 56 of 1770, 576.⁵ Pub Diary 56 of 1770, 565

Chapter II.
Trade.

Fishermen to
be Free,
1791

they experience other grievances which must not only subject their industry to imposition but their persons to insult and oppression from the sepoys or others authorized to compel them to execute such duties, we direct that in case such grievances do still in any degree exist, they be on receipt of this letter entirely abolished and the fishermen released from all such servitude and left as free as the other inhabitants of the island.¹

In their Diary of 22nd November 1791 the Board order that the Collector must be directed to enforce the instructions contained in the above paragraph of the Court's letter.²

The Collector Mr. George Stevenson's letter to Government, 28th November 1791: I have duly received the extract of the 29th paragraph from the Honourable Company's letter of 28th April 1791 and beg leave to inform your Honourable Board that not any Kolis who act under me have ever been employed to fish in the Breach water. The Dolkais, who are the fishing Kolis in my department and the only people who possess nets, are never employed to carry palanquins. Those Kolis employed for that purpose receive the same fixed pay established for all Kolis who carry palanquins on this island, and whenever they are employed in such a manner as to leave their families and habitations, they receive, if only for a single day, much higher *bhatta* than what it is customary to allow Kolis in the adjacent countries. The great opulence of these people is too notorious to need my noticing to your Honourable Board farther than to remark that this opulence has in a great measure been acquired from the many indulgences granted them and which no other caste of people on this island ever enjoy. So that so far from the Kolis labouring under any grievance or oppression, they are and always have been considered and treated as a favoured people.³

Rich Fishermen,
1791

Fisheries,
1791

The Collector Mr. George Stevenson's letter, 16th December 1791: Conformable to the order of your Honourable Board of the 7th instant, it is necessary for me to explain as briefly as possible the whole business of the coolery so far as relates to what is noticed in the 29th paragraph of the Company's commands dated 28th April 1791. The number of Kolis on this island amount to 2016, of which number 1061 are fishing Kolis. These Kolis possess 130 boats which are all at the command of Government on every urgent emergency such as embarking and disembarking troops. Forty-five of these boats are employed in the neap tides, when they cannot fish, in bringing ballast for the use of His Majesty's fleets, the Honourable Company's cruizers, and such merchant ships as may want it. This is all the duty I am acquainted with exacted from these people by Government, that is, they receive as much as could be demanded by any other people for performing the same service. The indulgences granted these people are an exclusive right to all the fishery, not only in all water surrounding this island but for several leagues out in the sea and where they and their property are protected and secured from being plundered by pirates, by the armed

¹ Pub Dep Court's L. Vol 13 of 1791 1793, 31-35. Pub Diary, 99 of 1791, 810

² Pub. Diary, 99 of 1791, 810

³ Pub. Diary, 99 of 1791, 817.

vessels belonging to the Honourable Company. On shore they are indulged by having the privilege of building their habitations on any spot of ground most suitable to the advantage of their business, and if this ground happens to be the property of the Honourable Company they are allowed to occupy it without paying any rent. They have also large spots of ground granted them for the convenience of drying their fish, and other ground to repair and dry their nets on. For this likewise, if it be the property of the Honourable Company, no ground rent is exacted. Thus your Honourable Board will perceive that these people are never employed by Government without being paid for their labour and that the indulgences granted them are highly beneficial to their private emoluments.¹

Bombay Government Orders on the Collector's above letter. Having now before us a description of the duties exacted by Government from the Mázgaon Kolis, it is resolved in conformity to our superiors' late orders that the above class of inhabitants be exempted from the duty of palanquin bearer and that of fishing in the Breach water, the same exemption to take place from the 1st of next month (January 1792). As it appears from the Collector's representation that one of the duties of the Mázgaon Kolis is to assist with their boats in ballasting vessels in the harbour, we judge it advisable to take the opinion of the Superintendent whether in the event of those Kolis being dispensed with from that exaction, any inconvenience would accrue to the public service.²

The following is a list of the yearly rates of tax and pension levied in the cooleries of Bombay and Máhm Districts:³

Chapter II.
Trade.
Fisheries,
1791.

1798.

Bombay and Máhm Cooleries (Kolwadus), 1798.

Districts and Classes of Cooleries.	No	Rate.	Total	Grand Total.	Districts and Classes of Cooleries.	No	Rate.	Total	Grand Total.
BOMBAY DISTRICT									
Coolery.									
<i>Dangri Coolies.</i>					<i>Thanaul Coolies</i>				
Fishing Boats	20	14 2 20	891		Fishing Boat	1		4	
Coolies do. .	13	6 0 33	79		Coolies	141	1 0 30	151	159
Do. do.	1		6		<i>Trombay Coolies</i>				
Do. do.	25	5 0 0	125		Coolies	1	2 0 0	8	
Do. do.	14	1 0 0	59		Do. ..	18	1 0 30	20	28
Do. do.	18	3 0 0	51		<i>Mahulkar Coolies.</i>				
Do. do.	1		2		Fishing Boats	3	10 0 0	30	
Do. do.	14	2 0 0	28		Coolies do.	1		9	
Do. do.	1		2		Do. do.	6	8 0 0	19	
Do. do.	3	1 0 0	3		Do. do.	0		12	
Do. do.	100	0 1 0	25	1271	Do. do.	1	5 0 0	160	
<i>Assessment of Goal</i>					Do. do.	1		2	
<i>Rate.</i>					Coolies	203	1 0 30	221	512
Coolies ..	133	0 1 10	36	36	<i>Exasakar (Akshakar)</i>				
					Coolies	39	1 0 36	41	41
Deduct assessment of			232	1307	<i>Karanyr Coolies</i>	9	1 0 30	10	10
house-tax from 1st				-233	<i>Guddupkar (Ghodapdar)</i>				
February 1796 to 31st				1075	Coolies.				
January 1797.					Coolies ..	1		2	
<i>Thaltar and Karanya</i>					Do.	26	1 0 30	28	30
<i>Coolies.</i>					<i>Saur (Sun) Coolies.</i>				
Fishing Nets ..	4	8 0 0	32		Nets ..	6	6 0 0	30	
Coolies	82	3 0 72	201		Coolies ..	128	1 0 30	140	170
Do. ..	2	2 2 0	5	299					

¹ Pub Diary 99 of 1791, 928-929.

² Pub Diary 99 of 1791, 930.

³ Accompaniment of the Collector Mr William Simpson's Report 6th Dec. 1798, Rev Diary 22 of 1798, 2017-2032

the fish was sent to the Deputy Governor, and that it was customary for the Deputy Governor to go and fish there two or three times a year, also that Lewis Cnzado did pay a fellow to look after it. Upon information whereof an action was entered against the Padie, but he refuseth to appear in Court and can show no order from Mr. Ward nor none else for turning the fish pond into a salt-pan. We are informed for these two years past the pan has yielded 20 fissaes of salt a year.¹

In 1686, December 14th, the Bombay Council write to Surat: We will not want salt, having enough by us on this island.²

With a view to enlarge and repair the Vadala salt-pans a Consultation, the 27th August 1731, records: The Vadala salt-pans being very much out of repair which prevents the Kulambis making the usual quantity of salt, the President ordered a survey to be made of the said salt-work. It is computed that to repair and enlarge the same will require seven to eight hundred rupees. As there is a prospect of salts being demanded this year as well as the last at an advanced price, we hope that in a little time we may be able to reimburse our Honorable Masters the money we shall expend in this repair. Directed that the proper orders be given that the same may be set about with all necessary expedition.³

A Consultation, the 31st December 1733, records: The President represents to the Board that a large quantity of the Honorable Company's salt as well as that belonging to private people remains unsold on the island because of the revolution that has happened in the Sadr's country which gives the greatest vent to the salt of this place; the President therefore proposes to the Board to make some abatement in the price to encourage the merchants to export the same. Agreed that the President consulting the receiver and country merchants fix the price of salt for this year as he shall see reasonable and most likely to encourage the consumption of the same.⁴

In the matter of fixing the price of salt as noted above, a Consultation, the 18th January 1734, records: The President acquaints the Board that having consulted with the receiver and the country merchants about the price of salt the same has been settled by him, namely that of Rauh, Shakh-Misri, and Suri at Rs. 50 per *ma* and that of Vadala at Rs. 46 for one year.⁵

In connection with a request to reduce the rent of the Suri salt-pan a Consultation, the 8th March 1743, records: A petition being read from the persons who rent a salt-pan lying at Suri, setting forth that the said pan being filled in great measure with sand, it will not produce the same quantity of salt as formerly and incapacitates their paying the rent from them due. In future they request the Honourable Company will accept the half of the actual produce. The Board observe that as the defect in the pan proceeded from their own negligence the petition is

Chapter II. Trade.

Vadala
Salt Pans,
1731.

Excess Salt,
1733.

Price of Salt,
1734.

Suri Salt Pan,
1743.

¹ See Out L. B 1 of 1677-1687, 6 Forrest's Home Series, I 143

² See. Out Letter Book 4 of 1677-1687, 38

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 27th Aug. 1731, Pub. Diary 1 of 1731, 103-104

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 31st Dec 1733, Pub. Diary 5 of 1732-33, 323-324.

⁵ Bom. Gov. Consultation 18th Jan 1734, Pub. Diary 7 of 1731, 12.

Chapter II.
Trade.

Salt Revenue,
1741-1749

rejected and they are told others will be found who will rent the same if they do not choose to continue to rent it on the former terms.¹

Regarding salt revenue the Court of Directors on the 7th March 1749-50 write On taking into consideration that paragraph of your letter of the 14th February 1749, relating to the accounts of Bombay Presidency, so far as regards our revenue of salt, and the reasons you give therein for the diminution thereof, we have caused an account to be drawn out of the general books for seven years ending the 31st July 1748 to be laid before us By this it appears the Company's sale or export of salt for the first six years (1741-1747) amounts to a medium of one hundred and seven *rá's* three quarters annually, and that the sale thereof for the last (1747-48) of those years was only thirty *rá's*. To account for this decrease of so very material a branch of our revenue you allege the troubles at the southern ports hindered the export thereof, and also that private traders have vendd more considerable quantities than usual. This last is a reason not at all justifiable because it so manifestly turns to our great hurt and detriment. We therefore cannot imagine how this large private export could be carried on without your knowledge or connivance.

The Kulambis or husbandmen who manufacture the salt and pay the Company a *taka* rent or moiety of the annual product of the salt grounds, and are entitled to the other moiety for their expense and labour, seem to us to have an equal right to sell their moiety with the Company and no more. Further we are told by some of our members that this was the old standing rule or maxim formerly, and generally observed But we have been acquainted that of late years our servants have made a practice of buying salt from the Kulambis at cheap rates and vending the same to the exporters at considerable profit whereby our salt hath been left on hand very much to our disadvantage.

As it therefore is incumbent on you, and more especially on us, to keep a watchful eye on all those who have the inspection and management of any branch of our revenue under their care, and to cause an immediate enquiry to be made when it is impaired or sunk low, we positively enjoin and order you to make a strict and impartial enquiry into the state of the Company's salt grounds and their produce, and also those of private property for the last seven years, and to set down in your proceedings thereupon by whom the salt was respectively sold and at what rates, and what observations you make to be necessary for our information. If upon the whole you find that our servants, the Collectors of our revenues, or the Portuguese stewards of the salt grounds, or any of them, have been guilty of any breach of trust or maladministration in their offices respectively (for we are fully convinced our Collectors have sold salt especially in the year 1747-48 when the average price of salt appears to be so high as one hundred and thirty-three rupees per *rá's*) we direct you to get us full reparation and satisfaction for the wrong and injury we have sustained by the breach of trust in such offenders, and do dismiss suspend or censure them as the circumstances of the case require, and is agreeable to equity and

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 8th March 1743, Pub. Diary 16 of 1743, 67.

good consequence, that the rest of our servants may thereby be admonished to do nothing upon any account prejudicial to our revenue.

By the general books it doth not appear what quantity of salt might remain annually upon hand to balance, and we cannot readily trace out the total annual export from the Bombay and Māhim accounts of customs, so that we direct you in future to send us a particular account of the salt made and sold every year, with the total export thereof from the island, and the balance upon hand, and that the same be duly signed and certified by the collectors of our customs and revenues to be a true and full account thereof.

And we further insist and order that our salt (while there is any on hand) be sold jointly with that of the Kulambis at such moderate rates and prices as may promote and encourage the export as you shall from time to time think fit to settle and appoint. Also that such rates and prices shall be made public and entered in your Consultation book accordingly. And we further order that the Kulambis be duly and punctually paid their moiety on such sales of salt as the money shall be received for the same without delay or inconvenience to them.¹

Referring to the above orders from the Court, a Consultation of the 16th October 1750 records: The Honourable Company having been pleased to order that in future the price of salt be settled in Council before any is permitted to be exported, the same is now fixed, namely Rani at Rs 80 per *rās* and all other at Rs 70.

The same Consultation continues. The Honourable Company have been pleased to order an examination to be made into the exportation of salt for some years past. Messrs. Sedgwick Scott and Lane are appointed a committee to inspect the Collectors' books and accounts for the fourteen preceding years and to draw out a regular account of what quantity has been exported annually in that time, by whom respectively sold, and at what rates. This they are to lay before the Board.²

A Consultation, the 13th November 1750, records: Read the report of the committee who were appointed in Consultation the 16th ultimo to make an examination into the state of the Honourable Company's salt revenues; ordered that it be entered after this Consultation with the account they have drawn out thereof.³

The following statement gives the sale or export of salt for the fourteen years ending 1748, setting forth upon whose account the sales were made and the medium rates per *rās* fixed under the management of the several collectors:

Chapter II. Trade.

Salt Revenue,
1741-1748.

1750.

Salt Trade,
1735-1748.

¹ Court to Bombay 7th Mar 1749-50 paras 56-60 Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 3 of 1712-1751, 193-200 Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 160.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 16th Oct 1750, Pub. Diary 23 of 1750, 372.

³ Pub. Diary 23 of 1750, 406, 409-410.

Chapter II

Trade

Salt Trade,
1735-1749.

Bombay Salt, Salt and Export, 1735 to 1748

Year	Company's Salt				Medium Price	Kulambur's Salt				Private Salt				Export			
	Rls	qr	na	Pa		Rls	qr	na	Pa	Rls	qr	na	Pa	Rls	qr	na	Pa
1735	41	1	2	313	403	41	2	2	83	.	.	.	.	137	2	2	41
1736	31	1	1	412	191	29	1	3	51	.	.	.	.	99	2	1	16
1737	34	1	3	301	194	31	1	3	50	.	.	.	.	99	3	1	16
1738	101	1	3	7	191	61	3	3	181	.	.	.	.	22	2	1	5
1739	97	2	2	211	491	82	3	3	63	.	.	.	.	196	2	1	20
1740	156	2	2	621	191	61	3	3	95	.	.	.	.	271	1	1	171
1741	122	1	2	56	601	69	2	3	193	.	.	.	.	279	1	2	23
1742	97	1	1	871	631	64	2	3	531	.	.	.	.	186	1	1	15
1743	152	1	2	211	51	101	1	2	59	.	.	.	.	61	2	2	49
1744	82	1	1	611	56	70	5	3	163	.	.	.	.	245	2	2	121
1745	66	1	1	11	70	57	3	3	501	61	2	2	911	14	2	2	47
1746	97	1	2	417	50	63	2	3	501	39	2	2	221	14	1	1	53
1747	119	2	3	591	90	125	3	3	77	109	2	2	19	5	1	2	53
1748	30	1	1	61	103	16	2	2	0	3	3	3	713	123	1	3	143

On the 7th December 1750, the Collector Mr Lawrence Sullivan writes to Government As the gentlemen appointed to examine into the salt revenue have (through an assertion of Mr. W Selgwick) committed a mistake prejudicial to the Honourable Company and of disservice to me I esteem myself under a necessity of giving you this trouble. In the general advices to England by *Boscawen*, it is said that the amount of 38 *nis* of salt charged to Mr. Byfold in the *Salisbury's* letter, as also a different amount of 34 *nis* inserted in the *Boscawen's* address, were both received from Mr Lawrence Sullivan the Collector. I therefore beg leave to assure your Honour that the committee received no such account from me nor was it required General sales of Collector's salt I did give them which could have no affinity with the present question relative to abuses only, and the statement delivered by me to the late President from which was taken the quantity mentioned in the *Salisbury's* general letter is right My letter to the committee will clear up this point as also explain to the Honourable Company the fixed method of exporting salt The reasons why the Honourable Company's sales of salt in some years considerably exceed those of the husbandmen who should have a moiety, are the debts owing by the salt-makers, now brought on the Collector's books, which will show an increase to this year's revenue of Rs 5203-2-97 As all this is counted in the committee's report, I request of your Honour that the said letter which I here inclose with this my address may be entered in the Consultations when I flatter myself they will sufficiently vindicate me from every reflection¹

Mr Sullivan's letter to the Committee, dated the 27th October 1750 and referred to above, runs At your last meeting it was required of me to answer in writing the following questions

- (1) What quantity of salt has been made each year for 14 years past to the 31st July 1748.
- (2) The general remains of salt for each year.
- (3) The quantity of salt sold on the Honourable Company's account with the medium rates to the like number of years.

¹ Pub Diary 23 of 1750 168-169

- (1) The quantity of salt sold on the Kulambis' account.
 (5) Do. exported on private account.
 (6) Total export of salt

Chapter II.
Trade.

Salt Trade,
1735-1748.

To your first and second questions one answer will suffice. Private salt having no connection with the Honourable Company's and Kulambis' salt, the Collectors never did more than distinguish to the custom master the exports of private salt as they occurred. Consequently it is impracticable to give the quantities made or the general remains for past years, but in future it may be done and a regular register kept in my office. Your third and fourth questions I can complete for the 14 years required. The fifth and sixth I cannot answer, because no accounts of private exports are available before 1745. However, instead of the 14 years to July 1748 I shall subjoin the Honourable Company's and Kulambis' sales for six years from 1745 to 1750 inclusive. These give you fully the sales of salt on the Honourable Company's, Kulambis', and private accounts, together with the total exports of and the medium prices of each year. From that statement it appears that the Company's sales, or rather the amount carried to the Company's credit, is much greater than the share of the Kulambis concerned with them. In explanation it must be observed that the Company's yearly exceedings are in part stoppages for debts due from the salt-makers which are gradually recovered as the peoples' abilities admit. Those debts, and their rise and decrease in the last six years, I shall here insert. The salt owing to the Honourable Company are debts of many years standing, for the Kulambis or public salt-makers have, besides Rauli, distinct pans in Suri, Shaikh-Misri, and Valála. These formerly (as Rauli does now) paid the Company's *tolá* or fixed quantity yearly; and while that method held, they were annually deficient, which brought on the present regulation. The Kulambis were indebted to the Company as follows:

Year		Rus.		Year		Rus.
1745	....	227	—	1748	..	204
1746	..	208	—	1749	..	149
1747	...	179	—	1750	...	122

The rules laid down for exportation are short and plain. The Honourable Company for themselves and for the Kulambis or public salt-makers sell the first two or three months or until about 50 *rás* are sold without admitting the private salt-makers to sell any, for this equitable reason that the Company's computed quantity is annually about *rás* 160 against *rás* 114 of private salt. After the first three months to the end of the year the sales are invariable, namely $\frac{2}{3}$ ds the Company's and Kulambis' and $\frac{1}{3}$ rd the private salt-makers'.¹

On the above letters, at their Consultation the 7th December 1750, the Board observe: Read a letter from Mr. Lawrence Sullivan with copy of one wrote by him to the committee who were appointed in Consultation the 16th October last to examine into the state of the Honourable Company's salt revenue. As Mr. Sullivan mentions abuses in said letter and seems to insinuate as if such had been committed in the Collector's office, the Secretary is directed to acquaint him that the Board expects

¹ Pub. Diary 23 of 1750, 469-470

Chapter II

Trade

Salt Trade,
1735 - 1718.

he will explain to them what such abuses are and by whom committed, and that he state the same in a clear and distinct light to them for their information¹

Thereupon Mr. Sullivan writes, the 20th December 1750. The Secretary by letter acquaints me that it is your order I explain to your Honour what I would insinuate by my abuses in my address of the 7th instant, by whom committed, as also to state the same in a clear and distinct light. My letter was intended to clear me from delivering different accounts of Mr. Byfeld's exceedings in the sale of salt; I name him in my address and I call those exceedings an abuse I know of no others, and this being public to the late President and Council and by them determined by the *Salisbury's* general advice to England, I apprehend your Honours do not mean I shall meddle with it. In this I am confirmed as the committee appointed by the late President and Council in November to examine the salt revenue for many years past made it no part of their enquiry. If I have mistaken the orders of your Honour, upon notice I will instantly draw up a statement. But this indeed can only be repeating a fact already known to the members of Council²

On perusing the above letter, the Board record, the 21st December 1750 Read a letter from Mr. Sullivan from which and his former letter entered after Consultation, the 7th instant, it plainly appears that the exceedings in Mr. Byfeld's sale of salt in 1718 was really *rs* 38, neither more or less as mentioned to the Honourable Company by ship *Salisbury*, and to which the committee appointed in Consultation, the 16th October, to examine into the Honourable Company's salt revenue, acquiesce and are satisfied with it³

A Consultation, the 5th March 1751, records. The Board being met at the warehouse and the merchants attending, it was agreed first to put up the salt pans belonging to the Honourable Company and private persons in one lot at the desire of the merchants and on the conditions on which they were to be farmed out. The conditions were read as follows

1. That the farm be let for seven years commencing from the 1st June 1751 to the 31st May 1758, and the amount of the farm to be discharged yearly on the 31st May of each year.

2. That the farmer in consideration of the rent he pays shall be at liberty to sell his salt for the most he can get without any interruption and shall be also empowered to make use of all the Kulambis that are already employed for the cultivation of said salt-pans, and receive of them the salt as the Honourable Company used to do for the respective pans.

3. That the farmer shall preserve all the salt-pans in the same condition as he shall find them at the time he receives them into his possession and at the expiration of the term of his farm deliver them in the like good order at his own charge and expense

4. That the farmer shall have leave to export his salt to any port whatsoever and likewise may sell what quantity he can for the

Salt Pans
Farmed,
1751¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 7th Dec 1750, Pub. Dir. 23 of 1750, 165² Pub. Dir. 23 of 1750, 506³ Pub. Dir. 24 of 1750, 199

use of this island, and no other person shall be allowed to sell any without his leave or permission.

5. That the owners of the private salt-pans who do not choose to deliver them up shall be permitted to sell their salt in a one-third proportion to what the farmers sell in the same manner they used to do with the Honourable Company.

6. That no one on the island shall buy any salt from the neighbouring country, so long as the said farmer has any salt to dispose of, nor shall they let out to freight their vessels or boats to the other side merchants to be loaded with salt upon pain of being fined at the discretion of the Governor and Council.

7. That the custom masters of Bombay and Máhim shall not clear any of the salt boats without as is usual their owners producing notes from the farmer or his officers that none of them may cheat the Honourable Company of their customs or the farmer of his money.

8. That should any of the Honourable Company's salt remain unsold at the time of delivering the said salt-pans into the possession of the farmer, he shall buy that salt at a moderate price and pay the amount of it at the latter end of the first year of his farm, and when any of the farmer's salt shall remain unsold at the expiration of the said term of the farm, the Honourable Company or the next farmers shall take the same at the rate he paid the Honourable Company for theirs.

9 That as several Kunbis are in the Honourable Company's debt, the farmer shall pay into the hands of the collectors one-third of what money he receives for their proportion of the salt he sells till their respective debts are discharged.

10. That the charges and expenses of covering the salt shall be on the farmer's account.

11. That should any dispute arise between the farmer and the Kulambis that cannot be accommodated among themselves, the farmer may apply to the Collector who will decide the same and also give him the necessary assistance upon all occasions.

After this the salt-pans were put up at Rs. 5000 and cried down by Bhuku Sinay, Newrekai, and Manoel Texenia at Rs 9725 per annum.¹

On the 7th February 1758 the inhabitants of the island made the following representation to Government: That they have always heretofore had free liberty to buy salt for their use, at a reasonable price as the Kunbis used to bring it to sell from door to door but that they have suffered much since the commencement of the present farm owing to the following reasons :

1. Because the farmers set up a shop at Máhim and another at Bombay and sell salt at five *res* the *adholi* which amounts to Rs. 208 the *rás* though they at the same time sold it to the merchants at Rs. 60 the *rás* or thecabonts.

Chapter II. Trade.

Salt Pans
Farmed,
1751.

Salt Farm,
1758.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 5th March 1751, Pub. Diary 24 of 1751, 75-77.

Chapter II

Trade.

Salt Farm,
1758

2 That the salt which they sell in those parts is full of earth and good for nothing

3 That the inhabitants are obliged to go themselves to the shops and bring the salt they purchase by *bigānis* or labourers, as they live at too great a distance from the shops, which occasions a great charge and loss of time and the salt to turn out to them at an exorbitant price, and oftentimes they have been obliged to return without any, because the shops were shut and none to be got. All this the petitioners humbly submit to your Honours' consideration, begging the new farmers may be obliged to sell their salt from door to door as heretofore usual.¹

On perusing this representation the Board observe, the 7th February 1758 Read a representation from the inhabitants of the island particularising the inconveniences which they suffer from the tenure of the salt farmer's lease, and being sensible of the truth thereof, it is agreed that we regulate the conditions of the new farmer's contract.²

A Consultation, the 14th February 1758, records The Board repaired to the tent near the bandar and all proprietors of the private salt-pans refusing to farm out theirs but on the terms of the last contract, the Honourable Company's pans were rented out alone for a term of seven years commencing the 12th June next to Vithoba Udharji, Bhagvānji Visaji, and Nāranji Madhavshot for Rs 8800 per annum or only Rs 925 per annum less, for the private pans being excluded, on the following conditions being previously declared.

1 That the farmers shall hold the salt-pans for the term of seven years to commence from the twelfth day of June next and to expire on the eleventh day of June, which shall be in the year of our Lord 1765 and shall pay the yearly rent of the said salt-pans on the 31st day of May of every year till the expiration of the contract.

2. That the said farmers for their trouble and expense in retailing salt to the inhabitants or others on this island shall be allowed to receive 50 per cent advance on the price it sells for at the pans, but no more. And for the better ascertaining the said price, the Collector for the time being shall every fifteen days regulate and publish the same for the purchasers' information.

3 That the said farmers shall be empowered to make use of all the Kulambis that have usually been employed for the cultivating of the said salt-pans, and that no person but the said farmers shall be allowed to employ them during the months of March April and May of every year in particular.

4 That the said farmers shall be obliged to keep the following shops for retailing salt which shall be kept open every day in the year from sunrise till sunset, that is to say eight shops in Bombay and its districts and four shops in Malabar and its districts, namely:

¹ Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 101-102

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 7th Feb 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 91.

Salt Shops, 1758.

BOWDAI.		MAHIM.	
No.	Position.	No.	Position.
1	Church.	1	Mahim.
1	Tobacco shop.	1	Salvaço Church.
1	Portuguese Church	1	Wadi Nala.
1	Mumbadevi.	1	Arsally (Hasali) Tank.
1	Butchers' houses.		
1	Cavel.		
1	Girgaon (Girgaon).		
1	Margaon		
8		4	

Chapter II.

Trade.

Salt Farm,
1758.

5. That the said farmers shall always have in each of the above mentioned shops a sufficient stock of good clean salt to sell to the inhabitants or others by retail with proper servants or attendants to deliver the same at any time within the above mentioned hours. And upon proof of any failure therein being made to the Collector for the time being, the said farmers shall be liable to pay him a fine of Rs 5 each time, one-half whereof shall be given to the complainant or person aggrieved and the remainder for the Honourable Company.

6. That the said farmers shall supply any person or persons who may be employed to salt meat or fish for the Honourable Company's military or marine on this island with such quantities of salt as he or they may want for those services, from the pans, at the same rate that the farmers may at such time sell it to the merchants for exportation, and shall be liable to such fine as the President and Council for the time being may think proper to inflict in case of their refusing or delaying at any time to supply the same without shewing sufficient cause for it; as likewise in case of their imposing on any such person or persons in the last mentioned price.

7. That the quantity of salt to be exported by the said farmers shall as customary be full one hundred *rais* before the proprietors of private salt shall be permitted to export any. After this the proprietors of private salt shall be permitted to export one-third of the whole quantity that is exported in the remaining part of the season.

8. That at the expiration of the new contract the farmers shall be paid by the Honourable Company or the next farmer or farmers for any salt they may then have remaining at the medium rate which salt may sell for in the year 1765.

9. That should any of the present farmers' salt remain unsold at the time of delivering the salt-pans into the new farmers' possession, they shall buy it of the present farmers at the same price that they paid the Honourable Company for their remains at the commencement of the present contract, and shall adjust the term for the payment thereof in such manner as may be agreed on, when the new farmers receive the salt-pans from the present farmers.

10. That the new farmers shall preserve all the salt-pans in the same good order and condition as they may find them in at the time

Chapter II.

Trade

Salt Farm,
1758

they take possession of them at their own charge and expense and at the expiration of their contract shall deliver them up in like manner to the said Honourable Company or their order.

11. That the said farmers shall have leave to export their salt to any place whatever and likewise may sell what quantity they can for the use of this island. No other person shall be allowed to sell salt privately without the farmer's leave and permission.

12. That none of the inhabitants of this island shall buy any salt from the neighbouring countries so long as the farmers have any to dispose of, nor, upon penalty of being fined at the discretion of the Governor and Council for the time being, shall they let out to freight their vessels or boats to the other side merchants to be loaded with salt.

13. That the custom masters of Bombay and Malim shall not clear any of the salt boats unless as usual the owners produce a certificate from their farmers or their officers that none of them may cheat the Honourable Company of their customs or the farmers of their due.

14. That as several of the Kulambis are indebted to the Honourable Company, the farmers shall pay into the hands of said Honourable Company's Collector for the time being one-third of what money they receive for the Kulambis' proportion of the salt they sell till the Kulambis' respective debts are discharged.

15. That the charge of covering the salt pans and all other charges shall be borne by the farmers.

16. That if any disputes arise between the farmers and the Kulambis that cannot be accommodated amongst themselves, the farmers may apply to the Collector for the time being who will decide the same and also give them the necessary assistance upon all occasions.

17. That there being a vacant space of ground at Shuikh-Misri which will admit of more salt pans being made for the Honourable Company's farmers' and Kulambis' mutual benefit, the farmers shall be permitted to make as many more as may be judged proper or necessary on their bearing an equal part or one-half of the expense with the Honourable Company.

18. That for the security of the payment and the performance of the conditions aforesaid, the said farmers shall bind and oblige themselves their heirs executors administrators or assigns to the President and Council and their successors on the part and behalf of the aforesaid Honourable Company, by an obligation to be signed sealed and delivered by them on the twelfth day of June next, and the said farmers shall likewise have a counterpart thereof with the common seal of the aforesaid Honourable Company affixed thereto.¹

Salt Pans,
1769

Regarding repairs to salt-pan sluices a Consultation of the 7th February 1769 records. Read a letter from the Collector representing that the sluices at the salt-pans are much in want of repair and enclosing a petition to him from the late out farmers setting forth the losses

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 14th Feb. 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 118-122

sustained by them during the term of their lease. It is ordered that the sluices be repaired agreeable to an estimate from the clerk of the works now laid before this Board, amounting to Rs. 2489-2-10, and that the losses sustained by the oart farmers being Rs. 317-2-8 be made good to them agreeable to the conditions of their lease.¹

4. BUILDERS AND BUILDING MATERIALS.

In the early days of Bombay carpenters and other artificers were so scarce that to a certain extent Government were forced to keep them in the old Indian position of helot craftsmen. On the 19th September 1694 Government write to the Máhim custom master Mr. W. Aislabe: These are to enorder you to let none of these country carpenters go off this island without a particular order from us. Similar orders were issued to Mr. Thomas Lawrence custom master at Bombay and to Serjeant Rock at Eion.²

On the 27th July 1695 an order to Mr. R. Sprig runs: Two pair of sawyers accompany these whom you are to employ and to allow them two *seers* of *khichadi* and eight *bujruks* a day.³

An entry in the Surat Diary, the 12th December 1719, runs: Wrote a letter to Secretary Phillipps which went by eight sawyers who are sent down by order for the Company's service at Bombay, they being impressed at Rs. 334 for wages and Rs. 32 for way charges.⁴

Referring to Surat carpenters employed at Bombay the Surat Diary of the 16th August 1719 has the following entry: A general letter received from Bombay of the 4th instant wherein the President and Council send us a muster of Guinea stuffs and desired us to pay to Mr. Parker's order Rs. 415½ for impress (or earnest money) advanced to 16 carpenters who are employed by the Right Honourable Company.⁵

A week later, 22nd August 1719, the same Diary records: Rs. 415½ paid to Mr. Lawrence Parker his order being for impress given to 16 carpenters which are employed in the Right Honourable Company's works at Bombay.⁶

Next year, the 25th August 1720, the Surat Diary has the following entry: The President and Council in their letter of the 16th instant direct to impress 10 or 12 carpenters for ship-work at Bombay.⁷

A Consultation, the 25th May 1733, records: Whereas the number of carpenters caulkers and sawyers on the island is of late greatly diminished notwithstanding there is at present a greater occasion for them than heretofore. Also as it has been several times recommended to the overseers of the Coolery of Mázgaon to encourage the inhabitants of that village to bring up their children to those trades, as they are the persons fittest for the work and soonest acquire a knowledge of craft, it is directed that the Secretary write a letter to the receiver of the Honourable Company's rents and revenues by order of this Board, requiring him to give proper orders that such a number of the

Chapter II. Trade.

Helot
Craftsmen,
1694.

Surat Sawyers,
1719

Surat
Carpenters,
1719.

Mázgaon
Apprentices,
1733

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 7th Feb. 1769, Pub Diary 53 of 1769, 209-210

² See Out L Book 5 of 1691-1696, 16.

³ See Out L Book 5 of 1694-1696, 51.

⁴ Surat Fact Diary 611 of 1719-20

⁵ Surat Fact Diary 611 of 1719-20

⁶ Surat Fact. Diary 611 of 1719-20.

⁷ Surat Fact Diary 611 of 1719-20.

Chapter II.
Trade

Mázgaon boys be put apprentices to the several trades of carpenters, caulkers and sawyers as to complete and keep up the number of carpenters now on the island to twenty, caulkers to thirty, and sawyers to thirty, and that he see his orders effectually put in execution.¹

Surat Smiths,
1711,

Regarding smiths in 1711 the Surat Diary of the 28th June 1711 records: Being in want of smiths to carry on the necessary business of the island, the Bombay Government directed us to endeavour to procure 25 to whom we may promise Rs. 4 for every hundredweight of iron they may work up and their provisions.²

English Sheers,
1753.

In sending sheers for copper-smiths, the 11th March 1753, the Court wrote to Bombay: We have sent by the *Sandwich* four pair of sheers such as are used by the copper-smiths in England to cut copper plates for their different uses. As they will be the means of saving labour, we recommend it to you to encourage the artificers to make use of them.³

Bricklayers,
1756.

In 1756 regarding bricklayers the Bombay Diary of the 14th April has the following entry: Received by boat a letter from the Secretary at Surat which enclosed a list of the names of 36 bricklayers sent hither and advised of each being advanced three months' pay and 10 days' provisions.⁴

Mázgaon
Carpenters,
1757.

Regarding Mázgaon carpenters and other artificers a Consultation of the 22nd March 1757 directs: It being more proper that all the Mázgaon carpenters, sawyers, caulkers and drillers should in future be under the marine superintendent's directions instead of the Collector's, it is agreed that this regulation accordingly take place from this time.⁵

Caulkers,
1757.

To provide caulkers a Consultation of the 27th September 1757 directs: Not being able to get near a sufficient number of caulkers for the marine service it is ordered that the Collector deliver over all the Mázgaon boys to the marine superintendent that he may breed them up in that business.⁶

A week later, the 6th October 1757, the Board further direct: Finding there are no more than five Mázgaon boys of a fit age for caulkers or sawyers, it is agreed that lascars' pay be allowed any persons willing to learn; and as those that teach them must necessarily lose some time therein, that such difference of pay be made good to them by the marine paymaster.⁷

Caulkers' Pay,
1759.

A Consultation, the 5th June 1759, records: The superintendent representing that the present pay allowed to caulkers is not near equal to that of common labourers, and that this has occasioned so very great a want of those artificers for a considerable time past that some of His Majesty's ships as well as the *Drake*, Captain

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 25th May 1733, Pub. Diary 5 of 1732-33, 129-130.

² Surat Fact, Diary 28th June 1711 Vol. 630 of 1710-11, 109-110. *Forrest's Home Series*, I, 268.

³ Court to Bombay 11th Mar. 1753, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 1 of 1752-1755, 81.

⁴ Pub. Diary 29 of 1756, 181.

⁵ Bom Gov. Consultation 22nd March 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 95.

⁶ Bom Gov. Consultation 27th Sept. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 368.

⁷ Bom Gov. Consultation 6th Oct. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 376.

Fisher, were actually obliged to proceed to Surat this season to get caulkers, and being of opinion that their pay being increased to a quarter of a rupee a day will induce a sufficient number of those necessary people to resort here, the superintendent is directed to regulate it accordingly.¹

On receipt of a petition from Mázgaon artificers the Board direct on the 5th August 1760 : A petition being presented in the name of the carpenters sawyers and other inhabitants of Mázgaon representing that they labour under several hardships from Mr. R. Nowland renter of that village, their petition is referred to the committee of accounts for their examination.²

In 1765 a considerable number of carpenters were sent from Surat to Bombay. The Bombay Diary of the 25th March records : Received a letter from Surat dated 17th instant and served to enclose a list of 40 carpenters sent overland.³

With a view to find out a proper spot for a smiths' shop and carpenters' yard Government appointed a committee in 1767. On the 23rd February the committee report: Having in consequence of your Honour's orders endeavoured to fix on a proper spot of ground for erecting a smiths' shop and carpenters' yard, we have not been able to find any other within the town walls proper for this purpose but the east end of the Bandar warehouse, between it and the Castle, whereon at present stands an old house belonging to the heirs of the late Banian Jiva deceased. This spot is in every respect proper and convenient, and the amount sale of the houses at present made use of, which are very incommodious for this service, will we apprehend be nearly sufficient for the purchase of the house which stands on Jiva's land.⁴

On receipt of the above report on the 24th February 1767 the Board order. Read a report from the committee appointed to pitch upon a proper spot for a smiths' shop and carpenters' yard, and they recommending one at the end of the Bandar warehouse, the same is approved. The land paymaster is ordered to enquire and report what the house therein mentioned may be purchased for, and what the houses now used for a smiths' shop may be supposed to sell for.⁵

On receipt of the land paymaster's report on the 10th March 1767 the Board direct The land paymaster reports that the house wanted for erecting a smiths' shop and carpenters' yard has been valued at Rs. 5510 This he is ordered to pay to the owner and take possession of the house accordingly, the same having been estimated at its utmost value, as is the method practised in all cases of this kind, though the owner now delivers a petition which is read, desiring to be allowed Rs. 7000 for it.⁶

Chapter II Trade

Craftsmen's
Complaints,
1760.

Surat Carpenters,
1765.

Smiths' Shop
and Carpenters'
Yard,
1767

¹ Bom Gov Consultation 5th June 1759, Pub. Diary 32 of 1759, 372.

² Bom Gov Consultation 5th Aug 1760, Pub. Diary 35 of 1760, 592

³ Pub. Diary 41 of 1765, 184

⁴ Pub. Diary 48 of 1767, 153.

⁵ Pub. Diary 48 of 1767, 150

⁶ Bom. Gov Consultation 10th March 1767, Pub. Diary 48 of 1767, 179.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Building
Materials,
Timber,
1672.

Concerning scarcity of timber in 1672 (Nov.-Dec) the Surat Council write to Bombay: We have considered your great want of timber on the island by the hindrance of the Portugals not permitting you the liberty of the pass of Thana without such extraordinary customs duties. We have therefore for your present supply hired a large boat that hath four guns and 20 men for Rs. 210 and shall lade her with those sorts of timber that we have in readiness here and at the Swally Marine. Though the charge be great, yet we consider your greater occasions for it and the earnestness you press upon us to send it.¹

On the 23rd December 1672 the Surat Council write. We are sorry your endeavours to supply the island with timber have not yet taken effect. We have some at the Swally Marine and more at Gandevi, but we cannot procure boats to carry it. We do not sleep in the business, and will supply you one way or other.²

Lime and Tiles,
1676.

In the matter of the supply of chunnam and tiles the Surat Council write to Bombay, the 2nd January 1676: As for the chunnam and tiles, we shall endeavour to transport them to you as soon as we can by the first conveyance that offers. In the meantime we would have you to order all boats that return empty from Broach and Cambay to call upon us for their lading and this upon a severe penalty to them who do not obey your orders.³

A month later, the 8th February 1676, they write. We have more chunnam ready for you and shall send it down by the first opportunity, and shall order Mr. Reynardson to send the salt boats from Broach hither to be laden with chunnam bricks and tiles to be provided for them.⁴

Chunnam,
1696

On the 17th September 1696, the Bombay Council write to Mr. Brabourn and Council: Shells for chunnam here are none, but we have provided a quantity of stones ready to be sent you by the first conveyance of which we make all our chunnam here.⁵

1702

On the 8th May 1702, Government order Lieut. Shaw: If you can procure chunnam at Mahim for three and a half larees the *khandi*, provide what you can of it at that price for the Right Honourable Company's use; if less won't purchase it.⁶

Timber,
1731.

A Consultation, the 10th December 1731, records: There being a great want of timber on the island in general and in the Company's works in particular for making gun carriages and other services absolutely necessary, Panduji Puraoe offers his service to provide a sufficient quantity at the best land at Gandevi, and requests in order thereunto that he may be supplied with Rs. 8000, which is agreed to.⁷

1755.

Regarding chunnam and other building materials, the 26th March 1755, the Court write. We absolutely forbid the paymaster, stores-

¹ Surat to Bombay (Nov-Dec) 1672, Surat Fact Out L B 1 of 1630-1673, 212

² Surat to Bombay 23rd Dec 1672, Surat Fact Out L B 1 of 1630-1673, 250.

³ Surat to Bombay 2nd Jan. 1676, Surat Fact Out L B 2 of 1675-76, 17

⁴ Surat to Bombay 8th Feb 1676, Surat Fact Out L B 2 of 1675-76, 71. Forrest's Home Series, I. 82

⁵ Bombay to Worrell Brabourn and Council 17th Sept. 1696, See Out L Book 5 of 1674-1696, 26

⁶ Bom Gov Order to Lieut. Shaw 8th May 1702, See Out L B 7 of 1699-1702, 161.

⁷ Bom Gov. Consultation 10th Dec 1731, Pub Diary 1 of 1731, 171.

keeper, or any other of our servants whatsoever, furnishing bricks chunam timber or any other materials whatsoever on their own private accounts directly or indirectly. You are to give all fitting encouragement for the importation of all sorts of materials as well as for the making bricks by as many different persons as possible, and you are with the utmost care to prevent all monopolies of materials. You are to give public notice that you will receive proposals in writing at Boards to be held for the purpose from all persons indifferently (our own servants excepted) who are willing to furnish you with materials of all kinds for your works, and the person or persons who offer at the lowest rates (provided the materials are good) are to be contracted with.¹

Referring to the above a Consultation, the 23rd September 1755, records. In consequence of the Honourable the Court of Directors' commands of the 26th March last, it is directed that the Secretary issue a publication that we will sit on the 30th instant to receive proposals from any person or persons willing to contract for delivering chunam, bricks, stone, timber, and other materials, where they may be wanted for making the necessary alterations and additions to the works and buildings to be erected.²

Mr. W. Hornby writes to Government on the 29th April 1760: The Honourable Company's works carrying on require a larger quantity of chunam than I can supply them at present. This is caused by several private chunam makers selling their chunam to private builders at a rate so high as to enable them to pay such prices for wood and labourers that unless they are prevented making it is impossible to supply the Honourable Company's works at the usual rate. I therefore request that while the Company's works are carrying on no private chunam maker be permitted to burn chunam for sale. By this means I shall be able, by having all the assistance of labourers which are now employed on private kilns, fully to supply the Company's works.³

Referring to the above proposal a Consultation, the 29th April 1760, records: Read a letter from Mr. William Hornby desiring that no private chunam maker may be permitted to burn chunam for sale while the Honourable Company's works are carrying on that he may be enabled to supply them therewith at the usual rate. Resolved that a publication be issued strictly requiring till further order, all private chunam makers to supply the Honourable Company with half of whatever quantity of chunam they may burn at the rate of Rs. 1½ the *lhandi*, being the price that the land, new fortification, and dock and pier paymasters are allowed to charge and forbidding them to furnish any of this article to any person whatever at a higher rate on penalty of forfeiting Rs. 10 for every *lhandi*, half for the benefit of the Honourable Company and the remainder to the informer. The Board are very sensible

Chapter II.

Trade.

Building
Materials,
1755.

Chunam,
1760.

¹ Court to Bombay 26th March 1755 paras 89-91, Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 4 of 1752-1756, 220. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 161-162.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 23rd Sept. 1755, Pub. Diary 28 of 1755, 319.

³ Pub. Diary 31 of 1760, 331.

Chapter II

Trade

Chunnam,
1761

that the great number of private buildings which have been carrying on for these five or six years have and do at this time very much retard the progress of the public works so necessary for the security of the island, and have much enhanced the price of all materials as well as the pay of the artificers and labourers. In order to prevent this evil for the future, till such time as the public works are nearer completed, it is resolved that all persons whatever on this island be positively forbid to begin any new buildings, but only to complete such as are now begun and to rebuild such others as may become absolutely necessary to their habitations, the necessity for which other buildings Messrs. Houlby and Hadford are appointed to judge of and determine.¹

Referring to the above measure, the 16th April 1762, the Court write: When you published an order that the Paymaster should be supplied with private chunnam and prohibited the proprietors of those works from selling but at a certain price, we hope you did not forget to take off those restrictions when the necessity ceased. Such measures should never be of any continuance. It is a monopoly that may bear hard upon the inhabitants which in no shape shall we ever suffer.²

A Consultation, the 20th September 1760, records: We judge it necessary that the respective paymasters be ordered to provide all the chunnam they can for our Honourable Masters' service by bringing us an account thereof every three months. Also that the chunnam be mixed as received to prevent the ill consequences we have hitherto experienced of numbers of workmen at times being obliged to stand still for want of being sufficiently supplied with this article, and the necessity we have been under of making use of it immediately on its being brought from the kilns though it does not in such case cement near so well as when kept for some time after being mixed with sand. Besides we shall not feel any great inconvenience in the provision of a suitable quantity of this article as the amount in money will not run high. Three days later, the 23rd September 1760, the Board add: For the reasons given in our last Consultation which he declares he thinks a very proper measure, the principal engineer is directed to pitch on the places most proper for having sufficient heaps of chunnam made and mixed. He is acquainted that if he has more people than he can employ on the abovementioned works, he may permit them to work for private people till further order, to prevent their going off the island and our losing the benefit of them when they may be wanted.³

1769.

A Consultation, the 30th July 1769, records: Agreeable to our Honourable Masters' orders a publication must be immediately issued forbidding all persons whatever making use of salt limestone for making chunnam on pain of forfeiting Rs. 500, half to the Company

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 29th April 1760, Pub. Diary 31 of 1760, 322.

² Court to Bombay, 16th Apr. 1762, Pub. Dir. Court's L, Vol. 1 of 1762-1764, 17.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultations 20th and 23rd Sept. 1760, Pub. Diary 35 of 1760, 700, 711.

and half to the informer. Orders must also be issued to the several paymasters positively forbidding the use of this sort of chunam.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 16th June 1779 : Permission is granted to the inhabitants of Bombay and Máhim on their petition to burn such quantities of chunam as they may want for their own use. For this they must take out a license in writing. And if any person should be detected in selling or in burning chunam without license they will be fined Rs. 500 for each offence. Of this due notice must be given to the inhabitants by publication and the proper orders issued to the land and new fortification paymasters and the chief of Máhim.²

Chapter II.

Trade.

Chunam,
1779.

On the subject of the difficulty of obtaining building timber at Bombay Mr. J Mace writes to Government on the 17th March 1761: The difficulties which have come under my observation during my residence at Bombay, the loss of time and extraordinary charges attending sawyers' work for the public service and the consideration that the Hon. Company will be thereby eased of much inconvenience and expense, induce me to propose to your Honour erecting at my own expense one or more saw-mills at such places as I may determine on. In return I would ask that an exclusive privilege may be granted me for their building and working and such other encouragement as shall seem reasonable to your Honour. This I hope will meet your approbation.³

Saw Mills,
1761.

On reading the above proposal, the 17th March 1761, the Board direct that the Secretary acquaint Mr. Mace we approve his design and that he may be assured of suitable encouragement, but that we desire he will inform us what privileges he expects.⁴

Mr. Mace thereupon writes, the 23rd March 1761: I beg leave to return your Honour my respectful thanks for your kind approbation of my proposal and promising encouragement in the execution of it under the 17th current and hope the following articles will meet your concurrence: To grant me the possession and sole use of the water from the Breach to its passage into the sea between Warli and Máhim wood and so far out towards Máhim river as may be necessary. Also the waste ground between the water's edge on each side and the nearest batty bank to it, and that, if any bank should lie nearer than convenient, I may be allowed the space of 40 feet from high water mark on each side upon paying the accustomed rent. In case of any part of the strip belonging to an inhabitant I hope your Honour will be pleased to use your influence with them to relinquish it to me on the same conditions. For, unless proper measures are taken in directing its course, the water cannot be made to answer the purpose. Further as any alterations to the present Breach Rampart and Sluice Bank at Warli may entirely disappoint all my labours and expense I will undertake to keep them in proper repair excepting only in

Tidal Saw Mill
at Warli,
1761.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 30th July 1768, Pub. Diary 51 of 1768, 431.

² Pub. Diary 75 of 1779, 314.

³ Pub. Diary 36 of 1761, 277.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 17th Mar. 1761, Pub. Diary 36 of 1761 271.

Chapter II.

Trade

Tidal Saw Mill
at Warli,
1761

case a storm or any violence from the sea shall unexpectedly destroy any material part of the Rampart That you will please to grant me the liberty of erecting such buildings contiguous to the works as may be necessary, and that such people as may engage to work for me in erecting and completing the mills, may not be taken from me for any other service unless absolutely necessity require them on behalf of the Honourable Company. The prices of this work cannot possibly yet be determined, but as it will be my interest to draw thither as much work as possible, I am not in any doubt of succeeding in that as it will be done cheaper than at present and probably hereafter still more so. That in consideration of the great expense and trouble attending such an undertaking and the apparent advantage which must accrue to the Honourable Company and the island from its execution I hope your Honour will have no objection to granting me an exclusive right and privilege to the prementioned water during the term of twenty-five years and that no other person shall be permitted to erect any work for the same uses during that time. That after the expiration of that time the mills to devolve to the Hon Company upon payment of their prime cost¹

Consideration of the above proposal was deferred till the 1st of May 1761. A Consultation on that day records Reperused Mr. Mace's proposals for erecting saw-mills which are agreed to except that at the expiration of his lease the mills shall devolve to the Hon. Company on such terms as may then be deemed reasonable by impartial persons and the Company to have always the preference in case of his parting with them before his lease expires The privilege of fishing in the Breach water must also remain upon its present footing²

A Consultation, the 25th August 1761, records. Read a letter from Mrs. Leonora Mace requesting to be permitted to carry on the saw-mills begun by her deceased husband This is agreed to and Messrs. Spencer Holford and Court are appointed a committee to examine Mr. Mace's proposals and to settle the limits of the ground and other necessary points with the proprietors³

A Consultation, the 27th October 1761, records. The committee appointed to inspect the late Mr. Mace's proposals of erecting saw-mills now delivering a set of articles with their remarks thereon, the same are read and after a few amendments approved and a contract ordered to be drawn out and executed agreeable thereto with a plan of the work to be annexed⁴

The Court approve this measure and on the 16th April 1762 write: Mr. Mace's scheme for erecting saw-mills may be very useful for our service as well as to the island in general and consequently deserves your attention At the same time many difficulties appear in carrying the work into execution, particularly in regard

¹ Pub Diary 36 of 1761, 288-290

² Bom Gov. Consultation 1st May 1761, Pub Diary 36 of 1761, 283, 280

³ Bom Gov. Consultation 25th Aug 1761, Pub Diary 37 of 1761, 562

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 27th Oct. 1761, Pub. Diary 37 of 1761, 707.

to the waters of the Breach which by his letter he desires he may have the use of from the Breach into the sea. This is a matter we cannot be judges of, and if there is no danger of doing harm to the works of the Breach or the sluices of Warli, we can have no objection. It rests with you very maturely to consider of this matter before you give your consent. We think Mr. Mace's proposal for the Company to take the mills at their prime cost after he has worked them for twenty-five years unreasonable, as they must be supposed to be almost totally wore out in so long a time. We wish he had let us know the difference of the price of work between our present method and this that he purposes, from which some judgment might have been made how far it deserved to be encouraged by us. Upon the whole we can only say that in general the scheme meets with our approval. At the same time we should be sorry to pay more than what we may be supposed to receive an adequate advantage from.¹

In 1767 damage from the alleged overflow of the waters of the saw-mills formed the subject of a petition to Government. On the 22nd September the Board observe: Read a petition from the Kulambi inhabitants of Máhim and Warli, representing that they have sustained very considerable damage by the waters of the saw-mills having overflowed their batty grounds, and requesting the vereadores and mhatírís may be ordered to examine into the same. Directed that the Collector and Máhim custom master, with the clerk of the works, vereadores, mhatírís, and such others as they may think proper to take to their assistance, examine the same, and report to us how far in their opinion the damage has been occasioned by the works of the saw-mills, and in such case what they deem the Kulambis entitled to from the proprietors, who by the fourth article of their lease are obliged to make good the same.²

On the submission of the committee's report, at a Consultation on the 13th October 1767, the Board direct: Read a report from the committee appointed to examine into the merit of the Kulambis' petition, by which it appears the damage they represent their batty grounds sustained has not proceeded from the works of the saw-mill, but through the sluices at Warli not having a sufficient vent for the water. Ordered therefore the clerk of the works frame a calculate of what an additional sluice will cost.³

In consequence of orders from the Court to purchase the saw-mill at a Consultation, the 10th January 1770, the Bombay Government records: The executor to the estate of Mr. John Hatfield having, in consequence of the permission given him to dispose of the saw-mill as he might think proper, issued public notice that he should sell the same at public outcry to-morrow, and our Honourable Masters having expressed a desire to have the same purchased on their account,

Chapter II. Trade.

Tidal Saw Mill
at Warli,
1761.

Damage from
Saw Mills,
1767.

Government
purchase the
Saw Mill,
1770.

¹ Court to Bombay 16th April 1762 para 86, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 6 of 1762 - 1764, 42 - 43

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 22nd Sept 1767, Pub. Diary 49 of 1767, 528.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 13th Oct. 1767, Pub. Diary 49 of 1767, 558.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Government
purchased the
S. W. Mill,
1770.

the clerk of the works is now called in and asked how much timber in his opinion the mill will cut in order to enable us to judge of the real value of the mill. He declares that by the exactest calculation he thinks in the course of one springtide it will cut about 2000 covits, and by remedying some defects which he points out, and which we have reason to believe may be done by a millwright come out as a recruit upon the *Prince of Wales* whom the President sent this morning to examine into its construction, he is of opinion it may be made to cut double that quantity with the present number of saws, and by adding two, which the work will admit of, it will cut 1000 covits more which makes on the whole 10,000 covits a month, this at the rate of Rs 3 the 100 covits amounts to Rs 300 a month, while the charge of servants' wages and repairs will not exceed Rs 100 a month, so that allowing the mill to cost Rs 20,000, the interest of which is Rs. 150 a month, it will evidently answer. Exclusive of this there is reason to think, by opening another sluice or two, the mill may be made to work with the back water and consequently will cut double the quantity of timber and a still greater advantage will accrue to our Honorable Masters by charging all private timber at the rate of Rs. 4 the 100 covits. Resolved therefore on maturely considering all these circumstances that the land pay master be empowered to purchase the mill for our Honorable Masters provided it does not exceed Rs. 30,000¹

On the 11th January 1770, the land paymaster reports: Agreeable to your orders I have purchased the saw-mills for Rs. 20,050 and have taken charge thereof with stores as per inventory enclosed²

Thereupon the Bombay Council record, 2nd February 1770
Read a letter from the land paymaster enclosing an inventory of
stores belonging to the saw-mill which he has purchased for our
Honourable Masters for the sum of Rs 20,050 Resolved that the
saw-mill be put under the charge of the Millin custom master who
must be permitted to charge half a rupee for 100 covits on all private
timber which may be sawed as a compensation for the trouble this
additional charge will subject him to and to encourage him to pay
a strict attention to the duty?

This purchase was approved by the Court, who on the 25th April 1771 write 'We are pleased to find by your letter of 26th April 1770 that you had anticipated our orders for the purchase of the saw-mill and hope the improvements you proposed to make to it will be attended with the advantages expected to be derived therefrom to the Company. You are here by directed not to suffer any timber belonging to private persons to be sawed at this mill until there shall have been sawed for the Company a quantity equal to our year's demand for the use of the maine yard.'

[illegible]

2 1. 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 100 105 110 115 120 125 130 135 140 145 150 155 160 165 170 175 180 185 190 195 200 205 210 215 220 225 230 235 240 245 250 255 260 265 270 275 280 285 290 295 300 305 310 315 320 325 330 335 340 345 350 355 360 365 370 375 380 385 390 395 400 405 410 415 420 425 430 435 440 445 450 455 460 465 470 475 480 485 490 495 500 505 510 515 520 525 530 535 540 545 550 555 560 565 570 575 580 585 590 595 600 605 610 615 620 625 630 635 640 645 650 655 660 665 670 675 680 685 690 695 700 705 710 715 720 725 730 735 740 745 750 755 760 765 770 775 780 785 790 795 800 805 810 815 820 825 830 835 840 845 850 855 860 865 870 875 880 885 890 895 900 905 910 915 920 925 930 935 940 945 950 955 960 965 970 975 980 985 990 995 1000 1005 1010 1015 1020 1025 1030 1035 1040 1045 1050 1055 1060 1065 1070 1075 1080 1085 1090 1095 1100 1105 1110 1115 1120 1125 1130 1135 1140 1145 1150 1155 1160 1165 1170 1175 1180 1185 1190 1195 1200 1205 1210 1215 1220 1225 1230 1235 1240 1245 1250 1255 1260 1265 1270 1275 1280 1285 1290 1295 1300 1305 1310 1315 1320 1325 1330 1335 1340 1345 1350 1355 1360 1365 1370 1375 1380 1385 1390 1395 1400 1405 1410 1415 1420 1425 1430 1435 1440 1445 1450 1455 1460 1465 1470 1475 1480 1485 1490 1495 1500 1505 1510 1515 1520 1525 1530 1535 1540 1545 1550 1555 1560 1565 1570 1575 1580 1585 1590 1595 1600 1605 1610 1615 1620 1625 1630 1635 1640 1645 1650 1655 1660 1665 1670 1675 1680 1685 1690 1695 1700 1705 1710 1715 1720 1725 1730 1735 1740 1745 1750 1755 1760 1765 1770 1775 1780 1785 1790 1795 1800 1805 1810 1815 1820 1825 1830 1835 1840 1845 1850 1855 1860 1865 1870 1875 1880 1885 1890 1895 1900 1905 1910 1915 1920 1925 1930 1935 1940 1945 1950 1955 1960 1965 1970 1975 1980 1985 1990 1995 2000 2005 2010 2015 2020 2025 2030 2035 2040 2045 2050 2055 2060 2065 2070 2075 2080 2085 2090 2095 2100 2105 2110 2115 2120 2125 2130 2135 2140 2145 2150 2155 2160 2165 2170 2175 2180 2185 2190 2195 2200 2205 2210 2215 2220 2225 2230 2235 2240 2245 2250 2255 2260 2265 2270 2275 2280 2285 2290 2295 2300 2305 2310 2315 2320 2325 2330 2335 2340 2345 2350 2355 2360 2365 2370 2375 2380 2385 2390 2395 2400 2405 2410 2415 2420 2425 2430 2435 2440 2445 2450 2455 2460 2465 2470 2475 2480 2485 2490 2495 2500 2505 2510 2515 2520 2525 2530 2535 2540 2545 2550 2555 2560 2565 2570 2575 2580 2585 2590 2595 2600 2605 2610 2615 2620 2625 2630 2635 2640 2645 2650 2655 2660 2665 2670 2675 2680 2685 2690 2695 2700 2705 2710 2715 2720 2725 2730 2735 2740 2745 2750 2755 2760 2765 2770 2775 2780 2785 2790 2795 2800 2805 2810 2815 2820 2825 2830 2835 2840 2845 2850 2855 2860 2865 2870 2875 2880 2885 2890 2895 2900 2905 2910 2915 2920 2925 2930 2935 2940 2945 2950 2955 2960 2965 2970 2975 2980 2985 2990 2995 3000 3005 3010 3015 3020 3025 3030 3035 3040 3045 3050 3055 3060 3065 3070 3075 3080 3085 3090 3095 3100 3105 3110 3115 3120 3125 3130 3135 3140 3145 3150 3155 3160 3165 3170 3175 3180 3185 3190 3195 3200 3205 3210 3215 3220 3225 3230 3235 3240 3245 3250 3255 3260 3265 3270 3275 3280 3285 3290 3295 3300 3305 3310 3315 3320 3325 3330 3335 3340 3345 3350 3355 3360 3365 3370 3375 3380 3385 3390 3395 3400 3405 3410 3415 3420 3425 3430 3435 3440 3445 3450 3455 3460 3465 3470 3475 3480 3485 3490 3495 3500 3505 3510 3515 3520 3525 3530 3535 3540 3545 3550 3555 3560 3565 3570 3575 3580 3585 3590 3595 3600 3605 3610 3615 3620 3625 3630 3635 3640 3645 3650 3655 3660 3665 3670 3675 3680 3685 3690 3695 3700 3705 3710 3715 3720 3725 3730 3735 3740 3745 3750 3755 3760 3765 3770 3775 3780 3785 3790 3795 3800 3805 3810 3815 3820 3825 3830 3835 3840 3845 3850 3855 3860 3865 3870 3875 3880 3885 3890 3895 3900 3905 3910 3915 3920 3925 3930 3935 3940 3945 3950 3955 3960 3965 3970 3975 3980 3985 3990 3995 4000 4005 4010 4015 4020 4025 4030 4035 4040 4045 4050 4055 4060 4065 4070 4075 4080 4085 4090 4095 4100 4105 4110 4115 4120 4125 4130 4135 4140 4145 4150 4155 4160 4165 4170 4175 4180 4185 4190 4195 4200 4205 4210 4215 4220 4225 4230 4235 4240 4245 4250 4255 4260 4265 4270 4275 4280 4285 4290 4295 4300 4305 4310

2. *Black Cat* (London: 1770, P. 1) Black Cat of 1770, 91.

379-1771, 278

In spite of the caution exercised by Government before its purchase the saw-mill on its transfer to them seems to have proved an unprofitable bargain. On the 14th April 1772 the Máhim custom master writes: I duly received the paragraphs of the Honourable Company's commands of the 25th April last relative to the saw-mill at Warli. I am sorry to acquaint you that in its present state the mill never can produce the advantages our Masters seem to expect from it. On the contrary some part of the machinery is so improperly constructed that it will barely cut plank sufficient to defray the expense of working it, far less pay the charge and the interest of the purchase money. As therefore the mill, unless its defects can be remedied, must be a dead loss to the Honourable Company, I thought proper to consult Mr. John Kellie thereon, who, having actually surveyed it, has given me his sentiments of it in writing. These I now take the liberty to enclose to your Honour and to submit to you the propriety of making the alterations he proposes. Should you concur therein I shall desire Mr. Kellie to finish the model he mentions when an exact estimate of the expense may be framed and laid before you that no time may be lost in carrying the same into execution. But as that cannot be done during the *Britannia's* stay here, it will be necessary your Honour should detain Mr. Kellie to superintend the work and order the machine he mentions for turning iron to be landed which may afterwards be forwarded to Balambangan in Borneo.¹

Mr. Kellie's letter to the Máhim custom master, dated 12th April 1772, referred to above, runs: At your request I have inspected the Warli saw-mill. My observations on it are as follows. The whole construction of the machinery is upon such false and heavy principles and the powers of the great wheel are so inadequate to giving the machinery a proper motion that I rather wonder, with only the simple pressure of the back water, that it works at all than that it does not work faster. I am therefore of opinion that the machinery should be constructed on an entire new plan of which, if it will give any satisfaction to you, I can soon make a model for your inspection. One main improvement that might be made is the enabling the mill to work with the flux than which nothing seems to me more easy or simple. The reason I imagine why it was not done before, is that the gentlemen who built the mill had no idea of constructing a number of chariots so contrived as to move with the reverse motion of the wheel. This might easily be effected as I shall demonstrate to you in the model. Besides this additional execution the mill might be made to take in its timbers and discharge the plank which would be much quicker than the present method of performing the first operation, namely by a capstan, and besides would be a saving of the wages that must be paid to the men at the bars. The mill when completed would in England require the attendance of only one man and a boy. Upon the whole it appears to me that instead of five saws which at present work heavily only in the reflux, 20 saws might be

Chapter II.

Trade.

Saw Mill a
Failure,
1772.

¹ Pub Diary 60 of 1772, 405

Chapter II
Trade
Warli Saw Mill,
1771.

made to do good execution in both tides and cut the timbers much more even and smoother than men can do. On considering how much timber iron and brass work, and carpenter's wages, will be necessary and estimating them at what I can learn is the cost of those articles here, I imagine the whole expense of this alteration cannot exceed Rs 3600. It appears also to me that the mill might be made to work in the neaptides. In case it should be determined to make the alterations I have mentioned I think it will be indispensably necessary to retain one Graham, the armourer of the *Britannia*, as he perfectly understands that species of smith's work which is requisite for mills unless there are any Europeans who have also that knowledge. The country smiths, I am convinced by a small trial of them in some work for the wind-mill, are wholly unequal to the work. There is also a small machine on board the *Britannia* for turning iron. Mr. Dalrymple had it made in case a saw-mill might be thought necessary at Balambangan. But as such an expensive work will hardly be set on foot for some years, I imagine the turner might be spared.¹

Thereupon a Consultation, the 14th April 1772, records: Read a letter from the Māhim custom master on the subject of the saw-mill at Warli and enclosing one to him from Mr. Kellie, sent by our Honourable Employers for Balambangan, proposing sundry improvements to be made in the mill, the expense of which he represents to amount to about Rs 3600. As it appears to us the improvements proposed will be attended with considerable advantages and the expense of these alterations but small in comparison thereto, it is agreed they be directed to be carried into execution. Mr. Kellie must for the present be detained here to superintend this necessary work and proceed by a future opportunity to Balambangan. The machine mentioned in Mr. Kellie's letter for turning of iron must be landed from the *Britannia* as it is wanted for this service and can be of no immediate use at Balambangan.²

A Consultation, the 18th February 1774, records: Read a letter from Mr. Williams, enclosed in that from Tellicherry and accompanying a model which has been received for a powder and saw-mill. Upon this it is necessary only to remark that it cannot be of the least use in assisting to complete the saw-mill at Warli, as the construction is entirely different in every respect.³

On the 27th May 1779 the Court write: Among the 25 artificers whom Mr. Witman has succeeded in entertaining, and who take passage on the ships of this season, several it is conjectured may be found qualified to complete the saw-mill at Warli.⁴

¹ Pub. Diary 60 of 1772, 405-407.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 14th April 1772, Pub. Diary 60 of 1772, 393.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 18th Feb. 1774, Pub. Diary 61 of 1774, 51.

⁴ Court to Bombay 27th May 1779 para 26, Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 10 of 1778-1783, 157.

Section VI.

SHIPS, DOCKS, LIGHT-HOUSES.

On the 23rd April 1672 in reply to a Bombay letter the Surat Council write: You say you cannot buy a frigate at Bassein nor build one at Kalyán, and therefore desire order to build a *shibar* with a deck. We had rather, if possible, you could procure timber and build a small friggett with an English head though less than the *Hunter*. For the better effecting of this we have sent you down an English carpenter by the *Hunter*. If that cannot be, then we give leave that you build a substantial large *shibar* who may be capable of doing the Company good service both against Malabárs, as also in the loading and unloading of ships and vessels.¹

Two months later, the 21st June 1672, the Surat Council write to Bombay: Kharsed the carpenter has been with us about the dimensions of the frigate building for the island. We understand her to be built Pink fashion, like to that of the King's built last year and of the same dimensions, namely coveds 30 long, 7½ broad by the beam, 4½ in the floor, and 2½ depth in hold. The King's friggett carries 75 ton in hold. Now if your Honours will admit of half a coved more in breadth and half a coved in depth she will carry 100 tons in hold, and so may be the more serviceable to the Honourable Company, and this he says will be no hindrance to her sailing.²

Two weeks later, the 9th July 1672, the Surat Council write: We fear we shall be greatly incommoded in the building the frigate; for they have taken away some of our timber to stop up the passage within the walls of the river that none can now pass that way nor our carpenters but by water.³

Ten days later, the 20th July 1672, they add: We ordered Kharsed to proceed in building the frigate and making her half a coved more in breadth and the like in the depth, more than at first ordered.⁴

Three weeks later, the 14th August 1672, they further write: We have been in great streight for want of timber. Boats were sent to Gandevi a fortnight since, but not yet returned; one of them was lost going. This hindrance hath frustrated our expectation of launching the frigate so timely as we thought.⁵

On the 21th August 1686, the Bombay Council write to Surat: If the *London* or any other ship go to the Malabár Coast and return

Chapter II.
Trade
Ship Building,
1672.

In Surat.

1686.

¹ Surat to Bombay 23rd April 1672, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 256. Forrest's Home Series, J. 62.

² Surat to Bombay 21st June 1672, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 272. Forrest's Home Series, I 67-68. Cavid (written also covit or covot and coved or coved) is probably an Indo-Portuguese form of the Portuguese *corado* a cubit or ell. The Surat lesser cavid is 27 inches English and the greater cavid is 36 inches. Hobson-Jobson, 207.

³ Surat to Bombay 9th July 1672, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 278.

⁴ Surat to Bombay 20th July 1672, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 279.

⁵ Surat to Bombay 14th Aug 1672, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 284.

Chapter II.

Trade

Kārwār Timber,
1686.

back to these parts, we pray your Excellency to order the Right Honourable Company's factors at Calicut or Kārwār to send up in each ship a portion of large timber and plank which is much wanted here. The Europe ships have taken up all the timber on the island, and we are much straitened for timber for the *Falcon* who is in an ill condition, but the Deputy Governor, who is a man well skilled in shipping, hopes to see her made a sound ship and fit for a homeward voyage.¹

More Vessels
Wanted,
1734.

A Consultation, the 31st May 1734, records. The President observes to the gentlemen of the Board that the *Fort St George* galley is already condemned as unfit for further service and the *Bombay* is in as bad a condition. The *Britannia* grab having been two seasons in Persia will require a thorough repair before she can go to sea. So that we can hope for little service from her till the month of January. Through these incidents our marine force is considerably diminished at a time that the common enemy Angria has greatly increased his having his whole fleet now at Gheria, consisting of 13 grabs and 30 galleys. And as he is but too well acquainted with our circumstances, in spite of all our endeavours to prevent it, it is to be feared he will be out earlier than usual the next fair season with his whole fleet trusting to the superiority of his numbers and may greatly distress the trade of this coast and port. The President then desires the opinion of the Board whether we ought to make any addition to the number of our cruisers. He lays before them an estimate of the charges of building a new grab as near the model of the *Victoria* as possible, but something larger to carry 20 guns on one deck besides her prow guns, length by the keel 85 feet and breadth 28. This Mr. Roach, the master builder, computes will cost Rs. 17,421, and may be got ready for the sea in five months. Taking the same into consideration, we are sensible that such a vessel cannot be fitted to sea for less than Rs. 35,000, which is a very large sum. Our Honourable Masters write us that they had some thoughts of sending us two more galleys but declined it through the little encouragement they met with from their India trade. Indeed the same objection lies against our putting them to any additional expense, were not the thing in our opinion absolutely necessary to preserve the little trade that remains on this side of India that seems to be in no small danger from the aspiring views of Angria, who in conjunction with the Shāhu Rāja has made a bold push for conquering all the Sidi's country and thereby rendering himself master of all the sea coast and ports from hence to Goa southward. In this we may without vanity say he had not miscarried this last season but through the timely and repeated assistance given the Sidis from this Government by which means they have been enabled hitherto to keep possession of Rājpurī, Anjanvel, and Govalkot. Experience has convinced us that vessels built here of teak timber and according to the manner of Surat rābit work are far more durable and proper for the climate than any that can be sent from Europe.

¹ Bombay to Surat 24th Aug. 1686, Eccl. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677 - 1687, 11.

The *Pictoria* still continues firm and good, sails better than any of the galleys, and is a greater terror to the enemy than any two of the other cruizers. This has chiefly encouraged us to think of building another grab as near as possible of her model and dimensions, since an addition to our marine force is esteemed absolutely necessary, considering our situation and present circumstances and that we have little reason to expect any reinforcement of such ships from England speedily. The ships' company of the *Bombay* and *Fort St. George* will sufficiently man the new grab and with due care we may have the use of her early in December. Agreed therefore that we give orders for setting immediately about building of a new grab with the greatest frugality and economy, which we hope the necessity of the thing will sufficiently justify us in to our Honourable Employers. Directed that a sufficient quantity of crooked timber and plank be provided and set apart for this purpose. That what iron may be wanting be delivered out of the Honourable Company's warehouse, and all other stores from the general storekeeper at prime cost, and that the marine paymaster keep a particular head on his books of the expense of building and fitting this vessel to be carried when finished from the marine books to the head of ships and vessels on the general books.¹

Two years later a Consultation, the 4th June 1736, records: We are but too sensible of the necessity we are under of augmenting our marine force to doubt our Honourable Masters' consent and approval thereof. It is therefore unanimously agreed that a new grab of the dimensions before specified (84 feet in length by the keel and a proportionable breadth being somewhat larger than the *Victoria*) be immediately set about; and directed that the iron from the warehouse and all necessaries from the stores for that service be charged at the prime cost.²

Five years later, the 20th November 1741, a Consultation records: As the frequent intercourse of letters with the coast settlements as well as communicating any occasional advices to our fleet while on cruising service is of the utmost importance and can be maintained only by means of small light boats who both sail and row well, so we have hitherto been obliged to make use of such as would best answer from among those belonging to our inhabitants. But they have shown an averseness from the extraordinary risk that attends that service and esteem it an hardship as they propose greater advantages by employing their boats in trade to the adjacent rivers. Considering this, and the hire commonly paid for these boats, we believe our Honourable Masters will be gainers in the end by building proper ones on their own account as well as the murmurs of our people be removed. It is agreed to order three small boats to be built, the master carpenter making enquiry which of those belonging to the place are esteemed the best for going; and make them as near as possible to the same dimensions. The superintendent of the marine being directed to see they be

Chapter II. Trade.

Country-built
Vessels,
1736.

New Grab,
1736.

Despatch Boats,
1741.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 31st May 1734, Pub. Diary 7 of 1734, 111 - 113.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 4th June 1736, Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 266.

Chapter II.

Trade.

Want of Timber,
1741.

finished with all expedition and the utmost frugality observed in the expense.¹

Adverting to the above resolution of the Board, two weeks later, the 4th December 1741, the marine superintendent reports a want of timber for these vessels. On this the Board observe: The superintendent of the marine represents a want of timber for carrying on the ship agreed to be built as also the boats for the service of Madras, and other works now on hand. The timber merchants are called in and at length agreed with for the sorts and quantities expressed in their respective contracts as entered hereafter, the terms and conditions whereof will fully appear on reference being had hereto².

I Bhikha Ratanji Parsi inhabitant of the Gujarát country do by these presents declare that I have contracted with the Honourable Stephen Law Esq. President and Governor, and Council of Bombay, for the following sorts of timber in the manner hereafter inserted and oblige myself to a punctual compliance therewith, namely:

- (1) Shateer large 5 pieces of 10 covets each at Rs 11½ the covet
- (2) Odaney large 333 covets at Rs 6½ the covet
- (3) Ditto for beams 33 covets at Rs 6½ the covet.
- (4) Venaw large 167 covets at Rs 5½ the covet
- (5) Tollia large 34 covets at Rs 4½ the covet
- (6) Crooked timber for harpins and futtocks (timbers raised over the keel) 233 covets at Rs 4½ the covet.
- (7) Knees Luge 66 pieces at Rs 55 the corgé
- (8) Dabli for crutches three pieces.
- (9) Ditto for large blocks three pieces

The above sorts of timber I engage shall be in readiness for embarking at Gandevi in all the month of February ensuing and from thence to be brought to Bombay on my account and risk, the said President and Council furnishing the usual convoy or giving me timely notice if that should prove to them impracticable. And I am to be supplied with such sums of money as I may require to be discounted on delivery of the timber aforesaid which if not of the largest and best sorts procurable, I thereby oblige myself to forfeit unto the said President and Council the sum of Rs. 1000, Rupji Dhanji being my security for the amount that may be advanced. I am to pay three per cent duty on the value thereof, and in order that the timber may be without exception, the said President and Council may appoint a proper person to inspect it at Gandevi previous to embarking, and moreover may reject when it shall arrive at Bombay, whatever part is not thought by them to be good and fit for their use. And for the sum advanced me and for which timber is not delivered, I oblige myself to pay the usual interest of nine per cent, the sum to be instantly satisfied. In testimony of all which I the contractor (Bhikha Ratanji) and Rupji Dhanji as the security do hereunto set our hands and seals in Bombay the 5th day of December 1741. Barjor Limji and

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 20th Nov 1741, Pub. Diary 14 of 1710 11, 461-462
² Bom. Gov. Consultation 4th Dec, 1741, Pub. Diary 14 of 1710 11, 485.

Nánábhái Nasarván have signed separate contracts of the same tenour and date. For the performance of the former Rupji Dhanji is security and for the latter Vithaldás Keshavráam.¹

Two months later, the 4th February 1742, a Consultation records: Read a petition from Lavji our present master carpenter setting forth his having been employed here from the year 1736 being prevailed on by Mr. Braddyll when supervisor at Surat to remove hither. Though hitherto his family has continued in Surat, he is now desirous they should come to him. That in order to provide an habitation he had actually begun erecting a good house but to complete it a sum of Rs. 1000 would be required. This he requested might be lent him promising it would be paid within a reasonable term of years. The Board taking into consideration the merit of the petitioner, who in the several vessels he has been employed upon has given proof of abilities greater than any other of the profession, and since showing the favour desired will be an excitement to his diligence and care, besides the tie of fidelity to us while his family remain under our government, therefore the Board unanimously agree to the loan of Rs. 1000 to be received again within the term of seven or eight years and the treasury is directed to pay that sum to Lavji.²

Two years later, the 20th March 1744, the Court write to Bombay: We acquiesce in the building of two boats for those necessary purposes the landing of goods and sending express to the coast settlements.³

Seven years later, the 1st February 1751, a Consultation records: That we have no proper vessel to carry off a pilot in any weather to any ship which may be in distress was proved last year when the *Warren* anchored off the island where she was obliged to lay some days in great distress till the weather moderated and one of the water boats could be got ready. It is therefore resolved that a proper vessel of about 30 tons burthen be built for that and other services, and that next Council day the marine paymaster lay before the Board an estimate of her cost.⁴

Within two weeks, the 12th February 1751, the required estimate was submitted when the Board order: The marine paymaster now lays before the Board an estimate of the cost to build a pilot sloop agreeable to order of Council the 1st instant, amounting to Rs. 4300. This he is directed to get finished accordingly.⁵

In the following year (1752) Government ordered Mr. S. Hough, the master attendant, to examine the state of the Company's small vessels and report. On the 14th July 1752 he writes: Agreeable to your Honour's orders, I have truly examined the state of the Hon'ble Company's small vessels, and find it as follows. Of the

Chapter II. Trade.

Master-Builder
Lavji,
1742.

Despatch Boat,
1744.

Pilot Sloop,
1751.

State of Vessels,
1752.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 4th Dec. 1741, Pub. Diary 14 of 1740-41, 485, 488-489.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 4th Feb. 1742, Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 76-77.

³ Court to Bombay 20th March 1744 para 14, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 63. ⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 1st Feb. 1751, Pub. Diary 21 of 1751, 37.

⁵ Bom. Gov. Consultation 12th Feb. 1751, Pub. Diary 21 of 1751, 48.

Chapter II.

Trade.

State of Vessels,
1752.

largest of the two prahms the bottom and keel are entirely gone. To repair them would cost more than to build a small sloop, and even were she repaired, her build makes her useless unless in our own river. The other may for a small charge be fitted up on occasion so as to be serviceable in any river or against batteries, but owing to her build she will never be fit for sea service. Of the three galivats the *Shark* is employed at Tellicherry. The *Tyger* I find so much out of repair that her bottom must be new nailed and sheathed, and many timbers put into her before she can be of any use. Only the *Dolphin* is fit for service. Your Honour likewise directed me to make an estimate of what it would cost to repair the *Dispatch* boat so as to make her fit for a small cruiser on occasion, and to build two small galivats like that lately belonging to Mr. Lamb. The *Dispatch* boat's bottom is very much out of repair which must be done to make her serviceable as a luggage boat, and the extraordinary expense to fit her for a cruiser with a cabin and close quarters, will be about Rs. 1000 exclusive of what guns and stores may be put on board her. To build two small galivats like that of Mr Lamb's will cost about Rs 1300 each and would be extremely serviceable in the northern convoy.¹

Referring to the above report a Consultation, the 14th July 1752, records Agreeable to an order from the President to the master attendant to lay before the Board the present state of our small craft it is now delivered in and read. By this it appears that the number of small craft is much less than that allowed by the Honourable Company in their last regulations and vastly inferior to the several services required, more especially for convoying the trade to and from the northward and cruising about the harbour in shoal water, numbers of vessels being taken last season in sight of the port. It is therefore apparently necessary and incumbent for protecting the trade to make an addition to our small craft and the more so as one of the galivats is employed at Tellicherry and only one here is fit for service. A small galivat being offered to sale, it is agreed to purchase her as she is almost new, in good condition, and cheaper than any we can build of that size being offered for Rs 670. It is likewise agreed to build two other galivats of the same dimensions as the expense will be about Rs. 1300 each; and it is found from experience they are extremely serviceable to the northward by convoying the trade in and out of the rivers, which the large ones cannot from their draught of water.²

Later in the same year (1752) the Bombay Government received a letter from the Court of Directors, dated the 4th March 1752, in which they write: As we before advised you we have built the two undermentioned ships for the service of your presidency, namely the *Protector*, Francis Cheyne, 580 tons 150 men 40 guns; and the *Guardian*, William James, 300 tons 90 men 20 guns.³

¹ Pub. Diary 25 of 1752, 234-235² Bom. Gov. Consultation 14th July 1752, Pub Diary 25 of 1752, 232-233.³ Court to Bombay 4th March 1752 para 6, Pub Dep. Court's Letters Vol 4 of 1752-1756, 2.

On the 5th April 1754, the Court of Directors write: Being informed that Lavji our ship-builder has behaved in that station with great industry and fidelity we have thought proper as a token of our regard to send a silver rule and a set of instruments by our Superintendent, Captain Hough, which you are to present to him as likewise with a shawl in our name.¹

Regarding timber wanted for building ships a Consultation, the 15th October 1754, regards: The Superintendent lays before the Board an indent for timber wanted for immediate use. As the Honourable Company have been pleased to order us to set about establishing a fleet according to their regulations, the Superintendent is directed to make proper enquiry concerning any timber or stores on the island for sale which may be requisite for this purpose, delivering an account thereof to the Board, and also to lay the keel of the ship to carry twenty 12-pounder guns.²

A Consultation, the 22nd July 1755, records: The marine paymaster lays before the Board an indent for 2450 covits of timber of sorts wanted for the ensuing year and the merchants offering to contract for it at the following prices which are deemed reasonable. Agreed that a contract be accordingly entered into with them, namely³:

For Shateer at Rs 12 the covit.	For Tolla 47 the covit.
" Odaney 6½ "	" Crooked 4½ "
" Veraw 5½ "	" Swat Koies 130 for 75

A Consultation, the 28th January 1767, records: The land paymaster represents that a quantity of timber being wanted for the use of his office, he has had a parcel tendered him at the following prices, which are approved. He is ordered to contract for the same accordingly, the timber to be surveyed by the proper officers previous to its being accepted.⁴

Shateer, covits 300 at Rs. 11	Rs 1200
Dhimbiy " 200 " 10	" 2000
Odaney " 200 " 7½	" 1450
Veraw " 200 " 6½	" 1250
Tolla " 100 " 5½	" 525

Total Rs. 9125

On the 18th March 1768, with a view to provide for a constant stock of timber, the Court write: It appearing absolutely necessary for our interest that a large stock of seasoned timber should be always on hand for the marine and other uses, we recommend it to you to contract for it at the cheapest time. None of this timber shall be sold to private persons unless on very extraordinary occasions. Even then application must be made to the Board in writing, and at the same time the Superintendent must certify that it may be spared without prejudice to our interest. Our timber must be deposited in the

Chapter II. Trade.

Present to Lavji,
1764.

Ship Timber,
1761.

1755.

1767.

Ship Building,
1768.

¹ Court to Bombay 5th April 1754 para 38, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 4 of 1772-1756, 142.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 15th Oct 1754, Pub. Diary 27 of 1754, 288.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 22nd July 1755, Pub. Diary 29 of 1755, 279-281.

⁴ Public Diary 48 of 1767, 85.

Chapter II.
Trade.

Ship Building,
1768.

marine yard or some other place separate from what may belong to private persons.¹

Three years later they again write: As it is essentially necessary that a large stock of timber should be constantly kept up for the service of our marine, that the vessels may be built and repaired with seasoned timber, we strongly recommend this object to your attention. We hereby positively order and direct that the Company's timber be used in building and repairing our cruizers only, and on no pretence whatever be applied to the service of private vessels.²

Luggage Boats,
1768

For providing luggage boats, a Consultation of the 31d August 1768 records: The service being much distressed for luggage boats it is agreed to build six, three with and three without decks. But as from the number of vessels now building in the marine yard they cannot possibly be completed here, and as we understand they may be contracted for at Surat and Gandevi upon cheaper terms than we could construct them here, the Chief and Council at Surat must be directed to issue public notice that we will receive sealed proposals from any persons desirous for contracting for the same on Tuesday the 23d instant, the boats to be constructed upon the plan and of the dimensions to be delivered in by the Superintendent."

As in spite of this notice no proposals were received, a Consultation of the 2nd September 1768 records: As no proposals have been received for timber or luggage boats either at Surat or at this place, it is agreed to order the Chief and Council to purchase six of the latter as near the dimensions of those we want as possible but not to be above two years old. If none are to be purchased they must in such case cause six to be built exactly agreeable to the dimensions we sent them upon the cheapest terms and to be completed as soon as possible.³

The Wādīs,
1776.

In approving the encouragement given by the Bombay Government to ship-building the Court write, the 5th April 1776: We approve your increasing the pay of the two sons of the late Laxji Wādia. We shall send the eldest who has succeeded his father as master builder a silver rule which you are to present to him together with a shawl in our name with the same formality as was before observed to his father, in order to encourage him to behave with diligence and fidelity. If the rule cannot be got ready to go by these ships, it shall be sent by the next opportunity.⁴

Ship Building
Charges,
1776

At a Consultation, the 13th August 1776, the following estimate of the expense of rebuilding the *Britannia* was laid before the Board. Estimate of the charges to build a ship of the following dimensions, namely⁵:

¹ Court to Bombay 18th March 1768 para 37, Pub Dep Court's L Vol 7 of 1765-1768, 310 Comp of Standing Ord Vol 2 of 1759-1768, 90

² Court to Bombay 25th April 1771 para 91, Pub Dep Court's L Vol 8 of 1769-1771, 27, Comp of Standing Ord. Vol 2 of 1759-1768, 101

³ Bom Gov Consultation 3rd Aug 1768, Public Diary 51 of 1768, 475

⁴ Bom Gov Consultation 2nd Sept 1768, Public Diary 51 of 1768, 495

⁵ Court to Bombay 5th Apl. 1776, Pub Dep Court's L Vol. 9 of 1772-1777, 275.

⁶ Pub. Diary 70 of 1776, 643-644

Chapter II
Trade

Price of Timber,
1778.

Limji, Bujoi Limji, Rustam Blukaji, and Nánabhai Karsanji for 1150 covits of the undermentioned sorts of Gauderi timber and 15 coiges of knees for the maine service part to be delivered in November and the remainder in February next. I am sorry to acquaint your Honour that notwithstanding my utmost endeavours, I could not prevail on them to accept less than the prices allowed them in 1776 as they alleged they could not afford it, namely:-

Shatter	at	Rs	15½	the covit	Tollia	at	Rs	5½	the covit
Odane,	"	"	8½	do	Crooked	"	"	5½	do
Verrow	"	"	7½	do	Knees	"	"	50	the coige

The merchants have as usual executed contracts for the delivery of the timber conformable to my address of the 8th June last.¹

On receipt of the above the Board observe, the 7th October 1778. The maine paymaster reports by letter that agreeable to our orders under the 26th August he has contracted for the timber wanted in his department at the same prices as given in 1776, which were the lowest terms procurable.²

First Dock,
1686.

Regarding the want of a dry dock, the 29th December 1686, the Bombay Council write to the Company. A dry dock for the refitting of ships will be of great use here and may be easily made. Thus the Deputy Governor Sir John Wyborne does believe may be of great use and profit to your Honours, and indeed so it must be, for all ships in these seas when they know of a dock where they may be dry securely, will come to clean and repair their ships. The ship *Faulcon* had not left her bones here had there been a dock. Sir John Wyborne has wrote to the Captain General about it. We do not know what the event of this matter may be and therefore can only say it will be a necessary profitable work when done.³

1711

In their letter to Bombay, the 17th April 1711, after mentioning the advantage of a dock the Court of Directors add. In hopes that one time or other it would be done we would have you consider of it and where you might best make it completely good and fit to take in one or rather two ships and let us know it with your opinion thereupon for our final decision. We are not willing you should have too much work upon your hands at once, but would rather see the most necessary first concluded. Still we believe it would be a great benefit to the owners, and us, that their ships should be well cleaned and grained before they return for Europe, as it would contribute to the shortening their passage, and, by the better coming at any defects in the hull, would preserve them cargoes from damage.⁴

1719.

A Consultation, the 3rd January 1719, records. We consider that a dry dock at this place capable of receiving a ship of 50 guns would be extremely useful for cleaning or repairing ships belonging to the Honourable Company or private traders and would thereby bring many advantages to the island particularly in respect to trade and most

¹ Pub. Diary 74 of 1778, 717

² Pub. Diary 71 of 1778, 705

³ Bombay to Court 29th Dec. 1686, Sec. Out L, B 1 of 1677-1687, 41 Forrest's Home Series, I 119

⁴ Court to Bombay, 17th April 1711 para 70, Comp. of Statutes Old Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 115-116

Chapter II
Trade

Price of Timber,
1778.

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Verrow	"	" 7½	do	Knees	"	" 50	the covge.

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1749

A Consultation, the 3rd January 1749, records We consider that a dry dock at this place capable of receiving a ship of 50 guns would be extremely useful for cleaning or repairing ships belonging to the Honourable Company or private traders and would thereby bring many advantages to the island particularly in respect to trade and most

¹ Pub Diary 74 of 1778, 717

² Pub Diary 74 of 1778, 705

³ Bombay to Court 29th Dec 1686, see Out L. B 4 of 1677-1687, 11 Forrest's Home Series, I. 119

⁴ Court to Bombay 17th April 1711 para 70, Comp of Sterling Ord. Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 115-146

branches of the revenues. Also that the charge, by computation not exceeding Rs. 5000, would be soon reimbursed by collecting a duty on all ships that make use of the dock. It is therefore agreed that the same be undertaken on the Honourable Company's account, borrowing money of the bank for the amount for which a distinct head is to be kept on the general book. Directed therefore that such timber and plank as may be wanted for the gates of the dock be indented for to Tellicherry.¹

Next year, the 7th March 1750, the Court write: We agree with you in opinion that a dry dock capable of receiving a fifty-gun ship may be extremely useful, and therefore approve of your undertaking it, as well as the method you propose for reimbursing the expenses of making it.²

A year after, the 6th March 1751, they write. The dry dock when finished will be of general advantage to the place in causing ships to resort to Bombay to clean and refit, and we are of your opinion that we shall soon be reimbursed the expenses in building it by a moderate duty being collected for all ships that make use of it, the fixing the rate of which we shall leave to your discretion.³

A Consultation, the 3rd July 1750, records: The dry dock ordered to be set about at the presidency in Consultation the 3rd January 1749 being finished, the rates to be paid for all ships and vessels that go into it are now settled, namely the sum of Rs 150 for the first spring and Rs 100 for every spring they remain in it afterwards.⁴

A Consultation, the 28th January 1751, records. It being judged that if the heads of the dry dock be carried a little further out, it would not only be more commodious but be a means of the tides carrying off the filth which at present settles in it and as the same may be done for a small expense it is agreed that it be set about and finished as speedily as possible.⁵

Regarding the utility of the Bombay Dock, the 5th April 1754, the Court write. We are well satisfied of the great utility of the dock at Bombay, not only as it serves every purpose for our own ships but as it brings a considerable trade to the place by repairing the shipping for Bengal and other parts of India. But we are acquainted that to render it complete there is still wanting another at the end of it, to form a double one, that a ship may be shut up and repaired while the outer dock serves for all other occasions. You are therefore hereby empowered and directed immediately to proceed upon with all convenience despatch and to complete a dock without the present one upon such a plan as you shall judge will best answer the purpose.⁶

A Consultation, the 13th June 1755, records: The Superintendent

Chapter II.

Trade.

Docks,
1719.

1750.

1751.

1754.

1755.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 3rd Jan. 1719, Pub. Diary 22 of 1749, 3.

² Court to Bombay 7th March 1749 (1750) para 53, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 3 of 1712-1751, 198.

³ Court to Bombay 6th March 1750 (1751) para 70, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 260.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 3rd July 1750, Pub. Diary 28 of 1750, 227.

⁵ Bom. Gov. Consultation 28th Jan. 1751, Pub. Diary 21 of 1751, 35.

⁶ Court to Bombay 5th April 1754 para 105, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 4 of 1752-1756, 165.

Chapter II.
Trade.

Third Dock,
1760

represents that it will be a great improvement to flood the old dry dock. It is therefore directed that it be done in such manner as will best answer that purpose.¹

Regarding the want of a third dock, a Consultation, the 28th March 1760, records. The Superintendent represents that as the battery below the present dock head runs so far out he desired on its being begun that it might be carried on in such manner as to serve for one side of another or third dock in case it should prove necessary. This has accordingly been done. By the uncommon lowness of the late spring tides, his Majesty's ship *Cumberland* has four times been brought close to the present outer dock gate without it being possible to get her in. As this has been attended with a great loss of time as well as risk, and as we may probably often be subject to the like material disappointment in repairing other large ships of the squadron, also seeing that the channel is already dug a proper depth so that another or third dock might easily be made at a moderate expense capable of docking such ships at any time and thereby greatly facilitate the public service as well as save a constant charge we now sustain by cleaning the channel of mud, Resolved that a third dock be completed as soon as possible under the Superintendent's directions, which will prevent the Principal Engineer's attention being directed from the fortifications.²

1761.

Referring to the above, the 6th May 1761, the Court write. You represent the necessity of having a third dock and of your having given orders for completing it as soon as possible under the Superintendent's directions, which you say may be easily made at a moderate expense on account of some continuance for former works. If this piece of work was so essentially necessary as you assume it was we must acquiesce. But certainly you ought not to have ordered it to be set about before an estimate of the whole expense has been laid before you and well considered. Indeed you should not have failed to have sent to us such estimate instead of the before noticed loose manner of expressing yourselves as to the expense. We therefore think it absolutely necessary to repeat our orders that no works of expense are to be set about without our previous leave unless they are really and essentially necessary.³

A Consultation, the 7th July 1761, records. Many inconveniences having been found to result in the course of refitting the squadron from a want of the third dry dock, it is ordered that it be carried out with the utmost expedition which will enable us to dock the largest ship of the squadron at any springs.⁴

1762

A Consultation, the 23rd July 1762, records. The outer dock has been carrying on as fast as the tides would admit of working upon ever since the Admiral recommended its being completed and not a moment's time will be lost in finishing it.⁵

¹ Pub Diary 26 of 1755, 245

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 28th March 1760, Pub Diary 34 of 1760, 235

³ Court to Bombay 6th May 1761 para 107, Pub Dep Court - Letters Vol 5 of 1757-1761, 388

⁴ Bom Gov. Consultation 7th July 1761, Pub Diary 37 of 1761, 156

⁵ Bom Gov. Consultation 23rd July 1762, Pub Diary 38 of 1762, 395.

A Consultation, the 23rd July 1765, records: Our treasury being now pretty strong and the third dry dock nearly completed, the same is ordered to be continued and finished as soon as possible.¹

The Marine Superintendent representing the necessity of a dock at Mázgaon, a Consultation, the 30th June 1769, records: Read a letter from the Superintendent, wherein he recommends the making of a dock at Mazgaon for the use of ships that do not exceed 300 tons burthen, and that proper storehouses may be erected contiguous to it for the reception of their stores. He likewise recommends sundry matters as indispensably necessary for the good of the service, which are therefore ordered to be put in execution; and an estimate of the expense which will be incurred by making the dock and building the storehouses at Mázgaon is ordered to be prepared and laid before us accordingly.²

On the 7th October 1769, an estimate of the dry dock at Mázgaon amounting to Rs. 10,025 was laid before the Board, when they ordered it to be carried into execution agreeable to their resolution of the 30th June last. In their letter to the Court on the 30th November 1769 Government write: When the Mázgaon dock is finished the duty will be collected for the use of it as is now done for the docks in Bombay.³

On the 25th April 1771, the Court express their approval of the Mázgaon Dock. They write: We approve the making of a dock with storehouses at Mázgaon as also of the duty you intend to levy for such private vessels as shall be repaired in it and hope the expense of executing that work will not exceed the estimated sum of Rs 10,025.⁴

On the 2nd February 1773, the Chief Engineer writes to Government: Finding that the workmen I sent from the new fortifications for the completing of the third dry dock, do constantly diminish by desertion inasmuch that by this means the labourers are reduced to half their stipulated number; and as such desertion is principally owing to the very laborious work they are obliged to perform when working at the dock, by being often up to their middle in mud and obliged to attend at any hour of the night when wanted, and all this without any additional pay or consideration for such extraordinary work, I have taken the liberty to represent to your Honour the necessity there is of employing five hundred labourers at the dock and per works exclusive of the number at present ordered to be employed, and leave it to your Honour's consideration whether an increase of ten *res* per day be not proper as an encouragement and in consideration of their extraordinary attention and labour.⁵

On reading the above letter the same day the Board resolved in consideration of the very hard duty to the labourers who work on the docks, that ten *res* per diem additional pay be allowed them.⁶

Chapter II.
Trade.

Mazgaon Dock,
1769.

1771.

1773.

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 23rd July 1765, Pub. Diary 45 of 1765, 457.

² Bom Gov. Consultation 30th June 1769, Pub. Diary 54 of 1769, 570.

³ Pub. Diary 51 of 1769, 700. Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 16 of 1769, 57.

⁴ Court to Bombay 25th April 1771 para. 43, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 8 of 1769-1771, 257.

⁵ Pub. Diary 63 of 1773, 71.

⁶ Bom. Gov. Consultation 2nd Feb. 1773, Pub. Diary 63 of 1773, 66

Chapter II.

Trade.

Docks,
1773.

A Consultation, the 17th May 1773, records: The masonry of the second dock gate being blown and the threshold of the gates loose, as appears by a survey that has been held on it, an estimate of the expense of repairing the same and of fixing the threshold on such a construction that the depth of water will be the same as in the outward dock, is now laid before the Board amounting to Rs 1157³. It is therefore ordered that it be executed agreeable thereto. On this occasion the Board remark that the duty paid for docking ships is very trifling and not at all adequate to the expense of opening and shutting the dock gates, and other charges incurred thereby, nor does the duty now collected bear any degree of proportion to the benefit that the ship receives therefrom, it is resolved therefore that from henceforward this duty be double what it is at present.¹

Third Dry Dock,
1773.

On the completion of the third dry dock, a Consultation of the 23rd May 1773 records: As the third dry dock is completed, the charge of it must be delivered over to the land paymaster by the dock and pier paymaster, with all stores that belong to it, lists of which signed by them both must be laid before the Board.²

Muzgaon Dock,
1771.

On the completion of the Muzgaon Dock, a Consultation, the 18th February 1771, records: The dock and pier paymaster reporting that the dock at Muzgaon is completed, it must be put under the orders of the land paymaster and everything belonging thereto delivered with it, inventories of which signed by them both must be laid before the Board.

1778.

Regarding the Bombay Docks, on the 27th December 1778, the committee report to Government: Having in obedience to the commands of your Honour very minutely surveyed the Bombay Docks, we have now the honour to lay the observations we have made respecting them before your Honourable Board. The height of the spring tides for nine months in the year from the set of the gate is generally from 13 feet 10 inches to 11 feet. The score in the set now 10 inches, which may be cut away 1 inches more making 11 inches, will then give from 15 feet to 15 feet 2 inches. In the months of January February and March the tides rise higher than in any of the other months being in general from 15 feet to 15 feet 6 inches above the set of the gate, and, allowing for the set will give from 16 feet 2 inches to 16 feet 8 inches. This will take in any 70-gun ship, but will not admit the new 74-gun ships as they cannot with safety be brought to a smaller draught of water than 17 feet 6 inches or 17 feet at least. The bunk at the entrance of the dock must also be always removed by a number of people at spring tides before any large ships can be taken in. We are of opinion that no material alterations can be made in the docks besides deepening the scores in the sets of the gates and widening the middle

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 17th May 1773, Pub. Diary 63 of 1773, 396 (Nos. 5 & 6)

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 28th May 1773, Pub. Diary 63 of 1773, 409

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 18th Feb. 1771, Pub. Diary, 65 of 1771, 92. On the 7th Nov. 1798, the Solicitor Mr H. Forrester Constable writes to Government: I have to correct, or rather to strike out, the note inserted in about page 80 of the case respecting the dry dock at Muzgaon as to the time it was made, as I find it was not begun until about the year 1770, and that the ground for which an abatement of rent was made some few years after that, must be understood to include the place of the dock as well as the marine yard there. Rev. Diary 22 of 1798, 1735.

dock which at present is rather too narrow for working on the large ships. But the docks can by no means be deepened without rendering them useless for one year at least. We are further of opinion that two new docks may be built abreast of the second and third docks capable of receiving any of the 74-gun ships by removing the hospital as mentioned by the Honourable Company in their commands of the 4th April 1767, and fixing the ships for building where the hospital now stands. Such a removal would greatly conduce towards making the marine yard more commodious as there is at present little room. In order to show the capaciousness of the present docks we beg leave to lay before your Honour a list of several of His Majesty's line of battle ships that have been in them showing the draught of water they were taken in at¹:

His Majesty's Ships of the Line docked at Bombay, 1758-1778.

Ships	When Docked.	At what Dock.	DRAFT OF WATER WHEN TAKEN IN.	
			Forward.	Abreast
			Ft ins.	Ft ins.
Yarmouth	February 1760	Second		
Newcastle	December 1758	First		
Cumberland	January 1759	Second		
*Grafton	July 1761	Do.	11 6	15 6
*Tiger	November 1761	Do	14 6	15 6
Midway	July 1762	Do	14 7	14 10
Chatham	January 1763	Do		
Weymouth	April 1763	Do	14 3	11 3
*Phaethon	September 1763	Do	14 0	11 6
*Northumberland	January 1773	Do	11 10	15 0
*Blackburn	Do.	Third	11 10	14 11
*Intrepid	February 1773	Second	14 0	15 0
*Orford	Do	Third	14 6	15 6
*Warwick	March 1773	Do.	15 0	15 0
*Salisbury	January 1774	Do	14 6	11 6
*Rippon	January 1775	Do	15 0	15 3

A B.—Those marked * were hove with a lighter.

On reading the above report at their Consultation, the 11th January 1779, the Select Committee observe: Read a report from the committee appointed to survey the docks in September last, which, with the list therein enclosed, is ordered to be recorded for the information of our Honourable Master.²

In 1781 His Majesty's squadron was repaired at Bombay. Touching this, the 21th April 1781, Rear Admiral Sir Edward Hughes writes to Government. The ready and cheerful assistance which I have received from you in your conjunct capacity as President and Council, as well as from each of you in your separate departments of the Company's service, in docking repairing and refitting His Majesty's squadron under my command at this very critical period of our affairs calls forth my warmest acknowledgments. I very sincerely thank

1781.

¹ Secret and Pub. Dec. 20 of 1779, 17-18. The Court's order of the 4th April 1767 (para 30) runs: "The want of a proper place near the marine yard for the Company's timber, which is mentioned in the report of the committee of enquiry, seems absolutely necessary to be provided. We therefore permit you for this purpose to make any alterations with regard to the hospital or any other manner that may be most conducive to our interest." Pub. Dec. 20 of 1779, 17-18, 215.

² Secret and Pub. Dec. 20 of 1779, 16.

Chapter II.

Trade

Docks,
1701.

you Sir and gentlemen not only for your unreduced zeal in assisting me to the utmost of your power in the refit of the squadron under my command but also for the personal attention you were pleased to pay to myself and the officers and men serving under me. As you are well acquainted with the great utility and necessity of a squadron of His Majesty's ships being employed in the East Indies in the time of war especially for the protection of the Company's trade and possessions, and as you likewise know that this is the only port in the East Indies where a ship of the line can be docked and effectually refitted, I think it a duty incumbent on my station to state to you such inconveniences as have arisen to me in the course of our late refitting. These, though no exertions of yours or mine could at that time remedy or prevent, are now wholly in your power to amend if not obviate before the squadron will have occasion to return to this port to refit. The first and indeed the most capital amendment I would propose to you is in the present depth of water in the lower and middle docks as from the want of a few inches more water three of the line of battle ships were cramped or delayed each fourteen days longer than was otherwise necessary to keep the ship in dock. To obviate any such accident in future I beg leave to point out to you the best and most effectual means that occur to me to put the docks and marine yard in such a state as to be able to afford a sure speedy and effectual refit to His Majesty's ships. For this purpose I would recommend to you to set about deepening the lower and middle docks with all expedition which I am assured by good authority may be done at least from 12 to 18 inches. Also both docks should be on the same level. Thus will be attended with the greatest advantage as it will give time for putting two ships into the docks on the same tide as well as secure a positive certainty of docking and undocking the line of battle ships whenever they are in a condition to dock or undock. The want of this is a defect severely felt in the present state of the docks.

On building the two new docks abreast of the present lower and middle docks as recommended to your Board in the report of your chief engineer and master attendant, care must be taken to give them at least 18 inches more water than in the present lower dock, and if these new docks are immediately set about so as to be finished in all next December, the present docks may remain in the state they now are for the use of the trading ships and until the new are finished.

The extent of the marine yard as it is at this time is much too small to give room for the necessary quantities of timber and workmen. I earnestly recommend to you that you will extend the yard so as to comprehend the two Surgeons' houses and the hospital on that side. Also that the prisoners be moved from the house now made a prison, and the whole of the house be opened, as was the case formerly, for the purpose of fitting rigging and containing the stores of the ships in dock. The present very crowded state of the yard evidently retards the progress of the workmen and prevents its being kept in that clean condition so necessary to the health of such as labour in it, and the jail, making as it were a part of the yard, is greatly inconvenient and a nuisance.

One thing more occurs to me as not only useful but necessary which

I submit to your consideration As the Company furnish warehouses for the reception of the salt provisions sent to this place for the service of His Majesty's squadron, and as much inconvenience has arisen to the inhabitants residing in the garrison from the necessary surveying repacking and repacking the said provisions, I am of opinion that lodging such provisions in a dry well-built shed or a house erected on the Apollo ground walled round and tiled on the roof would relieve the inhabitants from the much-complained-of stench arising from doing what is absolutely necessary for the preservation of the salt provisions. This change would also tend to the better preservation of the provisions as such a house properly constructed must be much cooler than the warehouses where they are now lodged within the garrison and the heat of such close warehouses must promote the decay and rottenness of the meat. If this mode of storing the salt provisions be pursued the agent Victualler's correspondent here will have my orders to remove them to the place appointed by you for their reception.¹

Referring to this letter from the Rear Admiral of his Majesty's squadron, a Consultation, the 13th June 1781, records. It will be totally impossible to construct two new docks within the time mentioned by the Admiral, and if we set about any alterations to the old ones we shall entirely be deprived of their use for a considerable time from which great inconvenience will result. Resolved that the new docks be first constructed and as we have an idea that it may be more convenient to build them at Butcher's Island as the tide rises some inches higher there than at Bombay, the chief engineer and master attendant must be directed to give us their opinion on the subject and lay before us plans and estimates of the expense of building docks at both places. The Collector must be directed to pitch upon some proper spot within the town walls for a jail at the smallest expense for removal of houses and the least inconvenience to the inhabitants. The surgeons must also be directed to report to us what place may be most suitable and convenient to remove the hospital to. A proper shed must be erected on the Apollo ground for the reception of the King's provisions.²

The following notice of the Bombay docks is recorded in Milburn's Oriental Commerce of about 1808. The dockyard is large and well contrived, having naval stores of all kinds deposited in warehouses, together with large quantities of timber for repairing and building ships and forges for all kinds of smiths' work. The dry dock has scarce its equal for size or convenience. It has three divisions and three pair of strong gates so as to be capable of receiving three ships of the line at the same time. Near the dock is a convenient place to heave down several ships at once, which is done well and with great expedition. Here is also a rope walk which for length situation and convenience equals any in England, that in the King's yard at Portsmouth

Chapter II.

Trade-

Docks,
1781.Dockyard,
1808.

¹ Pub. Diary 78 of 1781, 213-215. This suggestion of Admiral Hughes seems to be the origin of the Cooperage buildings on the Esplanade.

² Bom Gov Consultation 13th June 1781, Pub. Diary 78 of 1781, 311. Forrest's Home Series, II, 268.

Chapter II
Trade.

Light House,
1768.

only excepted, and like that it has a covering to protect the workmen. Cables and all sorts of lesser cordage, both of hemp and con, are manufactured here.¹

Regarding the necessity of erecting a light-house on Old Woman's Island, a Consultation, the 5th July 1768, records: The Superintendent represents that it is highly necessary to erect a light-house upon the point of Old Woman's Island, as well for the safety of the trade in general as for that of our Honourable Masters' ships in particular which generally arrive in the month of August when it is most commonly rainy hazy weather. This light-house will likewise be of great use to the cruizers sent out to look for the Enope ships. It is therefore resolved that an estimate of the expense which will be incurred by erecting and keeping up a light-house be prepared and laid before us, when we will take into further consideration the propriety of carrying it into execution.²

Two weeks later the required plan and estimate were submitted to Government. A Consultation, the 22nd July 1768, thereupon records: A plan and estimate of the light-house the Superintendent proposes to erect on the point of Old Woman's Island being now laid before us, and it appearing that the erecting it will not cost more than from Rs 4000 to Rs 5000, which is but a trifle when compared with the utility it will be to the trade in general, it is resolved that it be erected on such spot as the Superintendent may think proper provided the Engineer has no objections.³

1772

Referring to this light-house on the 7th February 1772, the Court write to Bombay: As the security which the light-house erected at the Company's expense on Old Woman's Island will yield to the navigation of our port must be greatly increased were the same to be constantly lighted instead of its being so at particular seasons only, which we understand to be your present practice, we direct that a proper light be kept up during every night throughout the year. As the benefit which the trade must thereby receive will entitle us to a reimbursement of the expense of supporting the edifice as well as the lighting of it, you will establish such a duty to be collected on all ships and vessels anchoring in Bombay harbour as you shall judge sufficient to defray the charges which the Company may incur on that account.⁴

On the 17th August 1772, the Superintendent Mr John Watson writes: Conformable to your orders I have the honour to lay before you the charges for lighting the tower on Old Woman's Island from the 1st August 1771 to the 31st of July 1772, amounting to Rs 629-3-12.⁵

On receipt of the above information, the 19th August 1772, the Board observe. As the Honourable Company have been pleased to direct that the expense of the light-house at Old Woman's Island

¹ Milburn's Cr. Com 1813, I 170.

² Bom Gov Consultation 5th July 1768, Pub Diary 51 of 1768, 385

³ Bom Gov Consultation 22nd July 1768, Pub Diary 51 of 1768 120

⁴ Court to Bombay 7th Feb. 1772 para 31, Pub Dep Court's L Vol, 9 of 1772-1777, 11-12

⁵ Pub Diary 61 of 1772, 790

should be borne by the vessels anchoring in the harbour, the Superintendent lays before us the above letter enclosing an account of its annual expense amounting to Rs. 629-3-12, and the mode of levying a sum agreeable to our Employers' orders equal to this expense. This being considered, it is resolved and ordered that Rs 2 for every 100 tons be collected by the Superintendent from each vessel that anchors in the harbour ¹

Eight years later, 13th October 1780, the light-house duty was raised from Rs. 4 to Rs. 10 per 100 tons as recommended by the committee of accounts.²

About 1808 the following notice of the Colába Light-house is recorded by Milburn: Close to Bombay, separated only by a small creek fordable at low water, is Colába, or Old Woman's Island, which partly forms the north side of the harbour. It is about 2½ miles long. Near its southern extremity stands the light-house. This building is of a circular form, and has within it a flight of steps to ascend to the top; the height is upwards of 150 feet above the level of the sea, and the light may be seen in clear weather the distance of seven leagues. There is also a signal station where a regular watch is kept day and night, the expense of which is defrayed by a rate levied on all vessels frequenting the port. On this island are barracks for the military, and occasionally a camp is formed here, being esteemed a healthy situation. It has many delightful villas scattered about. The point of Colába, on which the light-house stands, is guarded on all sides by an extensive reef of rocks, divided into prongs; the most dangerous is the S W. prong, which forms the northern boundary of the entrance into the harbour, and Tull reef the southern. The breadth of the channel between the prongs and Tull reef is about three miles ³

Chapter II.

Trade.

Light House,
1772.

1780.

1808.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 19th Aug 1772, Pub Diary 61 of 1772, 765

² Bom Gov Consultation 13th Oct 1780, Pub Diary 77 of 1780, 460. As originally imposed, the duty was Rs 2 in 1772. The resolution of 1780 shows the duty was raised from Rs 2 to Rs. 4 some time between 1772 and 1780.

³ Milburn's Or. Com 1813, I. 170.

CHAPTER III.

CAPITAL.

Chapter III.
Capital.
Coinage,
1671

IN 1671 the Court recommended that a mint should be established at Bombay for coining gold and silver money (and subsequently copper also) of such purity as to pass among the natives as precious metal only.¹ These coins were not to bear any resemblance to the King's coin and were to circulate only at places where the Company traded.

President Aungier, and the Council at Bombay, replied that the project could not be carried into effect, owing to the necessity of sending the bullion to Surat. Four sorts of coins would be required, namely gold coins to be called carolinas, silver to be called anghams, copper or copperoons, and tin or tunnies.²

The matter rested until 1675, when President Aungier again suggested the establishment of a mint in Bombay.³

On 5th October 1676 the King by Letters Patent empowered the Company to establish a mint at Bombay for coining rupees, piece, and bupruks, for circulation in all the dependencies of the Company in the East Indies,⁴ and a Mr. Smith was sent out as assay-master on a yearly salary of £60.⁵

The following extracts show how the new coin was received and the difficulties with which the mint had to contend.

1676

Surat letter to the Company, dated Swally Marine 17th January 1676. We herewith send you the several sorts of coins now minted on the island. Among the rest we desire you to take notice that in order to its greater consumption the tin coin is made 10 per cent more weighty than it used to be. It first went currently off till the envious Portuguese hindered its passage in their countries and transport to the main, abating the value very much. Now we hope it will be better esteemed, and if we could procure a large vent for it, it would consume a good quantity of tin yearly and make it worth Rs. 22 the *man* to you.⁶

Surat letter to Bantam, dated Swally Marine 25th January 1676. If the Company would please to permit a correspondence between their island Bombay and Bantam and order a corge of copper and other goods from Bantam thither, it would turn them as well if not better to account than as it is now ordered; for there

¹ See Court's Letters to Surat and Bombay, 22nd Feb 1671. Bruce's Annals, II. 279-280.

² See Bombay Letters to Court of 14th June and 7th Oct 1672. Bruce, II. 318.

³ See Bombay Letter to Court of 18th Jan 1675 in Bruce, II. 365-369.

⁴ See Letter from Court to Surat, 7th March 1677, in Bruce, II. 392.

⁵ See Court's Letter to Surat and Bombay, 15th March 1681, in Bruce, II. 419.

⁶ Surat to the Company 17th Jan 1676, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 32.

is a great consumption of copper yearly at Bombay in the mint; our pice and other coin made there, passing in all parts of the Deccan and yields about Rs. 22 the Surat *man* constantly and sometimes more, whereof we pray consider it and if you judge it any way advantageous to the Company you may propose it to them.¹

Chapter III. Capital.

Surat to Bombay, 21st August 1676: As for money you have not signified unto us your want. Yet in regard to the mint we would have you take out of the ingots of silver to the amount of Rs. 30,000 or at most so much as will pay your soldiers or discharge your debts if you owe any. You cannot but be sensible of our great engagements at interest and how long it will be before we can dispose of such great quantities of goods as are now come out.²

Want of Money,
1676.

Surat to Bombay, 12th September 1676. We gave you a general order in ours of the 21st August which we doubt not but is come safe to hand. We then ordered you to receive out of the ingots of silver to the amount of Rs. 30,000 or at most so much as would pay your soldiers and discharge your debts (if you owe any). This we again confirm, for we cannot spare so considerable a quantity of money as you desire from our great engagements at interest. If hereafter you shall be in want of money we shall duly satisfy your bills when you draw them as hitherto we have done.³

Surat to Bombay, dated Swally Marine 10th October 1676: We have made inquiry for a coiner and shall send you one as soon as we can procure him.⁴

Coiner Wanted,
1676.

Surat to Bombay, 21st September 1676: We take notice that you have received out of the Europe ships 329 plates of copper for the use of the mint.⁵

Europe Copper for
Bombay Mint,
1676.

Surat to Bombay, 21st November 1676: We expect the Company's ship called the *Formosa Merchant* in a short time from Tywan laden with copper and other goods. We presume she will first put into Bombay. If so we would have you take on shore all the copper for the use of your mint and what other goods you can dispose of on the island and despatch the ship with the remaining cargo towards us with all speed, not expecting further order.⁶

Bombay to the Honourable Court of Directors, 19th March 1677: The *Formosa* frigate touched here the 17th February in her way to Surat, out of whom we took all the copper being but 157 chests, which is very welcome to us, we having not a bar left to keep your mint employed. There will be gained 80 per cent on the bare copper and about 20 per cent more by melting it. We could dispose of about 2000 chests in a year besides supplying Surat and

Want of Copper
for the Mint,
1677

¹ Surat to Bantam 25th Jan 1676, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 60

² Surat to Bombay 21st Aug. 1676, Surat Fact. Out. Letter B 2 of 1675-76, 175. Forrest's Home Series, I 100.

³ Surat to Bombay 12th Sept. 1676, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 191-192.

⁴ Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 226. Forrest's Home Series, I 101.

⁵ Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 191.

⁶ Surat to Bombay 21st Nov. 1676, Surat Fact. Out. Letter Book 2 of 1675-76, 260. Forrest's Home Series, I 111.

Chapter III.

Capital.

New Coined
Rupees,
1677.

your other factories, so (at the same rate this copper cost) 2000 chests will yield about Rs. 70,000 profit¹

Surat letter from Mr. G. Aungier and Mr. C. Chamberlain to Bombay, dated Swally Maime 20th March 1677: We have lately compared some of the new coined Rupees with those formerly made, and do find them coarser and one *vil* less in weight than they used to be. This hath caused them to fall in esteem and makes the shroffs here raise the *ratár* (discount) on them. Therefore we desire you to examine this business and see that the Honourable Company receive no abuse nor prejudice thereby.²

Surat letter to Bombay, 10th April 1677. It is very certain that the shroffs here have put a great *ratár* on your Bombay rupees, which we are still apt to believe proceeds from the coarseness of the alloy and from some abuse put on you by the coiners which we desire you to use all possible endeavours to prevent.³

Coiner,
1677.

Bombay to Surat, 17th July 1677. Our last was of the 11th July, copy whereof goes here enclosed. There is a coiner in Surat by name Ratanji who did promise the late President to come to Bombay and did engage to coin our *diqánis* for 6½ *lurs* the *man*, whereas now we pay 7 *lurs*. This will amount to a considerable saving yearly if we are but supplied with good quantities of copper, and though he came to no agreement for coining of rupees and *bigruks* yet he promised to make them 20 per cent cheaper than at present they are made. Besides we are given to understand he is an able workman, which will be of great benefit in making all the money of a true and equal weight, which is very difficult to secure these coiners not being bred up to the trade. Madan Kisanji's son by name Bhagvánlák can inform your Honour where he lives. Please to hasten him hither with all speed possible, we being in great want of him.⁴

Coinage,
1677.

Bombay to Surat, 17th July 1677. As to the treasure we have been in consideration that it may redound to the Company's benefit to have all their silver coined on the island,⁵ for we hear that the discount or *ratár* between Bombay and Surat rupees is no more

¹ Bombay to Court 19th March 1677, See Out L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 23. Forrest's Home Series, I. 127

² Surat Fact Out L. B. 3 of 1677-1700, 19

³ Surat to Bombay 10th April 1677, Surat Fact Out L. B. 3 of 1677-1700, 28

⁴ Bombay to Surat 17th July 1677, See Out L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 40. Forrest's Home Series, I. 134

⁵ By the provisional convention negotiated by Sir John Child (about 1688) with Mukhtyar Khan the new governor of Surat, which the Court approved of, the Company were allowed to coin money at Surat in the Moghul's mint house. But the Court rather preferred acting on the authority given by their Charter of having a mint at Bombay, because this would strongly impress the natives with the importance of the place, and they trusted that in time they should be enabled to supply the Bengal market with rupees coined at Bombay, or if that should not be practicable, that they might exchange their Bombay rupees for those coined at Surat, which would pass current in Bengal or in any part of the Moghul's dominions. On this occasion they submitted to consideration of the General whether the coinage at Bombay ought not to include gold *mohars*, as the Company had the Moghul's Phurman and the King's authority by their Charter to exercise this branch of delegated sovereignty. See Court's Letters to the General and Council of Bombay from 11th April 1688 to 19th March 1689 in Bruce, II. 614, 618

than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in Surat, which in the sale of the silver the very brokerage and shroffage will pay for ; so that what is got by minting will be clear profit. Besides we are given to understand that the Surat rupees are now made of a coarser alloy than formerly, so that we believe our rupees may shortly pass without any discount. For your Honours' more full satisfaction, we have by this *cosset* sent an ingot of silver refined just to the alloy of your rupees, which weighs 98 tolas Surat, which coined will give us 97 $\frac{1}{2}$ rupees clear, paying for minting and all charges. Therefore please to try what said ingot will yield in Surat to sell, deducting brokerage shroffage and other charges ; and by that may be seen what profit arises upon the mint. One thing we are ignorant of, which is whether the (Moghal) governor will not oblige the Company to mint all our rupees again into Surat rupees, as he does the silver ; but of that your Honours can easily be informed there. Even should it be so we believe merchants may be had who would undertake to remit it hither for a small matter.¹

Bombay to Surat, 21st October 1677 : We have this day sold 1000 *mans* of copper at Rs. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ the *man* at four months' time, we having remaining by us a great quantity of coin.²

Bombay to Surat, 21st October 1677 : The Company sent out a small parcel of Barbary copper in cakes for a trial. This cost them but £3 10s. the cwt. whereas the other cost them £6 10s. the cwt. This we have sold for Rs. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ the Surat *man* which is 32 per cent more in proportion than the other is sold for, and we could dispose of a good quantity yearly.³

Bombay to Surat, 11th November 1677 : The plates of fine Barbary copper we did take ashore and have coined most of them not finding very visible difference between that and the Swedish. We have nine plates left of it which we shall send up by the first safe conveyance. Thus will serve for a trial so well as the whole parcel.⁴

The following extract from the Bombay general letter to the Company of 29th December 1686 shows that the question of lowering the standard had come up when the Company were in difficulties: All sorts of provisions are very dear occasioned by the war with the Moghal, Sambhaji Rájá, and the Portuguese, all their forces being quartered in our neighbourhood, so that the poor soldiers can hardly live on their pay. If any alteration be made in the coin to lessen it, they will infallibly starve or cause some distraction ; so hope your Honours will be pleased to let the money pass as it now does till provisions grow cheaper.⁵

The Company's financial difficulties of this time are further illustrated

Chapter III.

Capital

Coinage,
1677Sale of Copper,
1677.Supply of
Europe Copper,
1677.Barbary Copper,
1677.Currency
Difficulties,
1686.

¹ Sec. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 10-41 Forrest's Home Series, I. 131

² Bombay to Surat 21st Oct. 1677, Sec. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 69. Forrest's Home Series, I. 139

³ Sec. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 59. Forrest's Home Series, I. 139.

⁴ Bombay to Surat 11th Nov. 1677, Sec. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 62

⁵ Bombay to Court 29th Dec. 1686, Sec. Out. L. B. 1 of 1677-1687, 42. Forrest's Home Series, I. 149.

Chapter III.

Capital.

Currency
Difficulties,
1686.

by the following letter from the Deputy Governor Mr. J. Wyborne and Council to the Surat General and Council, dated Bombay 26th July 1686: For the bill you drew on us for 10,000 Amangzeb rupees, as no such rupees were procurable here, they would accept of nothing but bills for Surat. Your orders being positive that we should make punctual payment we could not return the bill, for as to private merchants it is esteemed a failure when their bills are protested; so it would be the greater in people of higher capacities. We have continually made it our business to raise what money possible and should have sent some by the *Falcon* and *China Merchant* had there been compass for Surat. There was not then in real cash Xeraphins 10,000, about seven-eighths whereof was in Xs., linis, *dugāns*, and *hujruks*, upon which there would have been a vast loss. The tobacco, oil, and arrack rents, with the Bombay and Mazgaon cooleries, according to your contracts are payable in *hujruks*. This is almost half the revenue and above three-fourths part of the other half is generally paid in silver. So that we cannot receive one-sixth of the gold you are pleased to suggest. We have remitted to Surat and paid upon that account upwards of Xs 60,000, besides repairing the King's frigates, supplying them with necessaries and other incident charges. Considering no customs will be paid during the monsoon, we shall be much strengthened ourselves.¹

Mint at Bombay,
1709

The following extracts continue the history of the Bombay mint coinage. Paragraph 14 of the Court's letter of 9th March 1708 is a repetition of former orders for settling a mint at Bombay.²

No bullion or coins to be changed or meddled with at all without an order of Council.³

Requires
Encouragement,
1713.

Court to Bombay, 27th March 1713: We expect you encourage our own mint at Bombay by coining rupees there of the same weight and fineness with those at Surat, or very near it. If you make them finer, we shall lose by it and therefore you must be very careful to prevent it. If coarser, they will get an ill character and very likely if one or two per cent worse, they will be undervalued to three or four per cent. Therefore they should be of the same (fineness), and though at first the shroffs may endeavour to deery them, yet in time the rupees will retrieve and afterwards preserve their reputation, as experience tells us those have which were coined at Madras.⁴

Rupees or
Xeraphins,
1713

Comt of Directors' letter, 27th March 1713, paragraph 67. All goods are to be sold for rupees. Such rents on the island as are on farm may be paid in Xeraphins if rupees cannot be got.⁵

Moneyers
Wanted,
1719

An entry made in the Surat Factory Diary on the 5th September 1719 runs Received a letter of the 26th ultimo from Mr.

¹ Sec. Out L B 4 of 1677-1687, 3

² Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 143

³ Court's Let 24th Mar 1710 para 89, Comp of Stand. Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 145

⁴ Court to Bombay 27th Mar 1713 para 70, Comp of Stand. Ord Vol 1, 1715-1721, 112

⁵ Court to Bombay 27th Mar 1713 para 67, Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 111

Waters by the President's order directing us to send down twenty moneyers to be employed in the mint at Bombay.¹

The Surat Factory Diary of the 30th October 1719 records Our shroffs being directed to inquire what discount or *valár* is allowed on Bombay rupees among the shroffs, report that the discount is at 10 per cent or thereabouts in passing them in small parcels and more in the case of a large payment. Upon this we proposed to our brokers that they should take the Bombay rupees at that price or to allow them the real exchange as they shall *bond fide* be circulated by them in payments. These proposals, though we have used many words, they will not hearken to, alleging their desire to have the rupees changed for Surat rupees because they must apply them to pay off their debts to the shroffs who will demand a greater discount. In fine we agreed to let our brokers have Rs. 41,000 at 11 per cent *valán* rebate to be charged to their account the 5th November. As this was the best agreement we could possibly conclude, we hope for the future the President and Council of Bombay will take this matter into consideration and settle the payment of rupees in such a manner as to free us from uneasy and vexatious squabbles with the brokers.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 22nd May 1724 : The President represents to the Board that there is about Rs 40,000 of tin pice on the island ; that he finds Rs 20,000 sufficient to answer the occasions thereon ; so that there remains continually in the treasury from Rs. 15,000 to Rs 20,000 dead stock. He therefore offers it as his opinion for the interest of our Honourable Masters that it be run down into bars convenient for sale. Which being debated and considered that the rate at which the pice is now current is about Rs. 16 the Surat *man*, the running of them down will be a seeming though no real loss to our Honourable Employers. And whereas in all probability that commodity will be at a higher rate the next season than it has been for some years past, it is the unanimous opinion of the Board that such quantity of the said pice as shall be found unnecessary be run down into proper bars for sale, which is hereby directed to be done.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 9th July 1728 . The President observes to the Board that, though our tin *dugánis* being made current in the Portuguese country, there has been lately a considerable decrease in the Bank gain on the monthly exchange of them. But as a convenience will hereby offer of getting (rid) of a good quantity of those *dugánis*, and still more so by lowering their value, whereby we may introduce the passing-current of the copper goz we have received from Persia at seventy-two to the rupee. As the Persian goz will then yield about 30 per cent profit this will be more than equivalent to the loss that will accrue by lowering the value of the former *dugánis*. Besides we may expect on them the like gain by exchange as was before made by the other. Which being agreed to as the President

Chapter III.

Capital.

Bombay Rupees,
1719.

Surplus Tin
Pice,
1724.

Copper *Dugánis*,
1728

¹ Surat Fact. Diary 611 of 1719-20.

² Surat Fact. Diary 611 of 1719-20.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 22nd May 1724, Pub. Diary 2 of 1724, 68. Forrest's Home Series II 37.

Chapter III
Capital

Legal Tender,
1733

shall find most convenient, it is ordered that the warehouse-keeper issue out to the Bank what copper shall be thought necessary for that use to be stamped anew at Rs. 20½ the Surat *man* ¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 7th December 1733. Whereas a considerable quantity of silver rupees of different coins and alloys are brought to this island from the inland provinces of a value inferior to the standard of Bombay and Surat rupees; and seeing that the same are bought up by the shroffs and other people at an unreasonable discount and passed by them in payment for goods and merchandise bought at a less discount and sometimes at par, to the great prejudice and discouragement of trade in general. Further as this pernicious practice has been carried on with impunity, notwithstanding a publication issued by order of the Board under date 14th February 1729, it is agreed that the following publication issue enforcing the observance of our former order. All persons whatever inhabitants of this island who have in their possession any number of rupees above ten of any coin or alloy other than those of Surat and Bombay, shall in ten days after the issuing of the said publication bring the said rupees to the Honorable Company's mint where due attendance shall be given to receive and exchange them for their real value, discounting only one per cent for their re-coinage. All persons not duly observing this our publication shall forfeit all such sum or sums of foreign rupees as shall be found in their custody ten days after the issuing thereof, one-third to be paid to the informer and two-thirds to the Honorable Company. But all strangers who shall bring the said foreign rupees hither and are not willing to exchange the same in the mint, but desire to export them again, shall in three days after their arrival declare to the custom master for the time being the quantity they desire to export. Finally it is expressly prohibited that any rupees but those of Surat or Bombay shall be tendered or received in payment as current coin under the penalty of forfeiture to be incurred by the tenderer or receiver. Directed that a publication to the tenor of this resolution be immediately issued in the English, Portuguese and Gentu languages, and that it be added that proper persons are appointed at the land pay office to exchange silver rupees for pice at the rate of 80 pice for a rupee ²

Mint Rates,
1736

Bombay Government Consultation, 21th December 1736. The President lays before the Board a list of the prices which the undertakers of the mint do agree to give for sundry sorts of silver hereafter mentioned. These rates it is observed are something more than the silver produce by the several assays made in England. The undertakers of the mint being called in and declaring their consent to give the undermentioned prices for the several sorts of silver coined by them it is accordingly agreed that the established rates for all silver coined in the mint be as follows

¹ Bom Gov Consultation 9th July 1728, Pub Diary 3 of 1727-28, 180-181.

² Bom Gov Consultation 7th Dec 1733, Pub Diary 5 of 1732-33, 275-276.

³ Bom Gov Consultation 21th Dec. 1736, Pub Diary 9 of 1736, 511-512.

For 100 ozs of Mexican dollars dated before the year 1726.	214	3	13
For 100 " do since that time	213	2	28
For 100 " Pillar dollars, dated before the year 1728	217	1	39
For 100 " do since that time	211	1	39
For 100 " Ducatons	219	2	26
For 100 " Lyon dollars	195	1	41
For 100 " German dollars	232	2	41
For 100 " English crowns	245	1	37
For 100 " New Phillip dollars	212	1	83
For 100 " Zelotas or pasties	140	3	78
For 100 " Rose dollars	242	3	38
For 100 " Cross du.	225	2	14

Two years later (1738) the following statement was prepared of the produce of silver according to assay reports made before the Hon'ble John Horne Esquire, General and Governor and the Honorable Council, residing on Bombay for the affairs of the British Nation¹

Assay of Silver Coins, Bombay Mint, 1738.

Quantity.	Quality	English Standard	Bombay Rupee Standard	Produce.	Net produce, one per cent being deducted.
Ozs.		O d. gr. m. p.	O d. gr. m. p.	lbs. q. rs.	Rs. q. rs.
100	Old pillar dollars br. dwt. j ob	100 17 12 6 15	91 9 8 17 1	259 2 56	248 0 34
"	New ditto standard	"	92 15 20 10 20	218 3 32	210 1 37
"	New Mex. dollars wo. dwt. j ob	91 6 11 11 10	92 2 8 1 12	217 0 9	211 2 20
"	Old ditto br. dwt. j	100 0 0 1 12	93 1 20 15 5	250 0 15	247 2 15
"	New Phil. dollars wo. dwt. j	99 1 23 11 11	91 17 20 2 6	216 1 67	213 3 82
"	Old ditto wo. dwt. j ob	95 5 9 14 22	83 1 6 5 15	236 0 60	233 3 16
"	English { K C H } Standard { K W H } ditto { G G I } ditto	"	92 15 20 10 20	218 3 32	216 1 37
"	German do. wo. dwt. j	95 9 21 10 25	88 5 15 7 21	230 3 1	224 1 51
"	Pasties, wo. oz. m. j. dwt. vj	60 10 5 3 20	53 12 1 11 22	133 0 73	111 3 1
"	New Bombay rupees br. dwt. vj	107 1 3 0 7	"	268 0 62	265 1 00
"	Small do. br. dwt. vj	101 19 2 7 21	97 11 22 15 11	202 0 66	279 1 98

Bombay and Surat rupees weigh each dwt. vj. gr. vj.

Note.—17 parts make 1 mite, 20 mites 1 grain, 21 grains 1 penny weight, 20 penny weights 1 ounce, 12 ounces, 1 pound troy

A. B.—In calculating the par between the above different species of silver please to observe that in the two standard columns, you are to suppose the oz. dwts grs. to be l. s. sh. and half penny sterling. (p. g.) Bombay rupee is 7 C. 45 1/2 d. better than sterling, and per cent

Bombay Government Consultation, 23rd December 1738: The species of foreign silver chiefly brought into our mint for the Honorable Company are Mexico and pillar dollars, the quantity of other sorts being very inconsiderable; and of these only we perceive assays have been made at the Tower. The Mexico is there said to come out by four trials of different sorts in an average 2.625 mites worse than

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 17th Feb 1738, Public Diary 11 of 1737-38, 49. The hieroglyphics used in this statement relate to the old system of assaying metals. This system was based on tables compiled by the great Sir Isaac Newton in 1717. Newton's system continued in use as late as 1816, when the arrangement now in vogue in all British mints was introduced. The tables under Newton's plan consisted of the standard better and worse than the British standard. Better was written B. or br., and worse was written W. or wo and standard fully. Ob stood for obsolete and j. for the Roman numeral one (1). Dwt means pennyweight. The silver weight was the ordinary troy-weight. Dr. Gerson Da Cunha.

Chapter III.
Capital.

Mint Rates,
1736.

Mint Assay,
1738.

Chapter III.

Capital

Mint Assay,
1741.

standard, and the Pillar, dated in the year 1728, is found to be exactly English standard, and that dated in 1729 a $\frac{1}{2}$ dwt. better than standard English ¹

Count to Bombay, 5th February 1741: For our satisfaction the assay master must report to you in writing that he hath duly assayed every parcel of rupees and acquaint you whether or not they come up to the standard in fineness and weight. He must enter the same upon Consultation, and, as is the custom at Fort St George, one of the Council must draw five rupees promiscuously out of each month's coinage, and seal them up immediately with his own seal, which must be transmitted to us in the packet ²

Scarcity of
Copper,
1741.

Bombay Government Consultation, 7th February 1741. The present local scarcity of copper having induced the people from the neighbouring countries to convey away the piece made of that metal, it is proposed to coin a parcel of tutenague piece to be of such a weight as to reserve a profit to our Honourable Masters of 20 per cent. This is agreed to and ordered that the mint master do out of hand coin to the amount of Rs. 2000 ³

Tutenague
Piece,
1741

Bombay Government Consultation, 12th June 1741: In consequence of the above order passed for coining tutenague piece the 7th February last 1741 the President had purchased from Rujji Dhanji Surat *mans* 227 and *sers* 26 at Rs. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ the *man*, which amounted to Rs. 1707-1-88 and produced Rs. 2207-2-0, and from the same person another parcel of 500 at Rs. 6-2-50 the *man*. But as these were not sufficient for the current service of the place he had procured a further quantity of 500 Surat *mans* at the like rate from Khairsedji, which being the cheapest rates that commodity could be purchased upon, the Board approves thereof. The account produce of the two last parcels cannot be ascertained as the mint people have not as yet coined the same ⁴

Count to Bombay, 11th March 1742. In case the inhabitants are thoroughly satisfied with the tutenague piece coined (1741) on a scarcity of that specie, it is well, otherwise remove all uneasiness by calling them in. ⁵

Persian Go*,
1741.

Bombay Government Consultation, 30th July 1741. Considering the means of disposal of the copper goz consigned on the *Pembroke*, it is observed that at the time we wrote for this article, the island was destitute of a sufficiency of small coin for the currency and ease of the poorer sort of people. Though this has since been remedied by the expedient of coining tutenague into piece, which is found to answer tolerably, and were we even to appropriate the goz to the purpose we originally intended them, they would, it is apprehended, be soon conveyed away, copper being now somewhat in demand. It is therefore

¹ Bom Gov Consultation 23rd Dec 1733, Pub Diary 11 of 1737-38, 354

² Count to Bombay 5th Feb 1741 para 105, Comp of Branding Ord. Vol 1, 1715-1721, 159.

³ Pub Diary 11 of 1740-11, 68

⁴ Bom Gov Consultation 12th June 1741, Pub Diary 14 of 1740-11, 224-225

⁵ Count to Bombay 11th Mar. 1742 para 75, Pub. Dep Court's Lct. Vol 3 of 1742-1751, 11

agreed that we dispose of them at public auction on Friday seven-night.¹

Bombay Government Diary, 11th February 1742 : As the gentlemen at Tellicherry have requested a supply of copper piece, the Board esteem it proper to reserve about 300 Surat *mans* to comply with the Tellicherry request as well as to meet the other services at this place.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 22nd February 1742 : In our Consultation of the 4th instant (February 1742) a quantity of copper was reserved for coining into piece for the service of this place and Tellicherry. The mint people have coined a piece of the size and weight of pennyweights 4 and grains $2\frac{7}{16}$ each piece. According to this computation allowing for charges a *man* of copper will produce :

2900 piece of pennyweights 4 and grains $2\frac{7}{16}$	Rs.	q.	r.
each, that is at 80 piece to the rupee	... 36	1	0
<i>Deduct :</i>			
(1) Labour	... 3	1	0
(2) Loss in burning	... 1	0	0
(3) Charcoal, <i>bighni</i> lime, and stamping	... 1	0	0
(4) Mint undertakers	... 0	2	0
Total charges	5	3	0
Produce clear	30	2	0

This compared with the price which the article of copper now bears, leaves a gain of 26½ per cent to our Honourable Masters. It is therefore directed the parcel be out of hand coined according to the above calculate.³

The Surat Factory Diary of 1742 contains the following account of the net produce of 100 ounces of the following species of silver in Bombay Mint⁴.

Nova or old Mexico dollars dated to the year 1726,	Rs.	q.	r.
100 ounces now produces clear of mint charges.	244	3	16
Ditto or new Mexico dollars dated since that year,			
ditto	243	2	28
Tamha or old Pillar dollars dated to the year			
1725, ditto	247	1	39
Ditto or new Pillar dollars dated since that year,			
ditto	244	1	39
German crowns, ditto	232	2	41
Marchanon ducatoons, ditto	249	2	26
Vagira or Lion dollars, ditto	195	1	41
Zellottas, ditto	111	0	0

Bombay Government Consultation, 10th May 1742 : There being a want of piece for the use of the island and a quantity of tutenague remaining in warehouse, directed it be delivered for that purpose to be coined.⁵

Chapter III.

Capital.

Copper Piece
to Tellicherry,
1742.

Copper Piece
Coined,
1742,

Tutenague Piece,
1742.

¹ Bomb Gov Consultation 30th July 1741, Pub. Diary 14 of 1740-41, 274.

² Bomb Gov Diary 11th Feb 1742, Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 75.

³ Bomb Gov Consultation 22nd Feb 1742, Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 112-113.

⁴ Surat Factory Diary Mar. 1742 Vol. 5 of 1740-1742, 145. Forrest's Home Series, I. 271.

⁵ Bomb Gov Consultation 10th May 1742, Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 243.

Chapter III.

Capital.

Loss from
Maratha Coins,
1713

Bombay Government Consultation, 21st January 1713. Great quantities of piece of much less value than our own being brought from the Maratha dominions, by passing in payments on this island prejudice the Honourable Company, since but for them a larger quantity yielding profit of about 30 per cent would have been coined. As to directly prohibit the importation of these pieces may give disgust to our neighbours, it is proposed that no piece but those coined in our mint be received into the treasury. This proposition as it is calculated to have the desired effect, is agreed to¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 11th February 1713. The resolution we came to in Consultation the 21st ultimo (January 1713) for preventing the currency of all such piece as were not coined by the Honourable Company, has had the intended effect. But as some merchants have quantities of foreign tutenague piece which will not pass now, they propose re-coining them if attended with no more expense than mint charges. This request, as the duty of coinage will be inconsiderable, is granted²

Bombay Government Consultation, 26th February 1713: Directed a purchase be made of 500 *mons* tutenague for coining into piece, they being much wanted at present³

Bombay Government Consultation, 8th March 1713. In the above Consultation of the 26th ultimo (February 1713) a purchase was ordered to be made of 500 *mons* tutenague for coining into piece, and Raghaji a Banian having offered that quantity at the price it had lately been sold for of Rs 8½ the *man*, it is agreed that it be accepted and that the amount be paid out of the treasury for it at that rate⁴

Additions to
the Mint,
1715

Bombay Government Consultation, 23rd April 1715. Upon inspecting the mint it is found necessary in order to make a better despatch that another part of it be covered and more chimneys added. Further as part of the old roof is so low that it often takes fire, it is convenient that it be raised and a new roof made upon the old wall and compound wall. This is agreed to and the land paymaster directed to give orders that the necessary additions and repairs be made with the utmost frugality⁵

False Tutenague
Coins,
1718.

Bombay Government Consultation, 23rd February 1718: It being found that a considerable quantity of false tutenague piece made on this island are daily passed in payment to the prejudice of the inhabitants particularly of the poorest sort, it is resolved that a publication be made requiring all persons who may be possessed of such piece to bring them to the Honourable Company's mint within fifteen days. At the mint they will be taken on the Honourable Company's account according to the value of the metal and be paid for out of the treasury accordingly. Further, after the expiration of those fifteen days, if any person or

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 21st Jan. 1713, Pub. Diary 16 of 1713, 19

² Bom Gov. Consultation 11th Feb 1713, Pub. Diary 16 of 1713, 35

³ Bom Gov. Diary 26th Feb. 1713, Pub. Diary 16 of 1713, 57

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 8th Mar 1713, Pub. Diary, 16 of 1713, 68

⁵ Bom Gov. Consultation 23rd April 1715, Pub. Diary 18 of 1715, 152

Copper Com
less liable to
Counterfeit.
1748.

Mint
Management,
1748

ר' יצחק-צבי

Chapter III.

Capital.

Mint
Management,
1718.

goldsmiths in Bombay can give the necessary security, the following regulations will obviate the difficulty by leaving them no power to detain the Honourable Company or the merchants. The mint master to have an Englishman as his deputy who will be constantly in the mint when no silver can be carried in or out without his knowledge; this person to be paid by the President and mint master. The mint to be secured with locks. One key to be kept by the managers the other by the mint master, and never to be opened or shut but he or his deputy are present. All bullion to be carried every evening from the mint to the Fort and deposited in a chest under the joint charge of the mint master and managers. The dies in like manner to be carried thither every night. All receipts of silver into the mint and payments from thence to be reported as usual to the mint master and also undersigned by his deputy. That the rupees may be kept up to their one fineness, it will be the mint master's care that the rupees are frequently assayed. As these methods duly observed will certainly prevent embezzlements, which answer the intent of any security that can be given, the Board unanimously agrees thereto. The new undertakers being accordingly called in, were made acquainted therewith, who assenting to the same, the terms of the contract to be entered into with them were explained to them as follows. That the following rates of silver contained in Consultation the 26th June 1724 be allowed.

For 100	ozs	tray weight of	Pillar dollar, old	Rs.	q	r
"	100	do	Mexico old	245	3	32½
"	100	do.	Ducatoons	250	3	0
"	100	do	French crowns	245	1	11
"	100	do	Old Seville dollars	240	0	61
"	100	do	Crusadoes	244	0	68
"	100	do.	Peru	230	1	31
"	100	do	Lyon dollars	198	0	86
"	100	do	German crowns	242	2	17

All other sorts of silver to be adjusted agreeable to their real value. That they have always in store wood, ashes, charcoal, tamarind, and other utensils sufficient to dispatch the coinage of 12 lakhs of rupees; and if the mint business stops for want of any of these articles, they shall forfeit such a sum as the Governor and Council shall direct, provided they are not impeded by war or other unavoidable accidents in the importation. The rupee to be an exact tola in weight or dwt 7 and grains 11 and in fineness 14½ dwt. better than English standard. As the mint master can employ . . . workmen, the undertakers shall procure and be assisted to procure this number. When completed the undertakers shall be obliged to keep the workmen in constant pay and shall not discharge them. If they are proved to discharge workmen the undertakers shall be subject to such penalty as the Governor and Council may judge necessary to inflict. Unless prevented by sickness the managers and their assistants be obliged to give constant attendance in the mint during the time that silver dwells there, or forfeit their contract. That there may be no sweeps in the mint, the managers shall upon the first coinage deliver in a calculate of what they find will remain in a lakh of rupees or a less sum. If on trial

this calculate is found just they shall agree to a time for payment, and if the managers exceed this time, interest must be allowed by them. So long as these undertakers observe the terms of their contract, the Government and Council engage that the management be continued to them or either of them. As there will be no sweeps and as the undertakers will be obliged to keep a number of workmen in pay, the Honourable Company agree to allow them to have lead from their stores at the same rate as the former mint undertakers, which is Rs. 6 the *ṛaka man*, the undertakers, after the first coinage, delivering a calculate of what lead a lākh of rupees may require.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 13th June 1749: There being a scarcity of single pice upon the island and the Honourable Company having about 75 Surat *mans* of copper in warehouse, it is agreed that the same be coined into pice as soon as possible, and valued at the rate of Rs. 26 the Surat *man* exclusive of mint charges; and the warehouse-keeper is directed to deliver the copper into the mint accordingly.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 26th March 1751. Being in want of gold to send to Kārwar to pay for the pepper contracted for at that place it is agreed that a letter be written to the Chief and Factors at Surat directing them to purchase from 10,000 to 15,000 Venetians on the most reasonable terms they can and to send them down hither by the first proper conveyance.³

Referring to the above a Consultation, the 5th April 1751, records: The Chief and Factors at Surat could not purchase any quantity of Venetians to send down by these vessels at a reasonable rate, as since the arrival of our orders for providing them the price of Venetians has risen from Rs. 4½ to Rs. 4⅞. At the same time by purchasing them in small parcels they hope to get the whole quantity ready by the next conveyance.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 29th October 1751: The President acquaints the Board that some people are very desirous of coming copper pice stamping them in our mint. As this will increase the Honourable Company's revenues and be a means of raising the price of copper (which is now a falling commodity), this proposal is assented to.⁵

Bombay Government Consultation, 19th February 1754: Read a letter from Mr. John Spencer, mint master, setting forth that the island is in great want of pice, but that the present very high price of copper would make them turn out to the disadvantage of the Honourable Company, were they to be made of that article. That tutonague is now cheaper than it has been for many years past, and that one thousand or fifteen hundred Surat *mans* will supply the

Chapter 111. Capital.

Mint
Management,
1748.

Scarcity of
Single Pice,
1749.

Venetians,
1751.

Copper to be
Coined,
1751.

Scarcity of Pice,
1751

¹ Bom Gov Consultation 25th Mar. 1748, Pub Diary 21 of 1748, 109-11 b.
Diary 2 of 1721, 83.

² Bom Gov Consultation 13th June 1749, Pub Diary 22 of 1749, 181.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 26th Mar. 1751, Pub. Diary 21 of 1751, 102

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 5th April 1751, Pub. Diary 21 of 1751, 116

⁵ Bom. Gov. Consultation 29th Oct. 1751, Pub Diary 21 of 1751, 365.

Chapter III.
Capital.

necessity of the place Resolved that this quantity be purchased on the most reasonable terms, and as we are persuaded it will be for the Honorable Company's advantage to make it on their own account allowing the minters something for their trouble, directed that orders be issued to the mint master accordingly.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 22nd February 1751: Being in want of tutenague for coining pice as resolved in last Consultation, and a parcel offering at Rs. 7½ the *man* the current price in the town, resolved to accept it.²

Half and
Quarter Pice,
1757.

Bombay Government Consultation, 2nd August 1757: The poorer sort of inhabitants complaining of the want of small currency, agreed that the mint master be ordered to get the value of Rs. 10,000 coined in half and quarter pice.³

Hukeri Rupees,
1766,

Bombay Government Consultation, 15th July 1766: The mint master representing that the Hukeri rupees cannot be coined into rupees but must be coined into Bombay rupees, they are ordered to be coined accordingly.⁴

Gold Currency,
1765-66

Bombay Government Consultation, 30th July 1765: The great scarcity of silver which has prevailed for a considerable time on the island being attended with many inconveniences and proving a very great prejudice to the trade of the place, the establishing of a gold currency has been thought of. The minters having delivered in a calculate of a gold currency, the same is ordered to follow this Consultation, and to be sent round to the several members for their inspection before next meeting.⁵

Minters' calculate of Venetians to be made into new coins for Bombay currency, in fineness 2 *rafs* alloy the tola of Venetian gold. The Venetians 100 full weight at Rs. 4½ each is Rs. 450, namely:

Venetians 100 at 12 <i>rafs</i> each is <i>rafs</i> 1200, at 10 the tola is	30	0
Alloy at 2 <i>rafs</i> the tola	1	20
	31	20
This at 10 <i>rafs</i> the tola is <i>rafs</i> 1260, at <i>rafs</i> 10 and rice 10 for each piece of gold is pieces 118 and rice 20	118	20
This at Rs. 4 the piece is	472	0
Deduct coinage charges	10	3 85
	461	2 15
Deduct coinage duty at 2½ per cent	11	2 15
	450	0 0
Net		

The Venetians 100 full weight at Rs. 4-2-25 each is Rs. 456-1, namely

Venetians 100 at 12 <i>rafs</i> each is <i>rafs</i> 1200, at 40 the tola is	30	0
Alloy at 2 <i>rafs</i> the tola	1	20
	31	20

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 19th Feb 1751, Pub. Diary 27 of 1751, 65

² Bom Gov. Consultation 22nd Feb. 1751, Pub. Diary 27 of 1751, 70 71

³ Bom Gov. Consultation 2nd Aug 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 289

⁴ Bom Gov. Diary 15th July 1766, Pub. Diary 16 of 1766, 128

⁵ Bom Gov. Consultation 30th July 1765, Pub. Diary 15 of 1765, 478.

This at 40 <i>vāls</i> the tola is 1260, at <i>vāls</i> 10 and rice 7½ (so called) on each piece is pieces 119 and rice 123½ at	Rs.	q.	r.
Rs. 4 the piece	479	0	55
Deduct coinage charges	11	0	75
	467	3	80
Deduct coinage duty at 2½ per cent	11	2	80
Net ...	456	1	0

The Venetians 100 full weight at Rs. 4-2-50 each is
Rs. 462-2-0, namely .

	Tola. <i>vāls</i>		
Venetians 100 at 12 <i>vāls</i> each is <i>vāls</i> 1200, at 40 <i>vāls</i> the tola ..	30	0	
Alloy at 2 <i>vāls</i> the tola	1	20	
	31	20	
Thus at 40 <i>vāls</i> the tola is 1260, at <i>vāls</i> 10 rice 5½ the piece	Rs.	q.	r.
is 121 pieces and rice 84½, which at Rs. 4 the piece is ..	486	0	67
Deduct coinage charges	11	3	24
	474	1	43
Deduct coinage duty at 2½ per cent	11	3	43
Net ...	462	2	0

The minters note the following additional points. The fineness of a Bombay gold rupee which weighs 1 tola gold contains . pure gold, parts 98, alloy, parts 2, total 100. The above mentioned intended coins of gold are above three touches worse than the fineness of Bombay gold rupees and therefore have five touch alloy in 100. The Venetians must be heated before they are weighed to clear them from wax and dirt. As the making this intended coin is a new trial, we desire you will please order to be delivered to us 300 Venetians to know whether it will turn agreeable to the above calculation or not, also to fix the weight of each piece. That you will inform us in what manner they are to be stamped. If the above calculation is not approved, we offer to make a gold coin that shall pass current for Rs. 15 and weigh 38 *vāls* pure gold, so that for 100 Venetians full weight (after having been heated) we shall deliver 30 gold coins amounting to Rs. 450, and stand to all our own charges and coinage duty. We also propose to make halves and quarters for the greater conveniency of the inhabitants of this place.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 31st July 1765. Agreeable to yesterday's resolution of Council the calculate of gold coins was sent round to the several members for their inspection, when the majority concurring in thinking it better to wait the arrival of the Mokha ships, as gold will probably then be cheaper, the same was determined on.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 5th November 1765: Resuming the consideration of the propriety of establishing a gold coin to pass current on the island, it is remarked that this seems

¹ Bombay Minters' Calculate, 1765, Pub. Diary 45 of 1765, 483-484.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 31st July 1765, Pub. Diary 45 of 1765, 481.

Chapter III.

Capital

Gold Currency,
1765-66

the proper juncture for carrying the same into execution as gold is now very cheap. Resolved therefore that a gold coin to contain exactly thirty-eight *rafs* of pure Venetian gold be established to pass current for Rs 15. Thus the mint master is accordingly ordered to make, also halves and quarters of the same, with the Honorable Company's arms on one side and Bombay with the year on the other. That trial of this coin be made for the present to the amount of Rs 60,000, and, should it be found to answer, more may be made hereafter. As from the present low price of gold the Honorable Company will gain considerably by this coin, it must at all times be changed at the treasury whenever tendered for that purpose.¹

This day (8th January 1766) a publication was issued signifying to the inhabitants the establishment of the gold coin and enjoining them to receive the same at Rs 15 each, and halves and quarters of the same.²

Rupee Currency
Regulated,
1767.

Bombay Government Consultation, 28th April 1767. Great abuses having lately been experienced, by the petty shopkeepers refusing to receive rupees in the bazar, the principal merchants and shroffs were called upon to give their opinions what rupees should pass current. They declared no objections should be made to any Bombay rupees whatever, whether cracked, broken, chopped, with holes or otherwise, provided that each rupee was within one *gunj* of full weight (100 *gunjās* making a rupee), nor to any Mahmud Shaw and Amud Shaw Surat rupees, whether broad ones, cracked, or even chopped or with holes on the rims, provided they are not chopped or have holes on the facing, and are full weight. The Secretary is therefore directed to issue a publication requiring that all such rupees as are mentioned above be received and do pass current at the full value of eighty pice the rupee.³

Court to Bombay, 25th April 1771. The resolution you have taken to make the standard of Surat rupees the same as the standard of those coined at Bombay, appears to us a very proper measure. This may tend to put a stop to the currency of Broach rupees, the continuance of which will be highly prejudicial to the interest of the Company as well as to that of private merchants. We hope your next advices will inform us that the state of your cash has enabled you to carry that measure into execution.⁴

Export Duty
on Silver,
1770

Bombay Government Consultation, 17th August 1770. Taking into consideration the proposals from the Chief and Council at Surat relative to the produce of the mint there, it is observed that the same exceeds that of the mint here, notwithstanding which, as the agreeing to it seems to be a case of necessity, we must acquiesce, though even this will not remedy the evil, there being a mint at

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 5th Nov 1765, Pub Diary 15 of 1765, 707.

² Bom. Gov. Diary 8th Jan 1766, Pub Diary 46 of 1766, 25.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 28th April 1767, Pub Diary 43 of 1767, 293.

⁴ Court to Bombay 25th April 1771 para 14, Pub Dep Court's Letters Vol 8 of 1769-1771, 257-258.

Chapter III.

Capital

Silver Duty
Continued,
1778,

Read the above petition from sundry merchants praying that the export duty on silver may be taken off. Though we admit the merchants do suffer some hardship in paying the duty on their exports to the Malabár coast, yet as we can find no remedy which will not admit of abuse, as under cover of exporting money to the coast it might be carried to China and Batavia from whence it never returns, it is therefore resolved that the duty be continued as at present¹

Scarcity of
Specie,
1771

Bombay Government Consultation, 15th March 1771: Taking into consideration our present great want of specie, and observing that the vast expense of the new fortifications carries away almost all the money we can raise, and that there are now employed thereon full five thousand men, it is agreed there be in future employed no more than 2500 men. These the Principal Engineer must be directed to employ on such works as are most immediately necessary.²

Paper Currency,
1771.

Bombay Government Consultation, 19th March 1771. Letter from the Principal Engineer to the President and Council, dated Bombay 19th March 1771. The number to be discharged agreeable to your orders is two thousand and twenty-eight men; their monthly pay amounts to Rs 10,878-0-50. I have called together the principal officers of the artificers and labourers, and have got them to agree to receive for the ensuing six months a paper currency equal to the above amount, provided that three-fourths of the said paper currency shall at all times be received into the Honourable Company's treasury at interest the same as cash.³

Read the above letter from the Principal Engineer addressed to us in consequence of our resolution last council-day for reducing the number of workmen employed, and proposing a means for continuing them by passing a paper currency. On which it is observed that it was not the mere pay of the workmen that caused us to reduce them, but as it was the occasion of a great reduction of expense in materials likewise. As in this respect a paper currency will be attended with great inconvenience, it is agreed to confirm our former resolution, except in regard to the women and boys at present employed to the number of about 400, which are represented to be attended with a small expense. The Principal Engineer is therefore permitted to retain them, and as we esteem this a most favourable opportunity for reducing the pay of those who are still to be employed, the paymaster is directed to use every means in his power to effect it.⁴

Scarc Mint,
1771

Bombay Government Consultation, 15th March 1771. As the gentlemen at Surat represent that the chief reason of the scarcity of specie there is owing to their mint having for some time been shut up, and that the scarcity of specie is the reason of the inability of merchants to lend the money we wanted and directed them to procure at interest. For this

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 9th Sept. 1778, Pub. Diary 74 of 1778, 667. Forrester's Home Series, II 223.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 15th Mar. 1771, Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 171-172.

³ Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 195.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 19th Mar. 1771, Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 181-182.

as we wish to obviate the difficulties which have occasioned the Surat mint to be disused, and in order that every measure in our power may be pursued to endeavour to procure money at interest, it is resolved Messrs. Jervis, Stackhouse, and Tayler be appointed a committee to enquire into the state of the Surat mint and how it arises that Broach rupees are better than those of Surat, which the Chief and Council represent to be actually the case.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 19th March 1771: Read the report of the committee appointed to enquire into the state of the Surat mint, and how it arose that Broach rupees were now preferable to those of Surat. On consideration of this report and of the assay of Surat and Broach rupees delivered in by the committee, and of the several directions which have been from time to time given, it is agreed that the committee's recommendation that the Surat mint be opened agreeable to the last terms proposed by the Nabob in his conference with Messrs. Gambier and Perrott under the 5th October last (1770) be now carried into execution. In this case we expect the standard of the Surat rupees will be equal to the Bombay. This is what we meant in our letter of the 20th October last (1770) by adding 'in other respects in like manner as practised here.' Though we agree the Broach rupees be received into the Surat treasury for the present, yet as soon as a sufficient quantity of Surat rupees are coined on the present standard, Broach rupees are then no longer to be permitted to pass current. But we are of opinion discount or *vatán* should be settled on the Broach rupees which we leave to the discretion of the Chief and Council (at Surat) to do in the most equitable manner.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 6th October 1772: Read a letter from the military paymaster with respect to the exchange on pice which is daily rising, enclosing one to him from the Brigadier General on the subject, and requesting the directions of the Board on this head. As by a publication in the year 1757 the exchange of silver into pice and *vice versa* was limited to half a pice the rupee, and as this if duly observed will effectually put a stop to the evil complained of, it is resolved that the publication be republished and the most punctual observance of it required under proper penalties.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 21st September 1773: Notwithstanding the publication that was issued last year (October 1772) limiting to half a pice in a rupee the exchange to be taken on changing tutenague pice into silver, the exchange on changing pice for silver has risen to about 10 per cent. As this charge is a great loss and detriment to the soldiers sepoys and labourers who are chiefly paid in pice, as well as to the poor in general, the means for putting a stop thereto is taken into consideration. It is observed that from the very low price tutenague has borne for some time past and from the vast quantity of pice on the island we have reason to conclude that great numbers of pice must be made on the other

Chapter III.

Capital.

Surat Mint,
1771.

Silver and Pice
Exchange to be
Half a Pice per
Rupee,
1772.

Tutenague Pice
Discontinued,
1773

¹ Bom Gov Consultation 15th Mar 1771, Pub Diary 57 of 1771, 170-171

² Bom Gov. Consultation 19th Mar 1771, Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 180.

³ Bom Gov Consultation 6th Oct 1772, Pub Diary 62 of 1772, 928.

Chapter III

Capital

1773-74
1774-75
1775-76

side and brought over hither. It is, therefore, decided that a proclamation be issued for orders in writing crying down the value of pie from 80 to 100 in every rupee, to commence from the moment it is published. As even then there was a great deal to be gained at a disadvantage by persons on the other side, as was never before hitherto practised, it is further resolved and ordered that all pie that may be coined in future shall be of copper, and are handed to a rupee, and that they be of such a weight as just to represent the value of the copper with the expense of coining. From henceforward all counterfeit pie will be coined in our mint.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 24th September 1773: The Collector represents to the Board a petition from the merchants requesting that owing to their holding this piece they hold a large quantity of pie in hand at the time the publication was issued crying them down from 80 to 100 the rupee, requesting relief thereon. This being considered, it is unanimously determined to be able to afford them some relief, as well as to the tobacco farmers who are in the same predicament, and who have made application to the same purpose. It is also therefore that the rent of the tobacco and musk farms be received in pie from the 1st to the 22nd instant (being the day the dry pie were reduced) at the rate of 80 to one rupee, the loss of which must fall on the Company. But for any arrears of rent due before that time, pie can be received only at the present exchange or in silver, because it was the former's own fault the rent was not paid long before the publication.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 24th October 1773: Great numbers of complaints are daily made that counterfeit pie do not pay current in the bazaars since our proclamation reducing their value. This upon consideration we are of opinion may in a great measure be owing to pie not being received from all persons in payments made to our treasury. It is therefore resolved in order to remedy the many inconveniences complained of, that from henceforward in all sums tendered at the treasury one-half will be accepted in pie (if desired), provided the pie so tendered be of the Company's own coinage. At the same time as we are convinced from the vast quantity of pie on the island that great numbers must have been coined surreptitiously, which must have turned out to the great advantage of those who coined them (inasmuch as for a long time past having been at a very low price, and as we understand that the surreptitious pie are easily distinguishable from those of the Company), it is resolved, in order to put a stop to this pernicious and unlawful practice of coining pie as well as to remedy the evil subsisting by the quantity that has been already coined, that all pie of the surreptitious coinage presented for payment at the treasury shall be instantly cut in two and forfeited to the Company. For this purpose the necessary milters and shroffs must attend at the treasury, who shall be answerable for the receipt of any pie not

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 21st Sept. 1773, Pub. Diary 94 of 1773, 617-618.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 24th Sept. 1773, Pub. Diary 94 of 1773, 627.

coined by the Company, and the assistant to the treasurer must always be present in the treasury that no favour or affection may be shown to any one. As we are convinced that the only effectual means of putting a stop to all these complaints regarding pice is to call in those made of tutenague, and to coin such a quantity of copper pice as will be sufficient for the currency of the place, it is resolved that as soon as possible the amount of Rs. 20,000 of copper be coined into pice, a proportionable quantity of which must be in halves and quarters. When the same are ready to be issued, the tutenague pice coined by the Company will be called in and all others rendered uncurrent.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 12th October 1773: Several petitions are laid before the Board from persons concerned in carrying on the arrack and tobacco farms complaining that they suffer several grievances by the late orders regarding tutenague pice, which they pray may be remedied. As we have reason to believe that their complaints proceed more from artful management than any real cause of grievance, it is resolved, in order effectually to put a stop thereto, that the principal arrack and tobacco farmers be called by the Secretary and acquainted if they think they have any real reason to complain that the late orders regarding tutenague pice have been of prejudice to their sales, that the farms will be received back from them and put up again to sale if they desire to deliver them up.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 19th October 1773: The Secretary acquaints the Board that he called upon the principal arrack and tobacco farmers and acquainted them as ordered in our last Consultation, when the arrack farmers consented to continue to hold possession of that farm as he assured them the present perplexities regarding pice would be over so soon as a proper quantity of copper pice were coined; but the tobacco farmers proposed presenting a petition to the Board on the subject.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 26th October 1773 Read a petition from the tobacco farmers representing the loss they sustain in carrying on the farm, not only from the alteration of the value of pice from 80 to 100 to a rupee, but also by uncurrent pice. Upon mature consideration of this, it is agreed the farmers be acquainted that any loss which may actually have accrued to them by the counterfeit pice shall be made good after the copper pice are issued, on their delivering exact accounts thereof on oath. Also if, after the copper pice are issued, they shall find a loss by the alteration from 80 to 100 pice for a rupee, it is further agreed that the farm will be received back and again put up to sale.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 26th November 1773: As between ten to twelve thousand rupees of copper pice are now

Chapter III.

Capital.

Tutenague Pice
Discontinued,
1773.

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 5th Oct. 1773, Pub Diary 64 of 1773, 673-674.

² Bom Gov. Consultation 12th Oct 1773, Pub Diary 64 of 1773, 693.

³ Bom Gov. Consultation 19th Oct 1773, Pub Diary 64 of 1773, 699-700.

⁴ Bom Gov Consultation 26th Oct. 1773, Pub Diary 64 of 1773, 709.

Chapter III.

Capital.

Tutenague Piece
Discontinued,
1773

coined, resolved that they be issued from the treasury on the first of the ensuing month of December. Against that time a proclamation must be prepared, noting that the same are to pass current, and declaring all tutenague piece uncurrent from that time. All tutenague piece that are of the Company's coinage and may be brought into their treasury on or before the 31st of the ensuing month of December, will be received on the Company's account, and we shall hereafter determine how to dispose of them.¹

The Proclamation regarding piece, dated 30th November 1773. By the Honourable William Hornby, Esquire—In order to remedy the many inconveniences that arise from tutenague piece passing current on this island, which are principally owing to the large quantity that have been coined surreptitiously, it has been determined that a proper quantity of piece made of copper should be coined, and that when the same were ready to be issued the tutenague piece should no longer pass current on this Island of Bombay. In pursuance of this determination a proper quantity of copper piece are now ready to be issued, which are to pass at the rate of one hundred for every silver Bombay rupee. It is hereby ordered and declared that from tomorrow morning no tutenague piece shall pass current in this Town or Island of Bombay, nor shall any person or persons be obliged to receive or accept the same in payment from the time above mentioned. Such tutenague piece as have been coined by the Honourable Company in their mint and may be brought into their treasury on or before the last day of the ensuing month of December, will be received and paid for at the rate of 100 for a Bombay silver rupee, the present exchange. All such as may be tendered that are not of the Company's coinage, will be cut in two and forfeited to the Company.²

Want of Money,
1774

Bombay Government Consultation, 7th April 1774. As we are in immediate want of money, not only for our current expenses but also to discharge the bills drawn from Onor which are now due, resolved that all the tutenague piece which have been called in and are now in the treasury, be sold at public outcry for the most they will fetch. The outcry to be made by Messrs Fletcher and Garden, who are now appointed a committee for that purpose, and the amount to be paid as the piece are taken away.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 13th April 1774. The committee appointed to sell the tutenague piece called into the treasury, report that they met for that purpose on the day appointed, but that notwithstanding due notice was given of the intended sale, no purchasers whatever attended. Ordered that they fix on another day for the sale when they must endeavour to dispose of the piece.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 3rd May 1774. The committee appointed to sell the tutenague piece that had been called into the treasury report to the Board that they again met to endeavour to

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 26th Nov. 1773, Pub. Diary 61 of 1773, 806

² Pub. Diary 61 of 1773, 814

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 7th April 1774, Pub. Diary 63 of 1774, 251

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 13th April 1774, Pub. Diary 63 of 1774, 267

dispose of them ; but that no person could be induced to offer more for them than Rs. 3-10-0 the Surat *man*. This being so very low they did not think themselves authorized to sell them at such a rate. The great scarcity of money was assigned as the reason for this very low offer.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 15th August 1775 : The committee appointed to make sale of the tutenague piec report to the Board by letter that they have sold the whole quantity of tutenague piec in the treasury at Rs. 4-0-50 the Surat *man*, and for ready money.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 20th December 1774 : A considerable number of Broach rupees were received in the treasure lately arrived from Surat as the treasurers now report. The rupees coined at that place by an assay made in the year 1771, were found to be superior to those of Surat, which last pass current here. For this reason, as well as because Broach now belongs to the Honourable Company, we esteem it very proper that Broach rupees should also pass current on this island. Ordered therefore that a publication be issued enjoining all persons to receive Broach rupees in payment without demanding discount.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 15th June 1774 : Letter from the Mint Master to the President and Council, dated Bombay 16th May 1774. I have received an order to lay before you an account of the profits arising by coining the different sorts of gold coins at their present value into gold rupees of the Bombay standard, with an account of the mint charges on the same. The variety of gold coins in India, few of them except Venetians being to be had in this place at present, prevents my being able to give your Honour the account you have ordered, as they ought all to be assayed to ascertain the alloy in each coin. In order to show your Honour the profit on coining Venetians into gold rupees of the Bombay standard, I shall beg leave to state the difference between the nominal and real value of the gold rupee now current for 15 silver rupees :

1 gold rupee weighs dw't 7 gr. 1 or 38 <i>rails</i> of the fineness of 24 carats which is Venetian standard and passes current for	Rs	q	r
15 silver rupees	15	0	0
1 gold rupee weighing Venetians 3½ or 38 <i>rails</i> at	Rs	q	r
Rs 1-1-50 per Venetian of 12 <i>rails</i>	13	3	11
Add the minter's charges 2½ per cent, namely burmage (waste) on 100 Venetians at 21 <i>rails</i> the 100 Venetians equal to 1½ per cent, workmanship 9 <i>rails</i> the 100 Venetians equal to ¾ per cent, total 2½ per cent, that is	0	1	38
Total	14	0	79
Difference	...	0	3 21

which is equal to 5 35 per cent profit, and will alter as Venetians rise or fall in price⁴

Chapter III.

Capital.

Want of Money,
1774.

Broach Rupees
made current,
1774.

Gold Rupees,
1774.

¹ Bom Gov Consultation 3rd May 1774, Pub. Diary 65 of 1774, 359.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 15th Aug. 1775, Pub. Diary 68 of 1775, 534.

³ Bom Gov Consultation 20th Dec. 1774, Pub. Diary 66 of 1774, 900.

⁴ Pub. Diary 65 of 1774, 429-130.

Chapter III.

Capital.

Gold Rupees,
1774.

Bombay Government Consultation, 15th June 1774: It having been determined that the treasure lately imported from Basra, which we procured on account of our Honourable Employers for bills on Bengal, should be coined in our mint and that the silver should be made into rupees of the present standard, it remains now to consider of what weight and fineness to make the gold rupees. This being taken under deliberation together with a letter from our mint master showing the gain arising by coining gold rupees of the present weight and standard, resolved after a full discussion that the gold rupees be made of the same fineness as those at present current, but that an addition of two *ra's* be made to the weight, that is that they be now made of 40 *ra's* weight instead of 38, and that they bear the same impression as the silver rupees. By thus raising the real value (as they are to pass for 15 silver rupees as before) they will be current in the adjacent countries. As the price of gold in this place is at present low, some profit will still arise by coining it into rupees of the weight and standard above resolved on. It is further agreed, in order to increase the currency of the place, to permit private persons to coin gold in the mint on their paying the customary duty of 1½ per cent. The gold rupees now current must be called in, in proper time, and recoinced of the present weight and standard; the deficiency in weight must be made good by the Company as they enjoyed the profit that was made on their being first coined.¹

Small
Gold Rupees,
1775

Bombay Government Consultation, 25th April 1775: As there is at present a want of silver currency on the island, it is agreed, in order to obviate the inconveniences resulting therefrom, to coin gold to the amount of Rs. 60,000 into pieces of the value of one silver rupee each to be in fineness exactly equal to the gold rupees now current and of ¼th part of the weight of a gold rupee.²

Counterfeit
Gold Rupees,
1775.

Bombay Government Consultation, 12th December 1775: There being several counterfeit gold rupees now circulating on the island, it is agreed to offer a reward of Rs. 1000 to any person or persons who will make discovery of the persons concerned in coining them, so that the offenders may be brought to justice.³

Gold Rupees
Discontinued,
1778

Bombay Government Consultation, 25th March 1778. We have reason to believe that the troops have suffered by being paid in the small gold rupees. It is resolved that no more of this coin be issued from the treasury and that the whole currency be called in and sent to China by the *Beshborough*, where they can be realized without loss. These rupees are not to pass current after the 31st of May next.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 30th September 1778: Received by *patamar* a letter from the Chief and Factors at Thána, dated 25th instant, in which they advised that agreeable to our order they had called in all the gold fifteenths in circulation there, which being 126 m

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 15th June 1774, Pub. Diary 65 of 1774, 422-423.² Bom. Gov. Consultation 25th April 1775, Pub. Diary 67 of 1775, 375-376.³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 12th Dec. 1775, Pub. Diary 68 of 1776, 672.⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 25th Mar. 1778, Pub. Diary 73 of 1778, 142.

number they then transmitted us and requested a supply of Rs. 20,000 for their current expenses ¹

The following extracts relate to the Rate of Exchange · Bombay to Surat 11th November 1677. The dollars and pagodas Mr. Child paid us in, we have given Rájápur factory credit for. We have sold the first for 5 shillings the dollar. Both them and the pagodas we have near hand spent, our ships garrison charges and our new bastion sweeping away vast sums of money. Our tobacco rent and cooly rents are paid us all in *bujruks* which as they do not pass off the island are fallen now to 28 *phaulás* the Xeraphin. We are therefore forced to put a stop to the further payment of *bujruks* or else we shall neither have any trade nor a penny of silver on the island. Of the farms of the customs we have not received more than 5000 Xeraphins since they were sold. We shall remit what we can spare though it will be to loss; for we can send nothing but Xeraphins. If your worships have any occasion of furnishing the factories of Rájápur Kárwár or Calicut with money it may be sent thither with far less loss.²

Court to Bombay, 4th June 1703: You are to pay all salaries in India, valuing the rupee at two shillings and six pence, unless to such as desire the same or any part thereof in England, for which you may give bills on the Company.³

Court to Bombay, 15th March 1733: By the Mokha ship you were informed that the regulating of the exchange from the Bay was then under our consideration. We have since settled the same, and do now permit you to draw upon us, sixty-one days after sight, for such money paid into our cash as our covenant servants while such shall have occasion to remit home, on making affidavit that it is upon their own account, after the rate of two shillings and six pence the Bombay rupee, and for all sums upon account of other persons, after the rate of two shillings and four pence.⁴

In January and February 1734 the Bombay Government drew bills of exchange on the Court of Directors in favour of their servants at 2 shillings and 6 pence the rupee, and two months after sight.⁵

The Honourable Company have now given positive orders that none but persons actually in their service shall enjoy the privilege of remitting money at the usual rate of 2 shillings and 6 pence the rupee, and all others' money must be remitted home at 2 shillings and 4 pence the rupee only.⁶

Our Honourable Masters' last commands are very express that no person but their covenant servants while such, shall be allowed to pay

Chapter III.

Capital.

Exchange,
1677.

1703.

1733.

1734.

1735

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 30th Sept. 1778, Pub. Diary 74 of 1778, 696.

² Bombay to Surat 11th Nov. 1677, Sec. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 62.

³ Court to Bombay 4th June 1703 para 16. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 221.

⁴ Court to Bombay 15th March 1733 para 109. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 203.

⁵ Bom. Gov. Diary 28th Jan and 12th and 28th Feb. 1734, Pub. Diary 7 of 1734, 21, 38, 51.

⁶ Pub. Diary 8 of 1731-35, 40.

Chapter III.

Capital.

Exchange,
1746.

1766

money into their cash here at 2 shillings and 6 pence the rupee, the bills so drawn being in both cases payable 61 days after sight.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 12th September 1746: Signed the following six sets of bills on the Honorable Court of Directors at 2 shillings 6 pence the rupee on account of their covenant servants and others entitled to that indulgence, payable 90 days after sight.²

Court to Bombay, 17th May 1766: We hereby direct that the exchange from Bombay after these orders come to hand, be lowered to 2 shillings and 5 pence for a Bombay rupee to our servants, civil and military, and to all others to 2 shillings and 3 pence only for a Bombay rupee. You are to receive no money, nor grant bills to any persons not under covenants with us unless immediately wanted for the purposes above-mentioned. No bills drawn on us must be made payable in a less time than 365 days after sight. We will allow on such bills an interest after the rate of three per cent per annum on the expiration of 90 days from the date of our acceptance thereof, being the rate of interest which our bonds here in England bear, except only to the amount of about twenty thousand pounds a year, this being an indulgence to our covenant servants for providing themselves with necessaries. For their other immediate occasions, we are willing to pay our covenant servants at 90 days' sight. But you are not to extend your drafts for so short a time of payment to a greater sum than the said twenty thousand pounds, such being the amount allowed by our former orders.

The fortunes or estates acquired by our good and faithful servants may be remitted home in bills drawn upon us at 2 shillings and 5 pence for a Bombay rupee, if the money is tendered within twelve months from the time of their departure for England. After that period they are to have bills at only 2 shillings and 3 pence for a Bombay rupee. All moneys tendered belonging to deceased persons who were under covenants with us, must be received if within the limitation in the above paragraph. Also the money tendered by the commanders and officers of our Europe ships, so far as the produce of their private adventure extends, they taking the oath as prescribed in our letter of the 28th March 1740 paragraph 86. Likewise for all money paid in on account of the produce of coral and other articles licensed by us to be exported by the traders in diamonds. In all and every the before-mentioned cases particular regard must be had to the sum total of bills and certificates that they do not exceed by each ship one-fourth part of the invoice of the goods laden thereon as already directed in a preceding paragraph. And to this we make no exemption but what may regard Lord Clive whose full remittances must have the preference to all others.³

A Consultation 17th October 1766: Our Honorable Masters' commands of the 17th May last being now repealed and duly and

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 3rd Jan. 1735, Pub. Diary 8 of 1735, 3.

² Bom. Gov. Diary 12th Sept. 1746, Pub. Diary 19 of 1746, 305.

³ Court to Bombay 17th May 1766 paras 13-25, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 7 - of 1765-1768, 181-183. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 229.

maturely weighed and considered, the following particulars seem to occur in respect to those parts relative to the drafts to be made on them :

First· in preference to all others they have been pleased to indulge their servants with an annual remittance of twenty thousand (20,000) pounds to be drawn for at 90 days' sight at 2 shillings and 5 pence the rupee.

Secondly : that all the estates of those gentlemen who die in their service and the fortunes of such of their good and faithful servants as return to Europe, are to be accepted and bills given for them at the same rate of exchange but at three hundred and sixty-five (365) days' sight, provided the same are paid in within a twelve-month of their death or their return to Europe.

Thirdly : that these different sums are allowed to be paid and bills given for them as an indulgence to their servants, provided nevertheless the whole of the bills or certificates granted by any one ship do not exceed one-quarter part of such ship's invoice. But as we know the servants will want to remit much more than this can at any time amount to, it becomes necessary, in order to prevent discontent, to fix the proportions to be allowed each, out of the twenty thousand (20,000) pounds permitted to be drawn for at 90 days' sight. The following occurring to us as most eligible, it is agreed to establish the same as a standing order for the future ; for notwithstanding the military and marine are not by our Honourable Masters included in this indulgence, yet as we are sensible some have occasion to remit home money for the support of their families and other necessary occasions, we think it but reasonable to allow them a small proportion at least until our Honourable Masters' pleasure can be known regarding it.¹

To the President ..	£.	2100
To the Members of Council, including Major and Superintendent, 14 at 800 each	..	11,200
Chaplain, Secretary, Senior and Junior Merchants and Factors .. .. .	..	4500
Writers .. .. .	..	500
Military and Marine, to each Corps £700 each ..	..	1400

Total ..£20,000

Court to Bombay, 21st November 1766 : The exchange from your Presidency is to continue as settled in our letter of the 17th May last at the rate of 2s 5d. for a Bombay rupee to our civil and military servants, and to all others 2s. 3d. only for a Bombay rupee.²

Court to Bombay, 11th November 1768 · On reconsidering our former directions relating to the exchange for bills that we shall draw on our respective Presidencies for money paid into our treasury here by the owners of our freighted ships for the said ships' stocks, or by

Chapter III.

Capital.

Exchange,
1766.

1768.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 17th Oct 1766, Pub Diary 47 of 1766, 675-676 Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol 2 of 1759-1788, 151-152.

² Court to Bombay 21st Nov. 1766 para 52, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 7 of 1765-1768, 213-214.

Chapter III.

Capital.

Exchange,
1768

others who may have occasion to make remittances to India, we have, in order to encourage them to make such payments, determined to pass on draughts accordingly at the following rates, namely on Bombay at 2s. 2d. the Bombay rupee; on Port St. George at 7s. 3d. the current pagoda, and on Bengal at 2s. the current rupee.¹

Court to Bombay, 11th November 1768. You are also to take notice that the bills drawn in favour of the aforesaid owners will be made payable at five days after sight. To induce the owners to give directions to the commanders to take from the Company at any of the said Presidencies what cash they may want for their ships' use, such advance as shall be made to them are to be accounted for at the following rates: At Bombay 2s. 2d. the Bombay rupee; at Port St. George 7s. 3d. the current pagoda, and at Bengal 2 shillings the current rupee. You are therefore to be attentive that so far as they shall concern you the above directions are complied with and you are to call upon the several commanders of our freighted ships who arrive at your port to know if they are in want of money for their ships' use, and it must appear on your Consultations that you have so done. As the reasons given in our advices dated 18th March last still subsist for limiting the draughts to be made on us from Bombay, you are hereby ordered not to exceed the said sum of £20,000 in the draughts you make on us by the ships to be despatched home in the season of 1769, and all draughts must be at the rate of 2s. 2d. for each Bombay rupee. By the above limitation, we do not mean to include the sum of £5000 which we allow the commander and officers of each of our ships of this season to pay into our cash on the terms aforesaid at such settlements whereof they are consigned. That is to say those consigned to your Presidency are to be confined to pay in at the several settlements on your coast a sum not exceeding £5000 for each ship, and those consigned to the coast and bay are to pay in the like sum at either or both of those Presidencies unless our service may require their despatch from any other Presidency. In that case any part of their unpaid quota may be received there. As the commanders and officers of none of our ships are to be allowed more than £5000 on this account in the whole voyage the several Presidencies must take the necessary care in that respect by duly advising each other of the sums received from those commanders and officers. In regard to those who call at Madras on their way to China they are to be restrained to the latter place for paying in their allowance. The proportions which the officers are to bear with their commanders in the said sum are to be settled according to the rates mentioned in the printed indulgence with respect to their adventures outward. Such commanders and officers as may apply to you on this occasion, must therefore have certificates granted them in the usual manner upon their making oath as ordered in our letter of the 21st November 1766. If the attorneys of Lord Clive shall apply to you to pay in any part of his Lordship's *jagir* for bills of exchange on us, you are hereby directed to receive the same which is to be exclusive of

¹ Court to Bombay 11th Nov. 1768 para 38, Pub Dep Court's Letters Vol. 7 of 1765-1769, 398

the beforementioned £20,000 which you are permitted to draw for by the ships to be despatched from your side of India.¹

Court to Bombay, 30th June 1769 : We have considered seriously our former directions upon the subject of bills of exchange and have given due attention to the inconveniences resulting from the present restrictions. That the French and Dutch will be supplied with English money by those who want to remit to Europe is a natural consequence, and that they will in Bengal insist upon being paid in silver, seeing that silver is the only legal tender that is or can be in that country, and further that they will export from Bengal as much as they think fit notwithstanding any orders to the contrary is to be expected. Such being the evident inconveniences of our refusal to receive money into our cash for bills to be drawn upon England it will be said the remedy is in our hands if we will open our treasury the French and Dutch will no longer be supplied. They will be under the necessity of importing bullion for their expenses and investments and we shall have it in our power to export to China as much as we think the circumstances of the country will bear. We sincerely wish things could be brought to this state, but the single and insurmountable objection is that, if bills are drawn to an unlimited amount, we may be put to the utmost distress and difficulty to make good the payments in England. For this reason we have been under a necessity so to model all our orders upon this subject as to confine the draughts to some degree of proportion with our investments. This rule we must not now lose sight of, although our intention is to extend our power of taking up money as far as it can possibly be carried with any degree of prudence. Accordingly having considered the matter fully and maturely and having granted a further extension of remittances to our servants at Bengal on account of their increase of investment this year, we are willing to encourage you to do the same. We therefore do hereby revoke our former orders upon the subject of remittances and in lieu thereof we permit and empower you to draw upon us this season for £50,000, and beyond that sum for the whole amount of the supplies in specie which you may be able to send to China. At the same time we depend on your zeal and assiduity in extending your investments in such manner as may enable us to perform our engagements and to continue to you the same indulgence in future seasons. Besides the above sum of £50,000 you may grant certificates to the captain and officers of each homeward bound ship as far as £5000 each ship under the express conditions mentioned in the 55th (43rd) paragraph of our general letter of the 11th November last. Notwithstanding our order of the said 11th November, paragraph 44, you are not to include Lord Clive's *jâgi* in the said £50,000, it being our intention that any payment on that account should be made in Bengal only. The sum of £50,000 first to be drawn as abovementioned is to be divided and applied among the Company's servants, civil and military, in such a manner as may appear reasonable to you upon an impartial consideration

Chapter III.

Capital.

Exchange,
1769

¹ Court to Bombay 11th Nov. 1768 pages 39 - 41, Pub. Dep.-Court's Letters Vol. 7 of 1765 - 1768, 398 - 400.

Chapter III

Capital.

Exchange,
1769

of their several situations and circumstances. We shall depend upon your making this disposition in such an equitable manner as may leave no just cause of complaint. The China remittances are to be opened to free merchants or any other persons residing under our protection as well as to the Company's servants. The same remark applies to whatever sums shall be offered upon account of the estates of deceased persons. The bills for the sum of £50,000 first above-mentioned are to be drawn at the rate of 2s 5d the Bombay rupee and at 365 days' sight. The bills for such further sums as shall be sent to China are to be drawn at the rate of 2s. 6½d the Bombay rupee payable three years after sight, this latitude being necessary to enable the Company to bring the amount of the sale of their cargoes into circulation at the time the bills will become due. You will observe that we have increased the rate of exchange in proportion to the time allowed for payment. This we mean to stand in lieu of the interest formerly paid for the exceeding time after the ninety days. You are accordingly to give the bill-holders to understand that they will not be entitled to any interest upon bills that will be drawn in consequence of these orders.¹

1772

Court to Bombay, 23rd September 1772. Notwithstanding we have already expressed ourselves fully on the license you have taken in deviating from our express and positive orders of 30th June 1769 per *Lapwing* respecting the amount and rates of your drafts on the Court of Directors and have apprised you in what light we shall consider such conduct, yet as the effects of your disobedience in this respect is of such a nature as may endanger the credit of the Company, we deem it necessary by this conveyance to renew our peremptory injunctions that you do not, on any account or pretence whatsoever, issue bills on us for more than the amount of £50,000 exclusive of certificates to commanders and officers of ships payable in one year and at the rate of exchange expressed in our orders of 1769, which orders are to continue in full force until we shall signify our further pleasures herein. As we have come to a resolution to send such supplies to our Council at Canton as we shall deem sufficient for the purposes of providing cargoes for the outward bound ships of the ensuing season, we hereby revoke the permission given you by our before-mentioned orders to draw on us for the amount of all supplies in specie which you might be enabled to send to China. And we direct that you do not freight any goods or merchandise on private account in order that the amount sales or any part thereof be paid into our cash at Canton to be repaid by bills to be drawn on us by our servants there. You are however to observe that we expect and require you to use every means in your power to increase our China stock from your own resources and that in particular you do not fail to provide a cargo of such goods as may be most proper for that market to be loaded on the ship which shall be consigned by us to your Presidency in her way to Canton and such cargo must be in goods and treasure to the value of £40,000 at least.²

¹ Court to Bombay 30th June 1769 paras 24-33, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 8 of 1769-1771, 90-93.

² Court to Bombay 23rd Sept. 1772 paras 5-6, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 9 of 1772-1777, 62-63.

Court to Bombay, 24th November 1772 : It is impossible to describe the difficulties the Company now labour under for want of cash in their treasury here, arising as well from your unwarranted conduct as that of our servants in Bengal, who together contrary to repeated and positive orders have drawn upon us last year for upwards of one million sterling and this sum with what the Company have lost by indemnity on tea which is about another million, is a burthen almost insupportable. To remedy this evil for the present we hope the aid of Parliament will shortly be stretched forth. But to remedy it in future, must entirely depend upon our servants by a well regulated system of economy in every department that falls under their management by a due attention to our orders, particularly to those of the 23rd September last, respecting bills to be drawn upon us, and by a proper exertion at least for the two following seasons, of their utmost abilities in procuring the largest investments possible consisting of the finest and most valuable commodities. We order you most zealously to take in hand this important work. As a means to attain in part these indispensable purposes by reducing so far as possible the very burthensome charges of your Presidency, from the great expenses incurred at your subordinate factories, we have it under consideration to retrench them by withdrawing the military from all except the castle of Surat and to place the collection of the pepper on the Malabár Coast with a Resident at each to be assisted with one or two writers. We have thought it proper to apprise you of this our intention by the present conveyance and shall communicate our final resolution by the direct ships consigned to your Presidency this season.

In addition to our abovementioned orders of the 23rd September last respecting bills of exchange, we hereby direct that in future you observe it as a standing rule not to pass any bills or certificates on us except those for the amount of the adventures of the commanders and officers of our ships but by the two last ships of the season that sail from Bombay. Nor to draw for a larger sum than permitted by our said orders of the 23rd September as we are determined in case of disobedience to return the bills above that sum back again to Bombay unaccepted. It is our further order that in the bills we allow you to draw at 365 days' sight, you leave it at our option not to pay the same under two years, though, should we think proper to accept them on the latter term, we shall have no objection to pay them at the rate of 2s 5½d. a Bombay rupee without allowing any interest.

Notwithstanding anything said in the preceding paragraph you are hereby absolutely prohibited drawing bills or passing certificates upon us for any sums or in favour of any persons whatsoever in 1773 except certificates only for such sums as the commanders and officers of our freighted ships by our standing orders in their instructions are permitted to pay into our cash in part of their privilege. In this prohibitory order we include your draughts for any money we have heretofore permitted you to receive for bills on us. And you are further positively enjoined to make all possible savings in each branch of our affairs.

Chapter III.
Capital.

Bills drawn on
the Company,
1772.

Chapter III.
Capital.

Bills drawn on
the Company,
1774.

For the distresses of the Company are such as immediately and loudly call for every assistance and the retrenching of every expense.¹

Court to Bombay, 11th February 1774. The subject of remittances through the Company's cash by bills on the Court of Directors having been considered in the last sessions of Parliament, a law was accordingly enacted restricting the Company accepting or otherwise binding themselves in the space of any one year for the payment of any bills of exchange drawn by any of their officers or servants at any of their presidencies in the East Indies for any sum exceeding £300,000 (exclusive of certificates to the amount of £5000 to the commanders and officers of each of the Company's ships) without the consent or order of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury or the High Treasurer for the time being.

It therefore only remains with us to notify the said law to our servants in India and to proportion the draughts allowed to be made on us for the said sum of £300,000, which we hereby do so far as concerns your Presidency in the following manner. To Bombay, £35,000 to be remitted by our civil and military servants, and the further sum of £10,000, one moiety of which latter sum we would have reserved for the benefit of free merchants and others not in the Company's service and the other moiety for the advantage of deceased persons' estates and of persons returned from the Company's service.

And it is our pleasure that the said sum of £15,000 be considered as the total amount of the bills to be drawn by you in the course of one year commencing from the 1st August 1774 and ending the 31st July 1775; but we do not mean to include in that sum the £5000 for which you are permitted pursuant to the said Act to grant certificates to the commanders and officers of each of the Company's ships during the course of the voyage.

The bills you may draw for at 2s. 5d each Bombay rupee and they must be made payable at 12 months and not at 365 days after sight without interest, and the certificates must be made out as usual without mentioning either the rate of exchange or the term for payment.²

1776.

Court to Bombay, 10th March 1775. Having taken into our consideration the rates of exchange for which bills are drawn upon us, we have thought fit to reduce the same in the following manner.

From Bombay at 2s. 3d the Bombay rupee, from Bengal at 2s. 1d. the current rupee; from Port St George at 7s. 4d. the pagoda; and from China and Fort Marlborough at 5s. the Spanish dollar.

We hereby authorize and permit you to draw upon us for one year commencing the 1st August 1775 and ending the 31st July 1776, for £30,000 sterling to be remitted by our civil and military servants; and the further sum of £15,000 sterling for the benefit of

¹ Court to Bombay 24th Nov. 1772 paras 7-10, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 9 of 1772-1777, 68-71.

² Court to Bombay 11th Feb. 1774, paras 13-16, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 9 of 1772-1777, 123-125.

free merchants and others not in the Company's service, and on account of deceased persons' estates and of persons returned from the East Indies¹

Comt to Bombay, 16th April 1777. We permit you to draw upon us this year for the sum of £45,000 at the rate of 2s. 3d. the Bombay rupee. You are in no case to exceed that amount²

Bombay Government Consultation, 5th March 1783: It being necessary to fix at what value we shall issue the rupee to his Majesty's troops agreeable to the request in the paymaster's letter read last Council day—Resolved according to the Honourable Company's orders that the amount of his Majesty's troops' subsistence be paid at the exchange of Rs 2 4 *as.* the emrent Bengal rupee (value 110 for 100 Bombay rupees) But the additional and extra allowance, borne by the Company, at the same rate as their officers receive it, namely at 2s. 6d. the Bombay rupee.³

The following extracts relate to questions connected with interest and loans:

Paragraph 76 of the Court's letter of 15th March 1733, confirms a bylaw against exorbitant usury.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 27th September 1734, directs that the bylaw confirmed by the Honourable Court of Directors for preventing extravagant interest being taken on small sums of money, be translated into the Portuguese and Gentu languages and affixed in the usual places, in order to be the more publicly known amongst the inhabitants.⁵

Letter from the Mayor's Court to Bombay Government, 6th November 1734: We take this opportunity to desire your Honour will recommend home two more bylaws, one in favour of Respondentia Lenders who, the Court thinks, ought to have a right in the ship and cargo their risk is on, prior to other bond creditors. The other for the relief of Indian creditors of persons dying here insolvent being indebted likewise in England; the Court esteeming it a great hardship that the India creditors' money should be paid away to the English creditors though the insolvent person brought no effects out with him.⁶

Bombay Government to Mayor's Court, 15th November 1734: With the utmost willingness we shall recommend to the Court of Directors the establishing the other two bylaws mentioned in your letter, being convinced that they are entirely consistent with reason and justice⁷

Chapter III. Capital.

Bills drawn on
the Company,
1777.

1783.

Regulating
Rate of Interest,
1774.

Bylaws regarding
Loans,
1734.

¹ Court to Bombay 10th March 1775 paras. 15 and 16, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 9 of 1772-1777, 200

² Court to Bombay 16th April 1777 para 6, Pub Dep Court Letters Vol 9 of 1772-1777, 320

³ Bom. Gov Consultation 5th March 1783, Pub. Diary 81 of 1783. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1769-1788, 312

⁴ Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 202.

⁵ Bom. Gov Consultation 27th Sept 1734, Pub Diary 7 of 1734, 170.

⁶ Pub. Diary 7 of 1734, 211

⁷ Bom Gov to the Mayor's Court 15th Nov. 1734, Pub. Diary 7 of 1734 215.

Chapter III.

Capital.

Bank Proposed,
1717.

The following extracts relate to the establishment and history of the Bank

Court to Bombay, 21st February 1717. As the increase of trade has a natural tendency to increase our revenues, we shall here, in answer to the 72nd paragraph of the letter of the 21st January proposing leave to settle a Bank of a lakh of rupees for the enlarging the trade at Bombay, tell you that we consent thereto, provided you take effectual and constant care to secure the repayment of the money by sufficient pledges of goods or other securities and that it be lent as you propose at nine per cent interest. Let us know what good effect it hath every year.¹

Bank
Established,
1720.

Bombay Government Consultation, 20th June 1720. As the setting a Bank on this Island will indisputably be for the mutual benefit and advantage both of the Right Honourable Company and the inhabitants by the increase of the trade and revenues thereof, and our Honourable Masters having been pleased to encourage this proposal in the 73rd paragraph of their letter by the *Addison*, the President moves that Messrs Brown and Philipps be appointed for his assistance in that affair and that they prepare a scheme for the more regular carrying on the same, to be laid before the Board for their approbation. This is approved and agreed to.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 25th July 1720. Letter from Messrs W. Brown and O. Philipps to the Honourable C. Boone President and Governor at Bombay. By virtue of the order of Council to us the 20th June 1720, to prepare and lay before your Honour a scheme for erecting and establishing a Bank on Bombay for supplying the merchants with sums of money whereby they may the better be enabled to extend and carry on the growing trade of this Island according to the direction and indulgence of our Honourable Masters, we humbly offer the following proposals:

1 That a sum not exceeding Rs 1,00,000 be taken out of the Right Honourable Company's cash and be set apart and appropriated for the purpose as the capital stock for the Bank of Bombay.

2. That the care and management of the said stock and all the transactions of the Bank be under the immediate direction of the Governor and two of the members of Council whom he shall appoint, who shall keep books and enter therein all their proceedings in the discharge of this trust, and once a year, namely in the month of July, deliver into Council an account of the interest made and gained on the money lent and issued out by the Bank, and pay the same into the treasury for the use of the Right Honourable Company.

3 That any person or persons inhabitant on Bombay whether native or the Right Honourable Company's covenanted or hired servants may borrow or take up money of the Bank upon giving security to the satisfaction of the managers aforesaid. This security

¹ Court to Bombay 21st Feb 1717 para. 73. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 152

² Bom Gov Consultation 20th June 1720, Pub Diary 1 of 1720, 89. Forrest's Home Series, II 17.

shall be either by a deposit of goods to the full value of the money lent (and in such case the borrower may retain and keep the money for one whole year or until he can dispose of those goods and receive in the money for the same which shall soon happen) or otherwise the borrower shall procure one substantial merchant or other inhabitant of the place to be joint security in a bond with him to repay the said money and interest thereon within the term of six calendar months

4. That in consideration the Right Honourable Company have given us leave to issue out of their cash the sums to be advanced from the said Bank; that therefore they be allowed by the borrowers an interest for the same after the rate of 9 per cent per annum until the principal and interest is paid.

5. In consideration of the trouble and charges of the management of the affairs and transactions of the said Bank every borrower shall upon his entering into a bond for the money then lent him, pay to the managers one per cent for their said trouble

6. That as a further encouragement to the borrower, the Bank shall be obliged to receive from him at any time upon tender thereof, before the expiration of the times limited in the third article above, any even sum or sums of money (not less than Rs. 100) in part of his debt and the interest of such part so paid shall from thenceforth cease and determine. Similarly for goods deposited the owners shall have free liberty at all times to show and dispose thereof in whole or in part; and upon paying the produce into the Bank, the same shall be accepted and received in part or in full payment of the debt according to the amount thereof.

7. That any person who borrows of the Bank may have cash-notes if they choose the same rather than money. The said notes to be signed by the managers and sealed with the Right Honourable Company's seal, (whereof none) shall be for less than Rs 50 and shall run (in the) following manner: Bombay 14th July 1720. We promise to pay or order at demand 50 silver rupees current of Bombay on account of the Bank (Sd.) A. (Sd.) B. (Sd.) C.

8. And if any person shall lend to the Bank any sum of money of Rs. 100 or upwards for the term of six months certain, he shall have a note signed and sealed as aforesaid bearing interest at one *dugúni* a day for Rs 100 and payable also at demand after the expiration of the said six months to him or order by endorsement. Bombay 14th July 1720. We promise to pay or order Rs 100 current of Bombay, together with the interest at one *dugúni* a day from the date hereof for Rs. 100 on demand after the expiration of six calendar months for and on account of the Bank of Bombay.¹

Messrs. Brown and Philipps now deliver in their above scheme for setting on foot a Bank on this Island, agreeable to an order of Council of the 20th ultimo, when they likewise acquainted the Board they had talked with the most eminent black merchants about it, who were well

Chapter III.

Capital

Bank
Established,
1720.

¹ Pub. Diary 1 of 1720, 121-122.

Chapter III
Capital

Bank
Established,
1720

satisfied with the proposal and voluntarily offered the one per cent to the managers for their trouble. The same having been duly weighed and maturely considered, ordered that Messrs Walter Brown and Owen Phillips prepare a place for an office, a seal and books and be ready to open the same, agreeable to the scheme abovementioned, when we see convenient for our Honorable Masters' interest so to do.¹

Published 22nd December 1720 a proclamation that the Bank is now erected on the conditions on which it is established.²

1744.

Court to Bombay, 20th March 1744. You did well the 30th December in appointing a committee to examine into the Bank debts and the sufficiency of the several securities, as sums are said to have been lent upon personal bonds, and as the houses and outis mortgaged for many years may be decayed. We expect that on the committee making a report effectual care was taken to prevent our suffering in any instance whatsoever.³

State
of the Bank,
1744.

Bombay Government Consultation, 26th October 1744. Report of the Bank debts and securities made by Messrs John Moiley George Dudley and John Munro, dated Bombay 26th October 1744. We being some time ago appointed a committee to examine into the state of the Bank debts and securities, have unavoidably been prevented hitherto from making any report of our enquiry therein and laying the same before your Honour as we were willing to have the fullest and best information relating thereto as could be possibly obtained. In order that we might be thoroughly satisfied whether the securities given for money borrowed from the Bank are at present really sufficient or not, as most of the debts due are of a long standing and the value of the houses and landed estates mortgaged of course greatly diminished, we directed the engineer and viceroies of Bombay and Malabar to make a true and as exact a valuation as they could of the several houses outis and batty grounds situated within their respective districts. That they were not able to finish this valuation till the rains were over is the chief reason that we could not complete this enquiry sooner. But they having at length finished it and delivered their valuation of the whole, we herewith lay the same before your Honour for your notice and observation. We have likewise caused the registers of the Mayor's court to be scrutinized that we might know whether any of the Bank securities were mortgaged to other persons before their borrowing money from the Company. But upon the strictest examination we have not found above one instance of its being done and therefore we have recommended the debt to be recovered or fresh security given as your Honour may esteem proper. And that your Honour may have at once a clear view of the state of the Bank debts and securities, we now present your Honour with a full and as exact an account thereof as we can possibly collect to this time, wherein the

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 25th July 1720, Pub. Diary 1 of 1720, 118. Forrest's Home Series, II 31.

² Pub. Diary 1 of 1720, 187.

³ Court to Bombay 20th March 1744 para 72, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol 3 of 1742-1751, 72.

names of the borrowers, dates of bonds whether mortgage or simple, the sums borrowed, what at present is outstanding, the nature of the securities, where situated, their present value, sufficiency or insufficiency thereof, are particularly specified with such remarks thereon as we esteem proper and to which we request you will please to be referred. Upon a view of this state your Honour will observe that some of the debts are of twenty years standing, and many of them above ten whereby the securities given are greatly lessened in their value, and several of the oarts and batty grounds pledged have been sold or otherwise alienated, by which means the Company may be put to great trouble and charge before they can be reimbursed what they have lent thereon. Therefore lest the Bank should suffer by their continuing any longer in this state, we humbly apprehend that all such bonds ought to be paid off without delay. To prevent any such practice in future, we beg leave to recommend that all mortgage and simple bonds be paid off and cancelled once in five years at furthest. And that, before any money be issued from the Bank, fresh securities be given and a new valuation made of the estate and the owner's title be fully examined.

It has hitherto been customary to lend upon houses and oarts and batty grounds near the full value of what they have been esteemed by the vereadores and other proper judges to be worth. But as the risk of lending upon houses is much greater than upon a landed estate which is not subject to so many casualties as house property, and besides if the debt is outstanding some years, as hath hitherto been the case, the houses will be subject to decay and at length be reduced to a small value. We therefore take the liberty to recommend that in time to come only one-half of the value of any houses offered to be mortgaged be lent thereon and not above two-thirds or three-fourths of the value of any oarts or batty grounds. This precaution with the renewal of such mortgage and security every five years as above proposed will effectually prevent all insufficient securities. Notwithstanding this valuation when the money is lent we think it would be proper to have the oarts houses and batty grounds inspected by proper persons every two or three years at furthest.

During the course of this enquiry we find that several persons who have borrowed money are dead, nor have their heirs discharged the bonds since their decease. This we humbly apprehend ought to be taken care of in future. In every such case the heir should be obliged upon the death of his ancestor either to discharge the bond or renew it in his own name and give such security as the managers of the Bank shall judge proper.

It appears to us that several small sums under Rs 200 have from time to time been lent to necessitous persons upon trifling securities many of which are still outstanding, though they have been of a long date; and as we are informed, it is with some difficulty and trouble that the interest can be recovered. We therefore think proper to recommend to your Honour that all sums under Rs 200 be forthwith collected, and that no sum under that amount be hereafter lent to any person whatsoever.

Chapter III.

Capital.

State
of the Bank,
1711

Chapter III.

Capital

State
of the Bank,
1744

The whole amount of the Bank debts now outstanding is Rs 1,00,313, whereof Rs 12,900 is upon personal security, lately borrowed, which being owing by people of undoubted credit and besides two or more persons being bound jointly and separately in most of the bonds, we esteem the money secure, and therefore your Honour may either continue it in their hands or recover it as you think most proper.

Rupji Dhanji borrowed Rs. 1000, the 17th August 1721, without any security or person bound for him in the bond, and as no part of this debt has as yet (1744) been discharged, we think it ought to be paid off directly, or another person joined with him in a new bond, or such security given for it as your Honour shall think fit.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 14th December 1741. The report of Messrs Moiley, Dudley, and Minnie of the state of the Bank debts and securities is now considered. As it is necessary that that part of the Honourable Company's estate should be under some regulations, the Board unanimously agree that all mortgage and simple bonds of above five years outstanding be renewed or called in, and that hereafter only half their value be lent on houses and two-thirds of their value on oats and latty grounds. That the mortgages be duly inspected every two years or oftener if necessary, and a new valuation made thereon; and, in case of the death of the borrowers, their bonds be paid off or renewed by their heirs with proper security. That the amounts of all bonds under Rs 200 be immediately called in, and though the practice of lending upon good personal security may be continued no less sum than Rs 200 to be lent hereafter. Ordered that the above regulation be copied, and that, with the papers delivered in by the committee, they be lodged with the assistant manager of the Bank.²

Five Years'
Bonds to be
paid off,
1748

Bombay Government Consultation, 21th May 1748. As the Bank money by the present practice of letting it out on bonds continually renewable, though the securities be good, may get into particular hands and thereby not answer the circulating of it in trade for which it was intended, it is therefore resolved that all bonds of five years standing be instantly paid off and that the like method be observed in future.³

Debt due by
Fazandars,
1750

Bombay Government Consultation 31st July 1750. Read a petition from 12 Fazandars of Malim representing that they have borrowed money of the Bank to the amount of Rs 6250 for security of which their estates are mortgaged, and that they have regularly paid interest for the same every six months and are ready to do so in future; but that the assistant to the managers of the Bank having demanded the principal as well as interest, they were not able at present to comply therewith and therefore request the space of four months to pay it in. Upon this it is observed that for some years it has been a standing rule to demand the principal of all moneys borrowed of the Bank whether upon mortgage or simple bond securities once in five years, by

¹ Pub Diary 17 of 1744, 319-322

² Bom Gov. Consultation 14th Dec 1744, Pub Diary 17 of 1744, 352

³ Bom Gov Consultation 21th May 1748, Pub Diary 21 of 1748, 173,

such means to prevent as much as possible its fund from being absorbed in dead securities, and that the Bank may always have a sufficiency in it to answer the purposes for which it was established. However as it is considered that all trade is entirely stagnated during the rains and that there is a scarcity of money at this time upon the island, resolved that they be indulged with three months time to clear their respective debts of which the Secretary is directed to acquaint the assistant to the managers of the Bank.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 26th October 1770: Letter from Mr. W. Tayler to the President, 7th October 1770. The very great distress our Honourable Masters as well as this Presidency in general labour under for want of a flowing cash or some general currency, has become an object of serious consideration. This is especially the case as we have been disappointed of the resources the President expected to have had it in his power to have furnished us with. As appeared from what passed at our last Consultation, except the very inadequate sum that may be paid into the treasury at 2s. 4d. the rupee, we are not to flatter ourselves with the hopes of any large sums unless by raising the exchange to Company's servants. This, exclusive of its being but a temporary remedy, I can by no means think we are authorized at present to do. I therefore beg leave to propose for your consideration the following modes for frustrating the great inconveniences we must otherwise become liable to, which, besides remedying the evil, will be attended with very lucrative advantage to our Honourable Employers. In the first place if the debt due from the treasury to the Bank was to be repaid not by specie (that being impossible) but by bills of the nature of Bank notes, and lent to those who might apply on the present terms of security, it would be one certain mode of relief and yield to the Honourable Company a sure yearly profit of near Rs. 72,000. These bills might be from Rs. 40 in value each or less to Rs. 400 or more as might be judged most convenient. Secondly, if the Bank was to be opened for the receipt of all private moneys on the terms of allowing an interest of 6 per cent on all sums to be lent out again on an interest of 9 per cent (sufficient security given), the agio of 3 per cent would be clear profit to our Honourable Employers. I presume few who live under the Company's protection would not prefer to lodge their fortunes in the Company's Bank to placing them in the hands of private shroffs whose practice is to receive money in this manner from which they reap great advantages. To obviate any objections that may be made from apprehension of the Bank being overrun by too large demands upon it, this addition to the currency of the place and the general utility of the measure will prevent any such risk. Private persons never can and the Company's servants it is to be hoped never would make any such attempt. On the contrary they would support the Bank to the utmost and have it much in their power to do so. However for

Chapter III. Capital

Bank Notes,
1770.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 31st July 1750, Pub. Diary 23 of 1750, 248.

Chapter III.

Capital.

Bank Notes,
1770.

convenience sake a certain number of days of grace might be limited in the conditions for drawing out the sums deposited, or a greater or lesser number of days in proportion to the sums. No bad consequences I conceive can ensue from these proposals being carried into execution, for as long as the Honourable Company's credit lasts, the bills will have their validity. The great ease they imply in transacting business and the security they give to private persons must be too obvious to need expatiating on. The pecuniary advantages to our Honourable Employers are certain. Above all in future any occasion of exposing their exigencies, as has lately been most scandalously the case, will be avoided. For certainly a more poisonous stab cannot be given to their credit than refusing at the treasury to transfer their bills. Under the new proposal whenever there is flowing cash the bills if thought necessary can at any time be called in.¹

On receipt of the above letter the Board observe Upon this occasion Mr. Tayler delivers the above letter, proposing as a mode of easing the place in point of currency the issuing of bills from the Bank on loans upon the present security. This being duly considered we are of opinion that though it will not be of any immediate remedy to the present very great scarcity of specie it will be attended with great future convenience to the trade of the island, exclusive of the very great advantage our Honourable Masters will derive from the interest arising thereon. Resolved therefore that this proposal of Mr. Tayler be carried into execution and that notes be immediately prepared to the amount of the debt due from the treasury to the Bank being with interest about Rs. 8,00,000. The notes to be from Rs. 40 to Rs. 1000 each signed by the Managers of the Bank and sealed with the Honourable Company's seal.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 14th November 1770: The President acquaints the Board that in conversation with Mr. Robert Blackford, the person lately come out by permission of the Honourable Company to settle the late Mr. Spencer's affairs, on the subject of the proposed plan for bank notes, Mr. Blackford stated he had been bred up in the banking business and was desirous of giving some hints for the improvement of the bank note scheme. This the President permitted and now lays the same before the Board, which with the letter from Mr. Tayler on the same subject is referred to the consideration of the committee of accounts.³

Mr. Blackford's
Hints.

Mr. Blackford's Hints. - The Company owe the Bank 8 lakhs to discharge which notes shall be delivered out from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 20. That the notes shall bear an interest of 6 per cent to commence from their date, which will be the day they were lent on loan or by money

¹ Pub. Diary 56 of 1770, 570-571.² Bom. Gov. Consultation 26th Oct. 1770, Pub. Diary 56 of 1770, 563. Forrest's Home Series, II 164.³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 14th Nov. 1770, Pub. Diary 56 of 1770, 629-630. Forrest's Home Series, II 165.

paid into the Bank. That as much trouble will arise in paying notes that have been taken out but a day or two, it is to be recommended that no interest shall be calculated on any note or notes except they be of ten days standing. Thus will prevent persons from lodging money overnight and drawing it out the next morning for the sake of the day's interest. That a person borrowing money of the Bank shall be under the necessity of taking notes to encourage the circulation by which he can be a loser only of the difference between 6 and 9 per cent for ten days, as all notes will be then payable at the Bank on payment being demanded with interest thereon for the ten days as well as for any time over and above. That the Bank will not lend the said notes under 9 per cent. That it will be necessary at the first setting out with the proposed plan that the treasury should assist the Bank with one-third of 8 lakhs in specie and that the treasury retain in their hands notes to the said amount to be returned when the specie is repaid. This specie will be absolutely necessary although it may not be used. For, should any note appear for payment at the expiration of ten days and not be discharged, the credit of the Bank will then be stopped and no person will receive again as current that which he cannot depend on when he may stand in need of his money. That the Bank will certainly clear 3 per cent upon the notes taken out, supposing them to remain in the hands of individuals ever so short a time; for as the capital of the Bank should not be diminished but by money being lent for the service of trade, there never should be less in their power to lend than the 8 lakhs which was their principal stock before the Company were so much indebted. The notes being payable in ten days and bearing interest for that time, will get the better of the shroffs as they would not find it answer to take money for so short a time. Even supposing they should, the Bank will certainly have the preference more especially when the interest given is equal. The form of the notes should be as near those of the Bank of England as possible particularly in this part,—For the Governor and Company of the Bank of England. Otherwise was any accident to happen to the Company, every gentleman of the Council in whose department it may be to sign the notes, will in law be answerable equal to his granting a note of hand on account of his own private concern. But if they sign—For the Comt of Directors of the United East India Company—then the Company alone are liable and the gentlemen of the Council into whose care the management of the Bank is entrusted, will be safe. The Bank should be opened with notes agreeable to the following numbers for each lakh, namely:

Notes	Value		Total Amount
10 of Rs.	1000 each	...	10,000
24 "	500 "	...	12,000
24 "	300 "	...	7200
100 "	200 "	...	20,000
200 "	100 "	...	20,000
400 "	50 "	...	20,000
540 "	20 "	...	10,800
<hr/>			<hr/>
1298			1,00,000

That after the Bank has been some time established, the managers will be able to judge for what notes there appears the greatest demand.

Chapter III.

Capital.

Mr. Blachford's
Hints.

Chapter III.
Capital.

Mr. Blackford's
Hints

When that is ascertained, notes for which there has been no call, shall be destroyed and to their amount others shall be signed which may appear to be most wanted. That whenever small notes begin to circulate, the Bank will find a great advantage, as the different persons in whose hands they may be, will think 6 per cent a very good interest on money which they can at any time command. Consequently two-thirds of the small notes will in all likelihood remain out, if we are to form any judgment from those delivered from the Bank of England. That notes being current and the interest on them accumulating every day at six per cent will in a short time perhaps carry a premium with them, as the India bonds do in England, because the Bank intending to issue no more than 8 lakhs cannot after the delivery to that amount (except for notes brought in for payment) grant any more without enlarging the present proposed plan. Five per cent can be got in England on very good personal security, $4\frac{1}{2}$ on mortgage, and 4 per cent in the funds. Yet India bonds, because the money may be commanded at any time, carry a premium, although they only bear an interest of 3 per cent. By this we may judge that $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent or 2 per cent is no object for a person who is uncertain how long he will be able to lend out his money, and that the difference of interest is not to be put in competition with the satisfaction of knowing that the money is not only safe but ready. That it will be absolutely necessary there should be some limitation regarding what may be lent any one person. Otherwise a very few may engage the 8 lakhs, in which case the thorough circulation will stop and the Bank so newly established on the principle proposed will not be able to go on at least with so little specie as one-third of the capital. Therefore no one person should be lent more than Rs 8000 at one time, and the Bank to judge should any second application be made. That the Bank would find a very great advantage by opening accounts current, allowing thereon an interest of 5 per cent, as then all persons will be enabled to receive interest for every rupee for which they have no immediate occasion, and be at liberty to draw on the Bank whenever they may stand in need of the whole or any part of the money. This will be a check on any person's own books and will prevent Purvoes from making use of or embezzling any large sums of money as the owner will then have occasion but for a trifling sum to defray petty expenses.¹

Account
Committee's
Report,
1771.

Bombay Government Consultation, 16th January 1771: Report from the Committee of Accounts to the President and Council, dated 15th January 1771. Met to take into consideration a letter from Mr. William Tayler proposing a mode for easing the place in point of currency by issuing bills from the Bank together with some hints from Mr. Robert Blackford on the same subject, referred to us by the Board the 15th instant (November 1770), also the undermentioned books and accounts referred under the following dates. Having perused Mr. Robert Blackford's remarks referred to us by the Board we are of opinion what he proposes is very proper, and that whenever our treasury will admit of our repaying to the Bank two or three

¹ Pub. Diry 56 of 1770, 642 646. Forrest's Home Series, II, 1:5-167.

lákhs of rupees, the same may be carried into execution, and may be attended with great advantages to the trade of the island. But Mr. Blachford not being immediately in the Company's employ, we are apprehensive that referring such a point to him may not meet with the Honourable Company's approbation; and even if it was at present practicable, we would recommend that the plan be carried into execution upon a smaller scale. In order to enable the Board the more speedily to carry the same into execution we would propose that if procurable, two lákhs of rupees be borrowed for a twelve-month certain at nine per cent and that all persons who borrow any sums from the Bank, either in money or notes, shall execute bonds for the same at nine per cent and a term for six months' certain, with the same security as heretofore practised on all loans taken from the Bank. On any sums paid before the expiration of the six months in part discharge of such bonds, no payments to be less than Rs 500, only an interest of six per cent to be allowed, and the sums to be lent to each respective person to be left to the discretion of the Managers. We propose that the notes be printed in sections agreeable to the form herewith presented with the Company's mark in the margin, to be cut through the middle with an instrument made for that purpose, by which one half will remain on the Company's section and the other half on the notes; each note to be also signed by the Managers of the Bank. It appears to us that it will be also necessary to have an office for the Bank in the Castle with an additional Assistant as Cashier and a Shroff and a Puivoc for his assistance. We would also recommend that deposits may be received to bear an interest of six per cent, provided they are not repaid within ten days, and each deposit not to be less than Rs. 1000.¹

Read (16th January 1771) the above report from the Committee of Accounts on the subject of the proposed notes to be issued from the Bank, but as the present great scarcity of money renders it impossible to carry the same into immediate execution, it is agreed to defer it till a future opportunity.²

The following extracts show that long after the foundation of the Bank the Company continued to lend money to native merchants :

Consultation, 13th December 1731 : Ambaidás Takidás requests a loan out of the Company's treasury of Rs. 50,000, he and Laldás offering to give their joint and separate bonds for the same at three quarters per cent per month interest, which is agreed to.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 10th February 1735 : Navroji Rustamji and Shivaji Dharamset requesting a loan of Rs. 1,70,000 on their joint bond for the term of three months at the rate of three quarters per cent per month, and as we have no immediate occasion for the money, and that our complying will be an additional

Chapter III. Capital.

Account
Committee's
Report,
1771.

Loans to
Merchants.

1731

1735.

¹ Pub Diary 57 of 1771, 56-58

² Bom Gov Consultation 16th Jan 1771, Pub Diary 57 of 1771, 55

³ Bom Gov Consultation 13th Dec 1731, Pub Diary 4 of 1731, 173

Chapter III.
Capital.

advantage to the Honourable Company by increasing their customs, the same is agreed to ¹

Shivaji Dhanuaset requesting a loan of Rs 70,000 for three months at interest, it is agreed to comply therewith, as it will be a gain to our Honourable Masters of so much interest and an encouragement to the trade of the Island ²

Loan to the
Governor,
1738.

Bombay Government Consultation, 3rd February 1738. The President desires the consent of the Board for his borrowing out of the treasury the sum of Rs 30,000 for a month's time at interest, which is agreed to ³

Jivanset's Debt
to the Company,
1760.

Bombay Government Consultation, 29th July 1760: Letter from the Collector to the President, 29th July 1760. Agreeable to your order signified to me by the Secretary, I have duly received from the New Fortification Paymaster the sum of Rs 630-1-39 being one-fourth part the value of Jivanset Padamset's house pulled down in the year 1757. The same is duly brought to his credit in account with the Honourable Company. Regarding the produce of his oarts, they having been for some years past managed by the Honourable Company's inspector, it appears by accounts in the Collector's office that their real value or produce is hardly at present Rs 200 a year. This was chiefly owing to the bad state they were in before the Honourable Company took them into their own hands, and this with care might still be improved. Two men Kánibháu Vithoji and Hiraji Madanji now offer Rs 300 a year for the said oarts valued by the vereadores, provided they can have them for nine years. If your Honour approve it, the same may be rented to them, and the produce paid annually against his debt to the Honourable Company. Another small oart at Máhum is allotted for Jivanset Padamset in truck for that part of his oart cut down for making the fortified line to Back Bay. With this he purposes subsisting himself and family. The result must depend solely upon his own industry, as the charges on the said oart are in fact more (at present) than the produce amounts to ⁴

A Consultation, 29th July 1760. Read the above letter from the Collector setting forth that he has been offered Rs 300 a year for the oarts belonging to Jivanset Padamset, provided they are let for the term of nine years. On this the Collector is ordered to make the best agreement in his power about the said oarts that the produce may be applied towards discharging Jivanset's debt to our Honourable Masters ⁵

How to pay
off the Bond
Debt,
1776

Bombay Government Consultation, 7th April 1776. The letter from the Governor General and Council was dated the 8th January in which they acquainted us it was not in their power to furnish us with remut-

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 10th Feb 1735, Pub. Diary 8 of 1731-35, 67

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 11th-12th Feb 1737, Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 26

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 3rd Feb 1738, Pub. Diary 11 of 1737-38, 29

⁴ Pub. Diary 35 of 1760, 570-571

⁵ Bom. Gov. Consultation 29th July 1760, Pub. Diary 35 of 1760, 505

tances to pay off our bond debt, and observed that even if they could spare so large a sum the loss the Company would sustain by the exchange and by so considerable a diminution of the current specie of those Provinces would probably equal the single advantage we should derive from the annual saving of so much interest. They were of opinion however there were other means more regular and more easy by which the same end might be in a great degree attained, and which they recommended on the strength of their own experience, namely to open our treasury for the receipt of all new loans, which might be tendered at five per cent, and to appropriate the amount subscribed to pay off the old debt, or if this measure should fail at Bombay they were of opinion it might be accomplished by remittances from that Presidency made by individuals, as the large payments which had been made of their bonded debt had left large sums in the hands of the original proprietors which they could have no better means of employing.¹

Two days later the Board observe: The above expedient proposed by the Governor General and Council for lessening our bond debt is totally impracticable at this Presidency, but if any money should be remitted from thence by private persons at the interest they mention we will willingly receive it. At the same time we must remark that although our treasury has been so long open for the receipt of money at nine per cent, none has been remitted from Bengal even for that advantageous interest.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 29th July 1778: A list of the Bond creditors is now laid before us agreeable to order whereby we observe on the 1st of May when the accounts were last closed, it amounted to Rs. 27,92,370-3-87. Ordered that the list be entered after this Consultation for the notice of the Honourable Company who will observe that few individuals at the other Presidencies appear therein. As the debt due from the treasury to the Bank now amounts to a very large sum and appears annually to increase by the accumulation of interest, the Honourable Company must be desired to give us their directions whether to fix it at a certain sum or to write it off altogether and establish a new Bank whenever the state of our finances will permit.³

The following extracts relate to the wages of unskilled labour in Bombay:

Bombay letter to Mr. Brabourn, 17th September 1696: We gladly hear that you are so well provided with materials for building and do not question but that the Honourable Lieutenant General and Council at Madras will do their utmost to supply you with workmen. We hope they will be able to do the same with coolies for we esteem it impossible for us to supply coolies. Since the war on the island not one-half the necessary number has been available. To obtain even what we have has been a heavy cost to the Honourable Company, they

Chapter III. Capital.

How to pay off
the Bond Debt,
1776.

Coolies' Wages,
1696.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 7th April 1776, Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 181.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 9th April 1776, Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 184.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 29th July 1778, Pub. Diary 74 of 1778, 561-562.

Chapter III.
Capital.

Coolies' Wages,
1717.

being a people so necessary for the good of the island and the increase of the Company's revenue¹

Court to Bombay, 21st February 1717: Remember to take into your particular care the sort of Kolis on Bombay which by the constitution of the island are accounted a kind of slaves to us. We told you how useful they are. And your letter of the 24th February takes notice of them that they may be made useful, and that the boys were ordered to be put out to several handicraft trades. Advise us yearly what service they do us. We understand they are more to be depended on as to fidelity ingenuity and labouriousness than any other. If so you may encourage them when necessary by advancing their pay of four Xeraphins a month. We find you have made an advance in the case of other labourers. As to their grumbling because they have so small wages when they can earn half a Xeraphin a day, consider them a sort of slaves, and then you have an answer why they should work cheaper for us than for others.²

Bombay Government to the Collector of the rent, 30th January 1740: Ordered that the Kolis' wages allowed by the Company be increased to a half rupee a month each man.³

1767

Bombay Government Consultation, 6th October 1767. We (committee of accounts) observe of the different account disbursements now before us, that the wages of labourers in the respective offices are considerably higher than they were some years ago. This increase was at first occasioned by the great demand for labourers on account of the new fortifications during the late French war. But as the number of workmen now employed on this service is greatly decreased, we beg leave to recommend to the Board's consideration whether the wages of the labourers in general might not be considerably lowered, which the present plenty and cheapness of rice induces us to think might be easily effected.⁴

Committee
Appointed,
1767.

Bombay Government Consultation, 13th October 1767. We approve the above remark upon the high price of labour. And as neither that nor the rate of hamalage has for some years been regulated, it is agreed to appoint a committee for this purpose to consist of Messrs. Boddam, Jarvis, and Mostyn, taking the Engineer to their assistance.⁵

Their Report,
1768

Report from the Committee to the President and Governor, 13th February 1768. In consequence of your Honour's order of the 13th October last (1767) for regulating the pay of labourers and rates of hamalage, we have duly considered the same and taken all possible information regarding them. As to the first we are of opinion that twelve pice a day or 68 res⁶ for nine hours for an able-bodied labourer and less in proportion agreeable to their age and strength, will be fully sufficient and that none but overseers should be paid more either on the Honourable Company's

¹ See. Out. L B 5 of 1694-1696, 36.

² Court to Bombay 21st Feb 1717 para 75, Comp of Stranding Ord. Vol. 1 of 1715-1721, 152.

³ Revenue Diary 22 of 1798, 2063.

⁴ Bom Gov Consultation 6th Oct. 1767, Pub Diary 19 of 1767, 548.

⁵ Bom Gov Consultation 13th Oct. 1767, Pub Diary 49 of 1767, 558.

⁶ 25 res make an anna

works only or by private persons (the other side people only excepted), and even not those unless it be impossible to get them without an advanced rate. As to the hamalage we now enclose your Honour two different lists of rates thereof, numbers 1 and 2, the first being what we deem a reasonable and sufficient allowance and the latter being the *mukádams* of the *hamals'* proposals, less than which they represent they cannot engage for. We therefore leave it to your Honour to approve whichever of the two you may judge most proper :¹

List No. 1. Rates of hamalage proposed by the Committee : On all weighable goods whether staples in bags or other packages from the Bandar Pier to the Company's bandar warehouse 1½ annas the Surat *man*, and to the adjacent houses as far as the Governor's and in a line therewith 1 pice the Surat *man*; to the bazár and distant parts of the English houses near the Ramparts 1½ pice the Surat *man*; from the custom house to the parts of the bazár adjacent 1 pice the Surat *man*, and to the distant parts of the bazár or English houses 1½ pice the Surat *man*.²

From the Pier Head to the Company's Bandar Warehouse :

	Pice.
A leaguer of liquor	16
A butt	13
A pipe	9
A hogshhead	6
A leaguer to the adjacent houses as far as the Governor's	48
A butt	36
A pipe	27
A hogshhead	18
A leaguer to the bazár and distant parts	72
A butt	54
A pipe	40
A hogshhead	27

Weighing and storage as allowed in the Company's warehouses.

Weighing charges each :

	Pice.
Bombay <i>khandi</i>	10
Bale of goods, such as silk or silk or cotton piece goods, if carried by 4 <i>hamáls</i>	20
If carried by one on his back	10
Cotton to any warehouse within the line of the church	10
Cotton to any warehouse at or without the old Mándvi	15
Piece goods in chests, 15 to 20 pice each	20
Chests of liquors	30
Do to the parts near the Ramparts	40

List No. 2. Hamals' prices for their hamalage on sundry goods for bringing from the water side to the warehouses in town, weighing and carrying from the warehouses to the water side³:

One bale of cotton, bringing from the Pier head to the warehouses of Mr. England, Mr. Hunter, Laxji, Apollo Gate, Church Gate, or any other warehouses	Rs	qr	rs
	0	0	50
One bale of cotton from the Pier head to the bazár	0	0	75

Chapter III.
Capital.

Committee's
Hamalage Rates,
1768.

Hamals' Rates,
1768.

¹ Pub. Diary 50 of 1768, 169-170.

² Pub. Diary 50 of 1768, 170-171.

³ Pub. Diary 50 of 1768, 171.

Chapter III.
Capital.
Hamils' Rates,
1768

	Rs.	qr.	rs
One bale of cotton from any warehouse to screw	0	0	50
Do from screw house to the Pier	0	0	25
One league of arrack from the Pier head to any warehouse	1	0	0
One pipe of madira from the Pier head to any warehouse from 3 qrs to	1	0	0
One hog-head of liquor from the Pier head to any warehouse	0	1	50
One chest of liquor from the Pier head to any warehouse	0	2	0
One <i>handi</i> of any goods from the Pier head to any warehouse and weighing	0	1	0
One canister of sugar from the Pier head to any warehouse and weighing	0	0	50
One large bale of Bengal piece goods from the Pier head to any warehouse with 12 <i>hamals</i>	1	2	0
One large bale of Bengal piece goods from the Pier head to any warehouse with 8 <i>hamals</i>	0	3	0
One small bale of Bengal piece goods from the Pier head to any warehouse with 4 <i>hamals</i>	0	1	0
One bag of Jambus or grain from the waterside to the <i>Mandir</i>	0	0	25
Company's goods, non copper and lead, for bringing from the waterside to the warehouse, 20 res for bringing and 20 for weighing a <i>handi</i>	0	0	40
Company's one bale of cloth for bringing to the warehouse	0	0	10
One bale of Cambay Surat piece goods for bringing to the warehouse	0	0	20
One bale of Cambay Surat piece goods for carrying to the Pier head from the warehouse	0	0	20
One barrel of gunpowder from the Powder house to the Fort Magazine	0	0	15
One large bale of piece goods from the Pier head to any warehouse	0	0	50
One large bag of grain to out the gate of <i>Mandir</i> or custom house	0	0	50
One bale of cotton from the waterside to the custom house	0	0	50
One bale of cotton from the custom house to any warehouse	0	0	50
One <i>man</i> of any goods from custom house to shopkeepers in the bazar	0	0	5
One canister of sugar from the Pier head to the custom house	0	1	0
One cask of redlead from the Pier head to the custom house	1	0	0

Government
Order,
1768.

Bomlay Government Consultation, 26th February 1768. Reperused the report from the committee appointed to regulate the price of labour and hamalage, wherein they fix the former at 12 pice a day or 63 res for 9 hours for every able-bodied labourer and less in proportion to the age and strength of others. They likewise enclose two lists of the rates of hamalage, one framed by them and the other by *hamals*, the former of which is approved, but as Mr Jervis, one of the committee, now expresses a fear that the *hamals* will not be satisfied therewith, he and Mr. Ryley (who is appointed in the room of Mr Boddam) are ordered to take the opinions of the principal and

most disinterested merchants thereon in order as much as possible to prevent any interruption to the trade of the place. The rate of labour is approved and the necessary orders to be issued to the several offices to observe the same.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 12th February 1788: As the regulations submitted to us by the Chief of Thána, relative to the hire of *bigáris* in Sálsette, appear conducive to prevent the inhabitants being oppressed, we readily give them our sanction and they must be enforced accordingly.²

The following extracts relate to the slave trade chiefly with Madagascar:

Bombay to Surat, 17th February 1677: Please to order whether the Company's three slaves shall be sent to St. Helena in the Bantam ship.³

Bombay to St. Helena, 19th March 1677: Having received order from the Honourable President and Council in Surat to send such slaves of the Honourable Company as we have here, to their Island of St. Helena, these are to advise you that we have put on board the ship *Persia Merchant* four men slaves, and here enclosed send you the Captain's receipt of them that there may be no demur when you make demand of them.⁴

Court to Surat, 13th March 1683: His Majesty hath required of us to send to India to provide for him there one male and two female blacks. They must be dwarfs of the least size that you can procure; the male to be about 17 years of age and the female about 14. Next to their littleness we would have you to choose such as may have the best features, and to send them home upon any of our ships, giving the Commander great charge to take care of their accommodation, and in particular of the female that she be in no way abused in the voyage by any of the seamen. For their provision and clothes you must take care to lay it in, and let them be set out with such ear and nose rings and shackles for ornament about their legs (of false stones and brass but not with gold) as is usual to wear in the country. But let them not be worn by them in the voyage, but sent to us apart.⁵

Bombay to St. Helena, 18th January 1687: This serves to accompany the *Kent*, who has on board four black men which we send for the use of our Right Honourable Masters as appears by the enclosed receipt under the Captain's hand.⁶

Chapter III. Capital.

Hire of *Bigáris*
in Sálsette,
1788.

Slaves to St.
Helena,
1677.

Slaves for the
King,
1683.

For St. Helena,
1687.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 26th Feb 1768, Pub. Diary 50 of 1768, 168.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 12th Feb 1788, Pub. Diary 93 of 1788, 135. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol 2 of 1759-1788, 181.

³ Bombay to Surat 17th Feb 1677, Sec. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 16. Forrest's Home Series, I, 124.

⁴ Bombay to St. Helena 19th March 1677, Sec. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 23. Forrest's Home Series, I, 127.

⁵ Court to Surat 13th March 1683, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 42.

⁶ Bom. to St. Helena 18th Jan. 1687, Sec. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 51.

Chapter III.
Capital

Slaves brought
from Madagascar,
1736

Bombay Government Consultation, 27th August 1736. A report is laid before the Board of the *Coffices* received by the *Harrington* as follows :

Men	...	...	...	..	46
Large boys	...	...	.	.	17
Women and girls	.	...	...	..	72
Children not yet fit for service	..	.	.	.	30

Total ... 165

And the President proposing to the consideration of the Board in what manner to employ them, it is judged that the men will be most serviceable on board the vessels as mariners, the large boys to be put into the marine yard and there bred up as carpenters, caulkers and sawyers, and the women and girls to be employed as *bigiris* or labourers upon the Honourable Company's works. This is accordingly resolved on; and the children as they grow up, to be employed as above-mentioned.¹

Letter from Dr. David Drummond to the President and Council, 1st September 1736. Having had the care of 165 slaves from the Island of Madagascar to this place, I humbly hope your Honours will allow me such a gratuity as to you shall seem proper.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 3rd September 1736: Dr. David Drummond of the *Harrington* requesting to be allowed a gratuity for his care of the slaves brought on that ship from Madagascar, it is agreed to refer the same to the Honourable Company.³

Slaves for St.
Helena,
1736.

Bombay Government Consultation, 21st October 1736. Pursuant to the Honourable Company's orders in the 18th paragraph of their letter of 5th December 1735, directed that ten of the slaves be sent on the *Lynx* for St. Helena, namely 5 women 3 boys and 2 girls, all the men being employed on board our cruizers.⁴

1737.

Bombay Government Consultation, 5th January 1737: Ordered that 6 women and 4 boys of the *Coffices* be sent to St Helena on each ship (the men being all out on board the cruizers); and that the usual supply of grain and arrack be sent them.⁵

Letter from Messrs J. Montgomery and R. Shuter to Bombay Government, dated Bombay 16th January 1737: As we conceive it to be your Honour's pleasure to send on each of our ships some slaves for the service of St. Helena (whereof six are to be women), we beg leave to represent the inconveniences that we apprehend will occur from such your resolution: (1) We have no conveniences on board for the accommodation of such people, being quite full between decks and their mixing with the ship's company, especially the women (who we cannot contrive how to keep separate), will

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 27th Aug 1736, Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 305.

² Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 312.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 3rd Sept 1736, Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 308.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 21st Oct 1736, Pub. Diary 9 of 1736, 123.

⁵ Bom. Gov. Consultation 5th Jan 1737, Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 2.

occasion such irregularities as may in all likelihood put us under the greatest difficulties both with regard to health and good discipline. (2) Should our passage round the Cape prove otherwise than favourable, the ill accommodation we are able to give these people might possibly subject them to that common evil the scurvy which complicated with what we have above represented, might infect in a most fatal manner both our ships' crews, the consequence of which your Honours are sufficient judges of. Wherefore we humbly pray your Honours will for the above reasons wait some other opportunity for remitting the above slaves and thereby prevent the mischiefs which on the contrary seem to present.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 20th November 1738: Our Honourable Masters having been pleased to direct a number of slaves may be sent annually for the supply of their island of St. Helena; Ordered that 3 men 5 women and 4 children be now sent, and a further number on the *Nassau* when she sails.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 2nd April 1739: Taking into consideration our Honourable Masters' orders concerning the division of the Coffree slaves to be sent to Madras in equal proportions between our two settlements, the President remarks that our great and evident want of men in our present situation had induced him to give orders for the disciplining the small number remaining of the males, being no more than 42, and making them serviceable in the military in which they have arrived at such expertness in the use of firearms that they were much preferable to the topasses who are dwindled and decayed, so that few are left fit for service. That in the way they are now employed they are too necessary to part with. And as we apprehend our necessities will justify to our Honourable Masters our detaining them, it is agreed that we send on this ship only the supernumerary women to the number of 29 with their children, and that order be given accordingly.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 22nd May 1741 The President mentions that the inhabitants frequently disposing of their slaves to others who are of a different caste or sect, creates great uneasiness and trouble, and repeated applications are made to him on the subject from the Maráthás. That in order effectually to remove any matter of complaint in future, a publication be issued absolutely forbidding under a penalty of Rs. 100 any whomsoever to sell or buy a slave but from or to one who is of the same caste and religion. To this the Board agrees, and orders a publication to be framed to the above tenour.⁴

Publication by order of the Honourable Stephen Law, President and Governor of Bombay, 3rd June 1741. Whereas experience hath shown the custom which hitherto prevailed on this Island of

Chapter III.

Capital.

Slaves for St
Helena,
1737.

1738.

Slaves for
Madras,
1739

Slave Trade,
1741.

Slave Trade
Publication,
1741

¹ Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 16-17

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 20th Nov 1738, Pub. Diary 11 of 1737-38, 309.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 2nd April 1739, Pub. Diary 12 of 1738-39, 109-110.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 22d May 1741, Pub. Diary 11 of 1740-41, 205.

Chapter III.

Capital

Slave Trade
Publication,
1741

persons buying and selling slaves from or to whomsoever without any regard to their caste or religion of the persons so purchasing or selling, has been attended with great inconveniences and frequently occasions disputes and troubles to the Government of this island, the said President and Governor by and with the advice and consent of his Council doth hereby order and direct that from and after publication hereof no slave either male or female be bought or sold to any person but such who are of the same caste and religion both with respect to the seller and purchaser. Any person who shall presume to act contrary to this order, shall be subject to a fine of Rs 100 for every slave so bought or sold, and the slave to be returned on the seller's hands. To the end that no person may plead ignorance, the said President and Governor hath caused these presents to be published by beat of drum and affixed in the usual places. Given in Bombay Castle this 31d day of June in the year of our Lord 1741¹

Madagascar
Slaves,
1711

Bombay Government Consultation, 10th September 1741. The land paymaster reports he has received from our Honourable Masters' ship *Onslow* 19 slaves brought from Madagascar, namely 14 men 2 boys and 3 women. Considering how to employ the men most for our Honourable Masters' advantage, we cannot at the same time help remarking that from the experience of those already here they are but of little service and the maintenance of them far exceeds the expense of pay to the other common labourers. Whether from the change of climate or what other cause we cannot say, the Madagascar slaves do not appear of a constitution robust enough to bear any laborious work adequate to the charge incurred. We are of opinion the only method will be to employ them in the military. The Paymaster is therefore directed to furnish those now received as well as the others on the place, with proper accoutrements, and the officers are enjoined to render them expert in the use of firearms.²

1743

Bombay Government Consultation, 21st January 1743. As the Madagascar slaves are of no manner of use here and are expensive to the Honourable Company, the Board are of opinion that it will be best to send them down the coast on these ships to be employed on Dhaumapatan, where they will be of service in planting and cultivating the land which will bear the expense of them, and can be employed as soldiers on any occasion.³

Indigent
Slave Owners,
1748.

Bombay Government Consultation, 19th April 1748. Several robberies as well as some cruel murders having been lately committed in which there are strong suspicions though no proof of coffee slaves being concerned, it is considered on this occasion that persons being possessed of slaves, who, there is great reason to believe, have not means sufficient to support such their slaves in an

¹ See. Out. L B 8 of 1738-1741.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 10th Sept 1741, Pub Diary 14 of 1740-41, 372.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 21st Jan 1743, Pub Diary 16 of 1743, 19-20

honest livelihood, must be productive of many ills to the peace and welfare of his Majesty's subjects on this island; Resolved therefore a publication be issued requiring all manner of persons of what religion or degree soever to exhibit unto the Collector of the revenues on or before the 28th instant (April 1748) an attested list of what slaves they are possessed of, whether male or female, specifying their names ages and native country; and provided after the expiration of the time abovementioned any person shall be found possessed of any slave not inserted in the list abovementioned and which were such persons' property at or before the time of this publication, it is further resolved that such slave or slaves shall be forfeited to the Honourable Company, and the informer by whose means the same shall be duly proved shall have a reward of Rs. 10 for every slave so forfeited, to be paid by the owner of such slave. Directed therefore that a publication be accordingly made and affixed in the usual places.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 8th May 1748: Mr. Dorril lays before the Board a list of slaves belonging to different people on this island, which has been taken by him conformable to our publication noticed in our Consultation of the 19th ultimo (April 1748), which is ordered to lay upon the table for our coming to some resolution thereon.²

Court to Bombay, 25th October 1752: We are fully satisfied that Madagascar coffres will be of great service to us in many respects at our Presidency of Bombay especially they will make good soldiers, as the President and Council of Fort Saint George have assured us that their behaviour in the field is equal to the Europeans, and that they are as much dreaded by the Moors. In order therefore to supply you with a number of them, we now despatch our own ship the *Swallow*, burthen 180 tons, Captain John Bell Commander, to Madagascar, and have directed Captain Bell and Mr. John Cleugh, or the commander and chief mate for the time being, to proceed to St. Augustin's Bay and then to such other ports or places upon the said island where they have reason to hope for success, there to purchase 300 slaves and as many more as can be conveniently stowed in the *Swallow*, if to be procured in the time limited in their instructions; two-thirds of which are to be able bodied men and well grown boys.

You will observe by our said agents' instructions, a copy of which is now forwarded to you, that we have agreed to allow them the following commissions or rewards, namely to Captain John Bell 20s. a head for so many as shall be delivered to you alive, and in like manner 6s. 8d. a head unto Mr. John Cleugh, which you are hereby directed to pay them accordingly. But if Captain Bell or Mr. Cleugh shall die before the business at Madagascar is fully completed, in such cases we have reserved the distribution of the

Chapter III.

Capital.

Indigent
Slave Owners,
1718.

Madagascar
Slaves,
1752.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 19th April 1748, Pub. Diary 21 of 1748, 133-134.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 8th May 1748, Pub. Diary 21 of 1748, 162. Neither the list nor any orders passed thereon have been traced (1892).

Chapter III

Capital

Madagascar
Slaves,
1752

deceased's commission in such manner and among such persons as we shall judge equitable, and therefore you must wait for our orders for the distribution thereof.

You will likewise observe by the said instructions that we have agreed to allow to our said agents five shillings a head for so many slaves as they shall assist the *Dragon* with, which you are to pay to them accordingly upon their producing proper certificates thereof under the hands of the *Dragon's* agents, subject nevertheless to the above restrictions in case of the death of Captain Bell or Mr Clench.

If you find the surgeon has taken a proper care of the slaves, you are hereby directed to pay him five shillings a head for so many as shall be delivered alive.

Although our principal view in sending you Madagascar coffees is to have them serviceable in the military and the marine, yet we shall leave it to your prudence to employ them in such manner and in such places as may best contribute to the Company's interest.

You are to treat our slaves humanely, and although they are to be looked on as our sole property, yet they are to have all fitting and proper encouragement that they may cheerfully perform their duty in whatever station you shall think proper to employ them.

Slave Rules,
1752.

That we may have the greatest benefit from the service of our slaves, you are hereby directed to appoint a committee to consider of the properest measures for rendering them most useful to us, as likewise to regulate their habitation, diet, and clothing, in such a manner as may best contribute to their health and make their servitude easy to them. What occurs to us as necessary on this occasion is that they be lodged together in a convenient place or places, under the particular inspection of some trusty person or persons to be appointed for that purpose; that the soldiery and others have as little intercourse with them as possible to prevent their being debauched by them, that their diet and clothing be ascertained, which is to be reasonable and fully sufficient for them; that the slaves be acquainted with the particulars of their said diet and clothing; that if they are not duly supplied therewith, they may, on complaining to you, have justice done them, that they be attended, when sick, by our surgeons with as much care as the soldiery. These hints are to be observed by the committee as instructions for forming proper regulations which when methodized and improved, and whatever else shall appear necessary is added, they are to report the whole to you, that you may be enabled to fix upon and cause to be carried into execution such rules and regulations as you shall judge will best answer our intentions, and we particularly recommend it our President to see them effectually executed.¹

1753

Bombay Government Consultation, 23rd-24th July 1753 The Honourable Company having recommended some points to our con-

¹ Court to Bombay, 25th Oct 1752 paras 1-8, Pub. Dep. Comtee Letter Vol 1 of 1752-1756, pp-11

sideration and in a more particular manner to the President in regard to the slaves expected by the *Swallow*, he proposes for the present that Messrs. Sewell, Symmons, and Hodges be a committee for overseeing them, and having drawn out some regulations, he recommends them to their consideration.¹

Letter from Mr. Price Secretary, to Messrs. John Sewell Symmons and Hodges, dated Bombay 27th July 1753 You being appointed a committee for framing regulations for the better government of the Madagascar slaves, herewith you will receive copy of the 8th paragraph of letter of 25th October 1752 of the Honourable Court of Directors relating thereto, to which the President has added the following which he recommends to your serious consideration : In regard to their employ, he proposes that 100 of the ablest bodied men be stationed in the train of artillery. The remainder of the men to be equally divided among the military and marine. The boys to be put under the care of the master attendant for their being trained up carpenters caulkers and smiths, of which the island is in much want The women and girls to pick ankum or do any other service that may be required. The coffees at present on the island to the number of about 50 to be incorporated with the rest excepting the men who from a habit of idleness having for some time past been under no order or controulment, may the easier debauch the new comers. It is proposed that they be immediately employed in the cruizers. In regard to their habitation, it will be necessary that some commodious one be pitched on which is left to the discretion of the committee, but as the *Swallow* is shortly expected, the house formerly built for the weavers may for the present suffice Their diet and clothing. A particular regard to the diet of the slaves to preserve their health and thereby render them more fit for effectual service being essentially necessary, a sober judicious person should have the care of inspecting their provisions to prevent any abuses in their quality that so the slaves having no cause of complaint, their servitude may become easy. A sober humane man to be in the nature of a guardian to the slaves, having his habitation near them to prevent any irregularities. Their food to be good *kichadi* and fish five days in the week and two days flesh provisions; each man to have one rupee and each woman half rupee for purchasing tobacco betel and other trifles; and that some of the waste ground near the powder mill be allotted for raising greens for themselves. The slaves in the train to have two pair of *dangri* drawers and two Banian shirts every six months and a cap and uniform perpet coat every year. Those in the military the same. Those in the cruizers, linen the same and a broadcloth coat and cap once a year. The boys to have two blue *dangri* Banian shirts and two pair drawers twice a year; and as they are to be under the master attendant and may occasionally be employed on private work, he is to be accountable for their pay, which will in some measure alleviate the Honourable Company of

Chapter III.

Capital.

Slave Rules,
1753.

¹ Bom. Gov Consultation 23rd-21th July 1753, Pub. Diary 26 of 1753, 237.

Chapter III.
Capital.

their changes. The women to have four *lungis* and four blue handkerchiefs every year. Positive orders to be given to the land and sea officers that they be treated with the greatest humanity, carefully instructed in their respective professions, and on no account whatever be made either servants or drudges. These are intended as general hints; it is left to the Committee to add or diminish as they may deem requisite.¹

Head Money
for slaves,
1753.

Bombay Government Consultation, 18th September 1753: Read a letter from Captain J. Cleugh requesting head-money on the slaves landed here and delivered to the *Dragon* being 71 as per certificates produced, signed by Captain Kent and Mr. Michael Morgul, which is ordered to be paid.²

Madagascar
Slaves,
1753.

Bombay Government Consultation, 21st September 1753. Being disappointed in the number of slaves received by the *Swallow*, the whole number of men now on the Island being 33, resolved that they be employed in the cruizers, namely 13 on board the *Pilotator* 10 on board the *Bombay* grab and 10 on board the *Guardian*, with strict injunctions to the commanders to teach them their duty and treat them humanely, resolved likewise that the women and girls be employed in the powder house and the boys in the marine yard. The small number of slaves received by this ship gives us little encouragement for returning the *Swallow* to Madagascar on the Honourable Company's account. But as from his late experience Captain Cleugh must be the properest judge, he is called before the Board and his opinion being asked declares there is very little probability to hope for success, and then withdrew. This being taken into consideration together with the latitude given by the Honourable Company to employ her in any station we might judge most beneficial for their interest, and as we are greatly distressed for want of the *Guardian* now at Gombroon, resolved that the *Swallow* be despatched thither to relieve her.³

1756.

Bombay Government Consultation, 20th July 1756: The Superintendent reporting that the commanders of the cruizers have represented to him that they find it impracticable to make use of the Madagascar slaves who were received by *Swallow* and destined to the marine agreeable to a resolution of Council the 21st September 1753, since from their dislike to the sea they attempt to desert on every occasion, and the Superintendent recommending their being employed as labourers in the marine yard, it is agreed that they be ordered to that duty.⁴

1757.

Bombay Government Consultation, 24th June 1757. The Superintendent reports that the Madagascar slaves have lately committed many great disorders and cannot be made useful in the marine, though they have been very much encouraged. Ordered that he deliver them over to the new fortification paymaster, to be

¹ Pub. Diary 26 of 1753, 237-239.

² Bom. Gov. Diary 18th Sept 1753, Pub. Diary 26 of 1753, 318.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 21st Sept 1753, Pub. Diary 26 of 1753, 324-325.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 20th July 1756, Pub. Diary 29 of 1756, 268.

confined to work in chains with lascar's allowance only, till they do alter their behaviour.¹

Bombay Government Consultation, 2nd August 1757: The Superintendent alleges that the Madagascar slaves lately ordered on the works have given assurance of altering their behaviour and beg to be employed in sawing in the marine yard. Agreed that as many of them be returned to him as he may have occasion for.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 20th September 1757: There being some male slaves lately brought here by a vessel from Madagascar, ordered that they be purchased to be sent to Madras by the first conveyance in consequence of the President and Council's request.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 6th October 1757: The Madras gentlemen advising that slaves are wanted at St. Helena and a vessel having brought some a few days since from Madagascar, resolved that we endeavour to purchase all the males to be sent thither.⁴

Bombay Government Consultation, 19th October 1762: Ordered that public notice be affixed that we will receive proposals on Tuesday the 26th instant (October 1762) from any persons who may be desirous of contracting with the Honourable Company for slaves to be delivered either at Fort Marlborough in Sumatra or this place.⁵

Bombay Government Consultation, 8th December 1762: In consequence of the notification issued for contracting for the coffee slaves for the use of Fort Marlborough, a proposal has been made to the President to contract for 500 at the following rates and in the following proportions, which being deemed reasonable and will we judge turn out cheaper to the Honourable Company than sending a vessel on purpose, is accepted and a contract ordered to be executed accordingly, namely⁶:

For every man from 20 to 30 years of age	...	Rs. 110
" woman of the same age for every one of which there are to be five men	...	86
" boy from 14 to 20 years of age	...	75
" girl of the same age for every one of which there are to be five boys	..	50

Bombay Government Consultation, 4th October 1763. Mr George, with whom we last year contracted for slaves for the use of Fort Marlborough Presidency (that is Benecoolen on the south coast of Sumatra), not being returned, and the season being far advanced, it is agreed, in order as much as possible to obviate a disappointment

Chapter III.

Capital

Madagascar
Slaves,
1757.

Slaves for
Madras,
1757.

Slaves for
St. Helena,
1767.

Slaves for Fort
Marlborough,
1762.

Contract for
Slaves,
1762.

1763.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 24th June 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 238.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 2nd Aug. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 201.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 20th Sept. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 352.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 6th Oct. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 375.

⁵ Bom. Gov. Consultation 19th Oct. 1762, Pub. Diary 30 of 1762, 597.

⁶ Bom. Gov. Consultation 8th Dec. 1762, Pub. Diary 30 of 1762, 722-723.

Chapter III.

Capital.

Contract for
Slaves,
1763.

in what the gentlemen at Fort Marlborough represent as so essential to the welfare of that place, to purchase the following slaves who have been picked out and offered by the proprietors at the under-mentioned prices which are considerably less than those we have engaged to give to Mr. Park, namely¹.

Men ..	18	at Rs 90 each	1620
Women ..	17	" 80 "	1360
Boys ...	11	" 75 "	825
Do ..	27	" 60 "	1620
Do ..	1	" 50 "	50
Girls ..	4	" 60 "	240
Total ...	78		Rs. 5715

Slave Report,
1764.

Bombay to Court, 25th March 1761, para 18 We have frequently advised your Honours of our readiness to assist the Presidency of Fort Marlborough, which in a letter from your servants there, received by the ship on which we last year freighted sundry stores, they acknowledge in very obliging terms. As they have represented the great importance of their being furnished with coffee slaves and as the person with whom we last year contracted for 500 has not been able to fulfil his engagements by his having been prevented through unavoidable accidents touching at the several ports he intended, we on the 4th October (1763) purchased 78 men women and children. As the most certain way of further supplying the Fort Marlborough wants we determined on the 5th January to freight a ship and send her to the coast of Africa and Madagascar with a proper assortment of goods for the purchase of slaves, our cruizers being very improper vessels for this purpose, as they cannot with any convenience accommodate any number. We likewise issued public notice that we would purchase any slaves which might offer upon the island and required all persons who might have any vessels to let to freight to deliver in their proposals. In consequence of this the owner of the *Neptune* galley tendered her for this service at the rate of Rs 2500 a month and Rs. 3000 a year privilege to the commander and officers, he to be at all charges of wages, provision, wear and tear of the vessel, which, as no other offers were made us, we accepted after her being surveyed by the Master Attendant and Master Builder. She is fitting out accordingly for the voyage, having procured a proper assortment of goods from Surat to put on board of her, and we hope will fully answer our intentions. The boats the President and Council desired to be built for them last year are now ready and will shortly proceed, when such further assistance as may be in our power will be afforded them².

Directors
Approve,
1766.

Court to Bombay, 22nd March 1765. We approve of the step you have taken for procuring slaves on Madagascar and the

¹ Down. Gov. Consultation 4th Oct 1763, Pub Diary 11 of 1763, 615

² Pub Dep. Letters to the Court Vol 11 of 1761, 26-27 Rem Gov. Consultation of 21st Feb. 1761, Pub Diary 42 of 1761, 128.

coast of Africa for Bencoolen where they are much wanted.¹

Court to Bombay, 12th March 1766. With regard to the slaves you sent to Bencoolen, we are sorry to observe they were invoiced so high as 150 dollars each. As that Presidency has a sufficient supply for the present, you are to send no more thither without our express leave.²

Bombay Government Consultation, 30th September 1766. There being a number of coffee slaves lately arrived, the custom master is ordered to purchase the women on the most reasonable terms he can to be sent to Fort Marlborough on the *Royal Admiral* agreeable to the request of the President and Council there.³

Bombay Government Consultation, 20th October 1767: The Bombay custom master reports that he has purchased 38 coffee women for Fort Marlborough, amounting to Rs. 2155.⁴

Court to Bombay, 22nd March 1765: The method you have fallen upon for training up slaves as caulkers to go to Bencoolen, meets with our approbation.⁵ We think it may be carried still further by having always a number in the yard at Bombay, as we understand the Superintendent is often in great want of them and in such case is obliged for that purpose to take away the Mázgaon coolies from our covenant servants who are employed by them as cooks and servants and often times very inconvenient to them particularly the younger servants. This will be remedied by the above regulation which we recommend to you to put in practice.⁶

Bombay Government Consultation, 24th February 1767: Taking into consideration that part of the Honourable Company's commands of the 22nd March 1765 relative to the purchase of slaves to breed up as caulkers in the marine yard instead of the Mázgaon boys, the Collector is ordered not to send any more of those boys into the marine yard, but to cause them to be bred up as cooks and servants in the manner formerly practised. And that the marine service may not be distressed by this regulation, a sufficient number of boys must be purchased by the custom master when any slaving vessels arrive, to be bred up as caulkers agreeable to the Honourable Company's recommendation.⁷

Bombay Government Consultation, 26th June 1764: Mr. Edward Chandler making a tender, by letter, of 14 stout coffee slaves at

Chapter III.

Capital.

Directors
Appoint,
1766.

Slave-Purchases,
1767.

Slaves to be
employed in the
Marine Yard,
1765

Slaves,
1765.

1764.

¹ Court to Bombay 22nd March 1765 para 29, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 7 of 1765-1768, 10

² Court to Bombay 12th March 1766 para 35, Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 7 of 1765-1768, 121.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 30th Sept 1766, Pub. Diary 47 of 1766, 593.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 20th Oct. 1767, Pub. Diary 49 of 1767, 570.

⁵ In their letter to Court 4th Nov. 1763 para 12, the Bombay Government write: We shall afford every assistance in our power to bring the settlement of Fort Marlborough to the perfection you wish, for which purpose we have purchased a number of coffee slaves whom we are training up as carpenters caulkers smiths and coopers, and shall send them thither as opportunities offer. Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 10 of 1763, 153.

⁶ Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol 7 of 1765-1768, 18.

⁷ Bom. Gov. Consultation 24th Feb 1767, Pub. Diary 48 of 1767, 152

Chapter III.

Capital

Slaves,
1765.

Rs 150 each, ordered they be inspected by the surgeons and should they prove free of any defect, it is agreed to accept them ¹.

Bombay Government Consultation, 7th May 1765: The agents to the captors of Fort Augustus and Rarree having made a tender of 25 coffee slaves belonging to the captois, it is agreed to purchase them on the Honourable Company's account and the land paymaster is therefore ordered to settle their price with the captors on the best terms he may be able ².

1768.

Bombay Government Consultation, 1st November 1768: The marine paymaster and superintendent representing that they cannot procure a sufficient number of coffee slaves for the use of the marine yard, they are ordered to agree with the owners of any vessels bound to Maskat or the coast of Africa for whatever number they may want on the best terms they can ³.

Slaves for Fort
Marlborough,
1771

Bombay Government Consultation, 21st January 1771 Public notices must immediately be issued for any persons desirous of furnishing the Honourable Company with 800 slaves to be delivered at Fort Marlborough, namely half males and half females, not younger than twelve nor older than twenty-five years, and such only as shall be landed alive to be paid for; to deliver in their proposals by the 8th of next month (February 1771) at furthest ⁴.

Letter from Mr. John Watson to the President and Governor of Bombay, 1st February 1771: Conformable to your publication for proposals to furnish slaves to be delivered at Fort Marlborough, I will enter into a contract to furnish them on the following terms. (1) To be paid 110 Spanish dollars a head for every slave delivered at Fort Marlborough between the age of 15 and 30, half of them males and half females or nearly so, (2) 300 to be delivered there in one year from this date and the remaining 500 to be delivered within two years from this date, (3) Rs 15,000 to be advanced on signing the contract ⁵.

Bombay Government Consultation, 18th February 1771: Reperused the proposals delivered in by Mr. Watson for supplying Fort Marlborough with slaves. As this is the only offer made us in consequence of our publication and as they represent their great want of slaves and it also appearing these proposals are reasonable it is agreed the same be accepted ⁶.

1772

Court to Bombay, 1st April 1772 The contract you have entered into with Mr. Watson for supplying Fort Marlborough with 800 slaves, meets with our approbation except the stipulation that there should be an equal number of both sexes. We therefore recommend it to you to procure the number that shall not have

¹ Bom Gov Consultation 26th June 1764, Pub Diary 42 of 1764, 381

² Bom Gov. Consultation 7th May 1765, Pub Diary 14 of 1765, 292

³ Bom Gov Consultation 1st Nov. 1768, Pub Diary 51 of 1768, 556.

⁴ Bom Gov Consultation 21st Jan. 1771, Pub Diary 57 of 1771, 65

⁵ Pub Diary 57 of 1771, 111

⁶ Bom Gov Consultations 16th and 18th Feb. 1771, Pub Diary 67 of 1771, 115

been delivered when you receive this letter in the proportion of two males to one female.¹

Court to Bombay, 5th July 1780: Having given direction to our servants on the west coast of Sumatra to send to Bombay on the Snow *Elizabeth*, a number of coffrees which were unnecessary at the beforementioned settlement, we direct that the said coffrees be employed under your Presidency either in your military or marine in such manner as you shall judge will best promote the Company's interest. The snow likewise is to be detained for the services of your marine.²

A population return of 1780 shows that of a total of 47,170 people 431 were slaves. Of these slaves, 189 were in the Bombay district and 242 in the Máhim district, the population of these two districts being 33,444 in Bombay and 13,726 in Máhim.³

Chapter III.

Capital.

Slaves,
1780.

Private Slaves
at Bombay,
1780.

¹ Court to Bombay 1st April 1772, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 9 of 1772-1777, 45.
² Court to Bombay 5th July 1780 para 27, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol 10 of 1778-1783, 231-232.
³ Pub. Diary 77 of 1780, 567-570.

CHAPTER IV.

FORTIFICATIONS AND BUILDINGS.

Section I—Fortifications.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Fortifications,
1661

1671.

Of the fortifications of Bombay in 1664, when the Portuguese allowed Mr Cooke and his men to land on the island, Baldeus says. The harbour of Bombay is furnished with a capital castle that can protect the anchorage¹ Fyer (New Account, 63) has left the following description written in December 1673. At first landing Cooke and his men found a pretty well seated but ill fortified house, four brass guns being the whole defence of the island except a few chambers (or short carriageless cannon) housed in small towers in convenient places to scour the Malabár pirates. About the house or castle in Bombay was a delicate garden said to be the pleasantest in India. Before Fyer reached Bombay (December 1672) the shady walks of this garden had been opened to the sun and loaded with cannon, the towers had been turned to ramparts, the trees rooted out, and masonry walls had taken the place of garden fence. These changes were the result of an order of the Court dated 1668 that the castle should be enlarged and strengthened². They were chiefly carried out by Mr Philip Gyfford (1667-1670) whom Fyer (Ditto, 65) describes as raising and in a manner finishing the bastions, a work which was still but beginning by the rest. Between 1671 and 1673 Mr. Aungier so improved the fort that in the spring (February 20) of 1673 finding Bombay fort as stark as the deal the Dutch attempted to then boats without any booty.

In December 1673 within the fort were mounted 120 pieces of ordnance and in other stands 20 more, besides sixty field pieces in their carriages. To the fort belonged 300 Englishmen and 100 Topasses or Portugal freemen, 500 well armed Mithia under English leaders, 200 Bhandaris with clubs and other weapons, and some thousands more that could not be relied on if matters came to a push. In December 1673 Fyer found a trench being dug out of the hard rock round the castle to moat it with the sea and horn works being devised, a work, in Fyer's opinion, too costly ever to be carried out by the Company and at the same time faulty since it should have extended to a tank without the parade. In another passage (New Account, 122) written two years later (1675) Fyer refers to certain unnecessary appendices to the fort being palisades in mud so contrived that they were rather a means to take the fort

¹ Baldeus' Malabar and Coromandel Coast. Amsterdam, 1672, page 68

² Bruce's Annals, II. 226

³ The Dutch commodore Rieckhoff Van Goen besides the well manned fort had to face three English and five allied French men-of-war. He withdrew and planned a descent on Máhim but Aungier marched to Máhim and lining the shore with his Bhandaris and other troops seemed too formidable to be meddled with. Orme's Fragments, Anderson's English in Western India, 59

than to defend it, which afterwards were all washed away by the rains.¹

The earliest detected reference to the fortifications in the Bombay Records, is in a Surat letter to Bombay of the 6th April 1672. In this letter the Council write: We were at first dissatisfied in your beginning to build the trench about the fort in regard of the great charge it will put the Company unto and the hindrance it will set in the way of other necessary works. We would therefore have you desist from going on with the trench until the President's coming down. The front curtain we judged by what you write to have been defensible enough against the enemy. Therefore seeing that we are at peace with all and have no reason to fear Shivaji, we would have you desist from raising it at present till the more necessary works are finished.²

A fortnight later, apparently in reply to a Bombay letter expressing satisfaction at the advance made towards completing the fort, the Surat Council write (23rd April 1672): What you advise concerning the trench gives us satisfaction; we agree with you in hoping the President at his arrival will approve of what you have done therein. We are glad to hear that the front curtain and north-east bastion is in such a forwardness, and hope the next monsoon will go very near to complete the fort.³

In 1672-73 the President and Council of Surat informed the Court that Mr Aungier had gone to Bombay in May 1672, where his experience and authority were employed in putting that island into a state of defence against any attack which might be meditated by the Dutch or any other enemy; that he had strengthened the fortifications and by strict discipline prepared the troops for action; that the inhabitants were formed into a militia to act with the garrison; that the fortifications as originally designed by Captain Smith were upon too narrow a scale for the defence of the island.⁴

In 1674-75 in the island of Bombay the enlargement of the fortifications had been postponed from the want of money to defray the charges and from the detection and punishment of a dangerous mutiny in Captain Shaxton's company of infantry.⁵

In the following year, 1676, the Bombay Government being apprehensive of danger from the Portuguese, the Surat Council permit

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Trench
and Bastions,
1672.

1675.

Toddy Tree
and Dirt
Breast-work
at Mahim,
1676.

¹ The improvement after 1671 were mainly due to Mr. Herman Bake who appeared in Surat and offered his services for the surveying of the Bombay fortifications. The Surat Council accepted him, after Bake agreeing to content himself with a subsistence allowance till the Court of Directors fixed his salary. Bake succeeded two military officers, Captains Tolderrey and Smith, who in 1669-70 had been entrusted with the duties as the Court were afraid to appoint professional engineers because they would require large salaries and would lead their Employers into costly speculations. Bruce's Annals, II 254-255.

² Surat Fact. Out. Letter Book 1 of 1630-1673, 248. Forrest's Home Series, I 59.
³ Surat to Bombay 23rd April 1672, Surat Fact. Out. L. Book 1 of 1630-1673, 257. Forrest's Home Series, I 63.

⁴ Bruce, II 317-318. In this year (1673, Jan. 12-30) the French traveller Dollon (Bom. Br. R. A. S. Jour. XVII. Pl II 54) describes the Castle as a very fine fort in which the English President commonly keeps residence. Bruce, II 367.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Toddy Tree
and Dirt
Breast-work
at Mahum,
1676

them to build a breast-work at Mahum. The Surat letter of 7th April says: We have already given you our directions which we again confirm that seeing the monsoon is so far spent, we cannot think of building any fort or bulwarks at Mahum; yet if you are anyways apprehensive of danger from the Portuguese or others you may build a strong breast-work of toddy trees and dirt which will be of sufficient force to withstand all their attempts.¹

During the next seven months the progress with these works of defence seems to have been somewhat slow. On the 4th November 1676 the Surat Council write to Bombay: For the advance of the Company's interest and the general gain of the island we think good to recommend you to hasten the bastion so fast as you can. We are ashamed that work should lie so long on hand. That it may be finished with all speed, except you have some work to do to the hospital, we would have you lay aside all work till the bastion be done.²

Colonel Bake,
1676.

About this time (1676) Colonel Bake, who had been engineer in charge of the fortification works, returned from England to Bombay and went by land to Surat. On the 14th November 1676 the Surat Council write: By the *Hoogh* Colonel Herman Bake returns to his charge on the island. As the Honourable Company have been abundant kind to him we would have you be favourable and respectful unto him and in building the fort give him all possible help you can. He has desired us to defray his charge coming up hither by land. We have referred him for that and some other requests unto you, and would have you pay him what you judge reasonable though it would have been less charge had he come upon the ships. For your better government we here enclose copies of clauses of the Company's letter touching him and Doctor Wilson wherein you will find the Company have given the Colonel £100 salary and £50 gratuity. His diet-money we had some time in dispute. At length we determined that also should be allowed him with the proviso that, in case the Honourable Company shall not approve, he must make the charge good to the Company here.³

Within 2½ months Colonel Bake died at Bombay. On the 26th January 1677 the Surat Council write to Bombay. We are sorry for the death of Colonel Bake. We would now have the fortifications continued as they were in his absence by Mr. John Cooper.⁴

One Per Cent
Fortification
Duty,
1677.

To meet the heavy fortification charges special taxes were found necessary. One form of this taxation was the imposition of an additional customs duty. A Bombay letter to the Court of 24th January 1677 has the following: Captain Shaxton deceased, farmed the one per cent custom for the fortifications, in which he pretended to have received a considerable loss.⁵

¹ Surat Fact Out L B 2 of 1675-76, 108 Forrest's Home Series, I. 94

² Surat to Bombay 4th Nov 1676, Surat Fact. Out L B 2 of 1675-76, 240. Forrest's Home Series, I. 108

³ Surat to Bombay 14th Nov 1676, Surat Fact. Out L B 2 of 1675-76, 251.

⁴ Surat to Bombay, dated Swally Marine 26th Jan 1677, Surat Fact Out L B. 3 of 1677-1700, 8

⁵ Bombay to Court 24th Jan. 1677, Sec. Out. L. R. 2 of 1677-1697, 13-14

In reporting to the Court the progress of the fort the Bombay Council on the 24th January 1677 write: We are getting up our fourth and last and indeed our best bastion. It is very difficult being so far in the sea that we can work on the foundation only at new moon springs and then but two or three hours a day for four or five days. We have both sides pretty well up to high-water mark and next spring we hope to finish the foundation of all. After this we shall quickly run it up. Then we want only finishing the ditch and a ravelin with the two horn works, if they shall be found necessary, which will make the fort one of the strongest in India.¹

On the 21st October 1677 the Bombay Government wrote to Surat: We are putting our fort in the best posture of defence possible in case of any accident, fitting all our guns with shot and partridges, ready filling our granados, making 200 or 300 powder shots and stink pots, and getting all other necessities in a readiness that we may not be taken unprovided.²

In 1679-80 the Government of Bombay concluded that they could not promise that the revenues would improve while the island was so imminently exposed to the native powers. They thought it would not be prudent to discontinue the fortifications because the workmen who had received wages under this head, having no other subsistence, would necessarily leave the island and the cultivation of the land cease.³

In spite of this provision of arms and ammunition the fort seems to have been by no means completed. In a letter to Bombay on the 15th August 1683 the Court write: We would have you with all manner of thrift and good husbandry finish that bastion and trench which are not yet completed. We shall recommend it to our President and Council at Surat to order such ship or ships of ours that have been or shall be freighted to stay some time in the country to ride in Bombay road when they shall find the exigency of our affairs and your security to require it. Subsequently in their letter to Surat on the 7th April 1684 the Court add: Care must be taken concerning the workmen employed in building or repairing that bastion.⁴

In this same letter to Surat of the 7th April 1684 the Court direct the transfer of guns to Bombay. They write: Any of our guns not in use in Surat may be sent to Bombay to be mounted as a further strength to our island.⁵

In 1685-86 the island of Bombay had not recovered from the effects of Captain Keigwin's rebellion (1683-84) and measures for its improvement were rather on paper than in practice. The fortifications required repairs and additions and the garrison needed a supply of recruits to render it efficient that the island might become a centre for trade.⁶

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Fourth or Last
Bastion,
1677.

Arming the
Fort,
1677.

1679-80.

Bastion and
Trench,
1683.

Order to
mount Guns,
1684.

1685-86.

¹ Bombay to Court 24th Jan 1677, See Out L B 4 of 1677-1687, 10.

² Bombay to Surat 21st Oct. 1677, See. Out. L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 59. Forrest's Home Series, I. 139.

³ Bruce, II. 444.

⁴ Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 55, 82

⁵ Court to Surat 7th April 1684, Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 1 of 1681-1685, 86.

⁶ Bruce, II. 564.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Mahim Fort,
1686.

Though the fort at Mahim was of little use it was supposed the house there would make a good fort at a small cost. In 1686 on the 6th September, the Bombay Deputy Governor and Council write to Sir John Gayer, General and President, Surat Since we received your orders to place the *Hunter* frigate before Mahim to constrain all vessels to pay customs there, we have been round the islands Verrele (Waih) and Mahim, and do find an absolute necessity for the building up of some forts or watch-houses that are fallen down and are a falling. The fort at Mahim is not worth a dot and the house is a falling down. It is concluded by all of us, with the advice and assistance of Mr. John Butlei, that the house at Mahim is well situated and will be cheaper made into a fort or garrison than it can be repaired as a house. We would have had Mr. John Cooper's advice on this point but he is very ill and hath been ill for some time. We have thought of going on with the said work and will find out a way to defray the charge of it. We hope your Excellency will come and settle matters yourself. Till your coming we take all the care we can to secure the island and will spend no more money in doing of it than needs must. The *Hunter* is gone to her berth before Mahim with orders to enforce the customs.

A Lieutenant to
command at
Mahim,
1686.

The Deputy Governor Sir John Wyborne has sent Lieutenant Jacob Barbor to command at Mahim, judging it a command too big for a Serjeant, and a trust too great for any under the degree of a commission officer and he a sober responsible man¹

Forts and
Out-Works,
1686.

At the close of the same year (1686) the Bombay Government communicated to the Court the results of several surveys made on the island since Sir John Wyborne assumed the government of Bombay. In a letter, the 29th December 1686, they write. Since Sir John Wyborne's arrival to the Government we have with great care and diligence made several surveys about the island. We find many things highly necessary to be done, and principally that some forts and out-works must be built before we can give any repulse to an enemy's landing upon us. The draining of batty ground will be of advantage when effected but the charge of it will not in many years be defrayed. The main thing to carry on what we here mention, is treasure. At present we have little more than will pay the cost of the garrison charges. And to draw on Surat factory, we are highly sensible, will not at present accommodate us. That the principal bastion and curtain are still unfinished is really a pity. The reason your Honours well know, which does not only hinder that good intent of building barracks in the fort, but the effecting many other designs laid down by your Honours.²

Officers
at Mahim and
Sion Forts,
1694-95.

The following Bombay orders from the General Sir John Gayer and Council to officers in charge of Mahim and Sion forts in 1694-95 show that these forts were placed under ensigns and serjeants. In

¹ Bombay to Surat 6th Sept 1686, Sec. Out. J. B 4 of 1677-1687, 16. Forrest's Home Series, I. 145-146.

² Bombay to Court 29th Dec. 1686, Sec. Out. L. B:4 of 1577-1687, 10-43. Forrest's Home Series, I. 143.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

1694 an order, dated the 2nd August, directs Lieut. James Hanmer to repair to Máhim and receive charge of the fort from Ensign Caddle. In 1695, the 17th January, an order directs Ensign William Shaw to repair to Máhim and receive charge of the fort there from Mr. William Aislabic and follow such directions as Mr. Aislabic had. In the same year Government issued similar orders: One dated 14th January directing Serjeant Roche to repair to Sion to receive charge of that fort from Serjeant Shaw and to follow such orders as Serjeant Shaw had. And the other dated 8th February directing Serjeant William Swan to repair to Sion to receive charge of that post from Serjeant George Roche and follow such orders as Serjeant Roche had.¹

Towards the close of the 17th century the necessity of erecting a strong fort at Máhim occupied the attention of Government. But, in consequence of the troubles at Surat, Sir John Gayer had to leave Bombay for Surat and the Deputy Governor Mr. J. Burniston and Council at Bombay had therefore to forward the Máhim fort scheme to Surat. In 1700, the 28th November, the Bombay letter says: Herewith we remit what letters we have hitherto received in your Excellency's absence, as likewise Captain Stacey's opinion of the fort at Máhim, with a scheme and calculation of what the charges may amount to.²

Máhim Fort,
1700.

After waiting for a month, on the 28th December the Bombay Council again write to Surat: When your Excellency shall think fit to send your orders for Máhim fort, a due respect and regard shall be had thereto.³

Between December 1700 and August 1701 orders on the Máhim fort scheme were received and the work was begun. On the 2nd August 1701 the Bombay Government issue the following order to Lieutenant Shaw at Máhim: By the bearer hereof Mr. Chr. Boone we send you Xeraphins 200 (about Rs. 145) to defray charges on account of the designed new fort. You must keep an exact account how, when, and to whom you dispose thereof. You must also send for half the Gentu and other soldiers (Europeans and Topasses excepted) from Warli and other places under your direction to bring stones and other materials for the use of the said designed fort. On Monday next we design to send you from hence half of our Gentu and other soldiers from Mázgaon for the same intent; and also two stone cutters. The two boats you are to keep constantly employed. Notwithstanding the lasears are down here, we suppose some of the forementioned soldiers can carry the stones from Darvye (Dhárávi) to Máhim and back again as well as lasears.⁴

1701.

On the 8th August 1701 Government issue the following orders to Lieutenant Shaw: Herewith comes a list of the Gentu soldiers we send from hence to work upon the designed new fort. All of them you are to keep constantly employed. As soon as the rains are over, they

¹ Sec. Out. L. B. 5 of 1691-1696, 6, 30, 31, 34 ² Sec. Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 3.

³ Sec. Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 12

⁴ Bom. Gov. Order to Lt. Shaw, 2nd Aug. 1701, Sec. Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 63.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings

Warli,
1701.

shall settle with you. You must allow them half a *man bháng* and fire *shers* twelve every month.¹

To procure materials for the new fort at Máhm, on the 26th August Lieutenant Shaw received the following orders: Let your people begin to pull down all the old warehouses belonging to the Right Honourable Company at Máhm except that of which you spoke to Captain Stacey; let this stand till we order the contrary.²

The 1701 records contain orders for the transfer of officers and men from one fort to another, issued under the signatures of the Deputy Governor and the members of Council or that of the Secretary by order. An order to Lieutenant William Shaw dated 3rd July runs: The bearers hereof, a Sergeant, six English and six Topas soldiers, we send to reside in Warli Fort. If you think any of your men are more fit for that charge than some of these, you are to exchange so many as you shall judge necessary. That being done, send them away to Warli forthwith with the best instructions you can give them for the better defence of the place. For your own better government that garrison is to be under your direction and you are upon all occasions to give them the necessary orders sending us advices thereof.³

Dongri,
1701.

A Government order dated the 11th August shows that Captain Michell George was in charge of the Dongri Fort. Owing to ill health he was directed to make over charge to Ensign William Shepherd.⁴

Bombay Fort,
1701

On the 23rd October the following order was issued to Ensign William Shepherd: On receipt hereof deliver up the charge of Dongri Fort to Sergeant Jacob Barlow whom we have ordered to take possession thereof, and do you forthwith return to Bombay Castle to do duty as formerly.⁵

Mázgaon Fort,
1701

The same day Sergeant Samuel Sellers received the following order: On receipt hereof repair to Mázgaon and take charge of the fort there from Sergeant Jacob Barlow, who on delivery of our orders herewith given you for him will put you in possession of Mázgaon Fort.⁶

Máhm, Sion,
and Warli,
1702

The fortifications at Máhm, begun about the close of 1700, continued in progress during the next two years. Besides at Máhm, about the middle of the same year 1702, Government ordered a small fort to be erected at Sion and the breach caused in the Warli Fort by the early heavy monsoon to be built up.⁷

Workmen

On the 2nd June 1702 the Deputy Governor writes to Lieutenant Shaw: We take notice of the accident you write is befallen the platform boats. We are glad it proved no worse. As the lascars have been excused all the summer from the work by reason of their voyaging to and fro, we think it very reasonable that during

¹ See Out L B 7 of 1699-1702, 70

² See Out L B 7 of 1699-1702, 75.

³ See Out L B 7 of 1699-1702, 63-64.

⁴ See Out L B 7 of 1699-1702, 71.

⁵ See Out L B 7 of 1699-1702, 100

⁶ See Out L B 7 of 1699-1702, 99

⁷ See Out L B 7 of 1699-1702, 137, 151, 161, 169, 171, 175, 177, 181-183, 192, 193, 200, 207, 210. The chief payments were 800 Narpkins on the 14th of Feb, 500 on the 10th of April, 500 on the 8th of May, 500 on the 2nd of June, 500 on the 1st of Aug, 500 on the 12th of Sept, 500 on the 31st of Oct, and 1000 on the 1st of Dec.

the rainy season they do now assist at the work. As to the Kulambis, we cannot reasonably expect they should come to the work it now being the time for them to sow their lands.¹

On June 26th he writes: The General and Council (at Surat) having ordered us to finish the Máhim Fort with all possible speed, we desire that you will take care that no time be lost or misspent. To that end we would have you forthwith entertain such and as many people as you think may be necessary for its more speedy erecting. We have ordered the Bombay *chunam* maker here to make *chunam* for us as fast as he can, the which shall be sent you as you want it. We have likewise ordered Mr. Waid to send his boat and lascars when he has no urgent occasion for them for the use of the yacht, to assist in towing up the stone boats or in whatsoever else there is occasion for them. We have sent up Doráb Nárábhái and Putlájí Serivan to assist in keeping the people to their work.²

On July 10th he writes: We would have you entertain as soon as you can 200 sepoys more. For the present let them be listed under the subhedáris of Máhim and Warli, half in one and half in the other company. The 13th instant we shall send up the engineer to Sion to direct the erection of a small work there. Therefore till that day and no longer, you must employ the Sion sepoys at Máhim.³

On July 15th he adds: Till the work at Sion is finished the Deputy Governor and Council would have you not call the Kulambis of that place and the villages adjacent to their wonted service at Máhim so that they may afford it to the works at Sion; you must order Mr. Duren to give his utmost assistance for the more speedy and well erecting of it.⁴

On August 1st he writes: The General and Council at Surat having directed the breach in the Warli Fort to be repaired, you must order the subhedár and sepoys belonging to that place to repair it. On Monday or Tuesday we will order Mr. Duren to supervise them. Meanwhile let them be clearing the stones from the rubbish and getting together what quantity of stones they can.⁵

What *chunam* we have ready here, which we suppose is about 25 *khandis*, is ordered to be sent to you as soon as possible. The rainy weather has hitherto prevented more being made because the pits could not be kept clear of water. When the weather begins to be somewhat fair, more shall be got ready here as fast as we can. We would have you give the like order to the *chunam*-makers at Dhárávi.⁶

The 31d August he continues: On receipt hereof you must order the subhedár and sepoys at Warli to build up the breach in the fort as soon as they possibly can, and in such manner as they think will be most defensible. It must be built with stones only, without *chunam*. The Deputy Governor and Council apprehending there is no occasion to send the engineer up to direct them, we omit it.⁷

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Workmen,
1702.

Chunam.

The Breach in
Warli Fort.

¹ See Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 169.

² See. Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 174.

³ See. Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 175.

⁴ See Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 177.

⁵ See Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 181.

⁶ See. Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 181.

⁷ See. Out. L. B. 7 of 1699-1702, 182.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Building Charges
Unbearable,
1724.

changes together. In lumped accounts we cannot form anything of a judgment which if reduced to particulars we might have done. To prevent any one in future diverting our cash designed for trade by laying it out in buildings, we add that if hereafter any new buildings be set about without our previous leave from hence, we shall expect the President and Council to reimburse and repay into our cash whatever is expended thereon, and will do our utmost to recover it. We have come to this resolution to prevent any more lavishing away our money in the manner we have for some time past so often complained of.¹

In 1727 (18th Jan) João de Saldanha da Gama Viceroy of Goa writes to the King of Portugal: The Castle of Bombay in the city has six modern bastions begun in 1716. Its artillery is not known, but it is well defended. The Viceroy also mentions forts at Dongri, Mázgaon, Siu, Siu, Málum, Warli, and Butcher's Island.²

Bandar Pier,
1728

In 1728 the President, the Honourable Mr Phipps, ordered the Committee of Surveys to survey the bandar pier and report to Government. On the 11th November 1728 the Committee write. Having, in pursuance of your Honour's order, surveyed the bandar pier we beg leave to lay the following report thereof before your Honour. By the information we have from Rámji Purvoe who was at the building said pier we understand that there was not any foundation only what its own weight formed nor regular cut stones except the butt end. This deficiency is the cause of its decay and present ill state. To the best of our judgment from what we now perceive and what we have from information learnt it cannot stand any considerable time without continual change of repairs which of necessity must be great. Now in order perfectly to secure the present pier we do judge the strongest and cheapest method is to case it with regular cut stones, the two outward ones being well clamped and the whole work laid with lime. Sinking the foundation of the casing to a firm bottom will effectually secure the whole. A profile of the old and new work we herewith represent to your Honour with its references. As to the additional length, if intended for the boats to be always floating and to serve as a landing place at all time of tides, it must be extended 500 feet.³

Clerk of the
Works,
1734

At their Consultation on the 27th April 1734 the Bombay Government appointed an overseer of the Company's works and a master of arms. The reasons for this appointment are thus stated. There being a want of a proper person to oversee the Company's works as well as a master of arms and Mr. Archibald Campbell first Lieutenant of the *Princess Carolina* galley, being an ingenious person and having a good notion of architecture and other parts of the mathematics, is willing to undertake those posts until we are supplied with another from our Honourable Masters, at the usual allowance and house rent, namely Rs. 30 a month as clerk of the works and Rs 40 as master of arms, he is accordingly entertained as clerk of the works and master of arms at the aforesaid rates from 1st March 1734.⁴

¹ Court to Bombay 25th March 1724 paras 78, 79 Comp of Standing Ord Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 165.

² *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* Fas 6 Supplement New Goa, 1976, pages 287-292

³ Pub Diary 3 of 1727-28, 216.

⁴ Pub Diary 7 of 1734, 93.

At a Consultation, the 4th April 1737, the President acquaints the Board that having with the officers of the military been round the town in order to know its condition for defence they were unanimously of opinion that should an enemy come against it, the town would be exposed to great hazard, through the number of cocoanut trees standing near the walls, among which great numbers of men might lodge and with little difficulty secure themselves in such a manner as not to be annoyed by the guns from the town wall. As we cannot be certain the enemy will not force a passage upon the island and attack the town, its safety ought to be provided for by cutting down all trees within point-blank shot that is within 120 yards of the wall and thinning them for such farther distance as shall be found necessary. A survey made by the fazandars and the landholders and elders shows that about 3200 trees may be cut down. Thus, for the reasons before mentioned, it is agreed be forthwith done and that we take a proper opportunity to proportion the loss.¹

Four days later, at a Consultation, the 8th April, the President acquaints the Board that it had been often represented to him that the parapets round the town wall not being above 16 or 17 inches thick, would be easily beat in, should the town be attacked. In such a case our people would not be able to keep their posts on the walls especially on the more exposed part facing the hill of Dongri. The ramparts of the curtains are likewise so very narrow that a single man cannot conveniently walk on them. He therefore proposes to remedy these inconveniences by driving cocoanut trees into the ground at a suitable distance within the wall, and filling the space with earth, which method will be less expensive than any other. The Board being unanimously of opinion that the same is absolutely necessary and ought not to be delayed, it is agreed that the work be set about as soon as possible. And it is directed that the charges be carried to the head of building the town wall, to be cleared by the growing duty collected on that account.²

At a Consultation, the 3rd May 1737, the President acquaints the Board that on viewing the several outforts with some of the military officers, he was shown a place in the river that parts this island from Salsette lying between Sion and Siwri at present entirely defenceless, opposite where to the water is so shoal that an enemy can ford over with ease. For the protection of this ford it had been proposed at a cost of about Rs. 2000 to raise a small fortification capable of being defended by 12 or 15 men. This matter he now recommends to the consideration of the Board. The work appearing so necessary for the safety of the island it is unanimously agreed that the same be set about as soon as the necessary materials can be got in readiness. It has already been observed that several fordable places in the river between this island and Salsette are not commanded by any of our fortifications or batteries. Further that their deep draught prevents any of our vessels being brought near enough to

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Measures of
Defence,
1737

Faulty Ramparts,
1737.

Outforts,
1737.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 4th April 1737, Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 84. Forrest's Home Series, II. 70.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 8th April 1737, Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 93.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Outforts,
1737.

those passes to defend them. The safety of our island is thought greatly to depend upon the preventing an enemy's landing. For if they once landed we should find it as difficult to remove them as our neighbors (the Portuguese) now do. And, though we would not put our Honourable Masters to any expense which we could possibly avoid, yet we think it a duty incumbent on us to provide for the safety of the island in the best manner we can. This we can never think secure while we have an enemy so near us and passes out of reach of our fortifications left unguarded. It is now to be considered whether for this service we shall raise batteries or build flat-bottomed boats to mount six or eight guns each. As the President acquaints the Board he has been assured that flat-bottomed boats would not only be more serviceable but cheaper, it is agreed that three such boats be built in the cheapest manner and with what expedition possible. A further inducement for this resolution is that should affairs take a more favourable turn than we can expect and the Maráthas be drove from Sálsette we can employ the boats or otherwise dispose of them in order to lessen the expense to our Honourable Masters, whereas the charge of raising fortifications would be actually sunk.¹

Galivats
Required,
1737.

Towards the close of the same year, 1737, it was reported that the Maráthas were intending to attack Bombay. On inspecting the garrisons of the outforts and taking a view of the passes, it was noticed that from Siwri to Mázgaon the river was defenceless, only two boats cruising between these two places. As a measure of greater safety it was resolved to fit up ten small galivats. At a Consultation, the 1st September, the President acquaints the Board that having on the report mentioned in our last Consultation, been with Mr. Cockell the engineer and some of the officers of the military to inspect the garrisons of the outforts and take a view of the passes, it was by them unanimously thought that they were not in a proper posture of defence against such a number of men as it is reported are designed against us. This report has not been contradicted and the number of men at Thána has been greatly increased and other preparations made there since the news reached us. There is, therefore, sufficient reason to believe the Marátha intention is to attack this island. From Siwri to Mázgaon the river is almost defenceless, having only two boats cruising between those places. And as cruising galivats are more proper for the defence of that part of the river than shore fortifications we think ourselves under an absolute necessity to put our Honourable Masters to the expense of fitting out ten small galivats for the defence of that part of our river. This it is directed be done with all possible expedition and frugality.²

Small Batteries
between Warli
and Máhum,
1737.

At the same Consultation (1st September 1737), it is also recorded that, as was proved when (1720) the Portuguese landed in Máhum bay and burnt the village of Waili, the bay between Waili and Máhum is not defended by either of those forts. It is therefore thought

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 3rd May 1737, Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 111-112.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 1st Sept. 1737, Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 210.

necessary to secure the bay with three small palm-tree batteries. To lessen the expence it is ordered that sundry fallen trees may be purchased for this service, what more are wanting being cut from the Company's barren or nearly barren palms.¹

The same Consultation further notices that a great part of the mortarless pier run out towards the sea from the old custom house bastion of the town wall being tumbled down, the President acquaints the Board that he had ordered a calculate to be made of the expence of repairing it. But the engineer had represented to him that as the bay within the town wall on the north side of the fort was entirely open and not well commanded, a number of hostile boats might land there, and the enemy at once be in the town. Such an evil result might, at a cost little greater than the repair of the custom house pier, be prevented by raising a breast work and two small bastions from the custom house bastion to the fort along the said bay. It is accordingly resolved that the breast work and bastions be set about with all convenient expedition.²

The same Consultation further notices that there is also a pass opposite to Dhárávi between Sion and Máhim where at low water the depth is not more than one foot. There is indeed a breast work over against the said pass but this is not judged a sufficient security. For should a small number of the enemy get over at any other place, they could easily drive our men from this breast work, there being nothing behind them for their security. As the keeping possession of such fortifications as command the passes, is of the highest importance, it is esteemed necessary to raise a small square work of stone. Considering the above the Board cannot but agree to the building of those works.³

In December 1737 one Rámji Paibhu offered to build a wall from Rewa to Sion. A Consultation of the 5th December has the following entry: Rámji Puivoe presents a proposal to the Board for building a wall to cost Rs. 3000 along the sea side from the new fortification of Rewa to the battery at Sion. This wall Rámji agrees to make at his own charges provided we will contribute Rs. 500 and give him the ground lying between the causeway already raised and the proposed wall, confirming the same to him and his heirs for ever. On consideration, it is observed that the raising such a wall will be a great security to the island as opposite thereto is a shallow pass. Further, as no one will undertake to cultivate the ground which is now useless, and as even after the wall is built some years must pass before the land produces anything, it is agreed that we let Rámji have the said piece of ground, on the wall being finished and on his engaging to keep it in repair for ever, and paying the Honourable Company a yearly acknowledgment of one rupee. Also that we allow him Rs. 500 towards completing the work.⁴

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Breast work from
Custom-House
to Fort,
1737.

Square Stone
Work opposite
Dhárávi.

Wall from Rewa
to Sion,
1737.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 1st Sept. 1737, Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 210.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 1st Sept. 1737, Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 211.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 1st Sept. 1737, Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 211.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 5th Dec. 1737, Pub. Diary 10 of 1736-37, 286.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings
Galivats Removed,
1738

The measures of defence resolved on during the previous year having been carried out, attention was next directed, about the middle of 1738, to reduce the expense in connection with the safety of the island. At a Consultation the 26th May, the President acquaints the Board that the battery agreed to be raised at Pimurice (Pegambur) being now finished and the guns mounted therein, it is believed the several fordable passes between this island and Salsette are now in full security. To reduce the present great expense, it is agreed that the Honourable Company's galivats which had been stationed in the river for the defence of the said passes be hauled up and the lascars discharged, keeping only one galivat afloat and two small boats which are absolutely necessary to patrol in the night.¹

A Fort at the
Beach,
1739

A year later (1739) the outposts were found sufficiently manned, but the great opening at the Beach was defenceless and required a fortification. At a Consultation the 10th April, the President desires Mr. Charles Rigby to acquaint the Board with the state of such outposts and parts of the island as he had been to view the preceding day. Mr. Rigby reports accordingly that the several posts appear to him sufficiently manned, but that some of the cannon were either of unfit sizes or might be better mounted. Also that the great opening at the Beach was at present defenceless. Resolved that some fortification for the safety of that part of the island be considered as soon as possible.²

A Fort at Dongri,
1739.

A week later at a Consultation the 16th April, the questions of raising a fort at the Beach and of fortifying Dongri were considered. The result of the debate is thus recorded: The fortifying of Dongri being considered, it is observed that the defenceless condition of a post from which the castle had been so much annoyed in the Sidi war (1689-90), and was still liable to annoyance required a speedy determination. It appearing essential to the safety of the town and castle that the Dongri post should be put into a state of defence, which will be the surest as in case of attack succours may be thrown in by water, the Board agreed that the same be set about without loss of time. Further that at an inconsiderable expense a redoubt be raised at the Beach to defend that opening.³

The Ditch

A survey made the same month (April 1739) showed the necessity of a ditch round the town wall. The debate on this subject at a Consultation the 1st May is thus recorded. The President lays before the Board the necessity of making some immediate provision for fortifying and further securing our town wall, which on a survey appears to be in a most defenceless condition. He observes that however strict the Honourable Company's orders appear against

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 26th May 1738, Pub. Diary 11 of 1737-38, 128

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 10th April 1739, Pub. Diary 12 of 1738-39, 129

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 16th April 1739, Pub. Diary 12 of 1738-39, 129 129
Among 1658-90 details Bruce (Annals, II 664-665 and III 91-96) notices difficulties in connection with the withdrawal of the Sidis from Bombay and adds Bombay acted on the defensive and did not attack the Sidi's fleet, his fleet made several descent on the island of Bombay, in which they were repulsed by the English troops. The Sidi's fleet and army invaded Bombay and took possession of Malabar, Mazoon, and from the Governor and the garrison were besieged in the town and the Castle.

entering on any expensive buildings, the Court's orders are on the other hand not less strong for omitting nothing towards the safety and preservation of this their island. That for his part in the present visible state of the fortifications round the town, he should ill discharge his duty if he pretended to answer for the security of the place till some requisite additions be made to strengthen and secure the wall. Nothing occurs more fit for the purpose or more necessary than a ditch to be run round the town wall. To estimate the expense it is proposed that a stated measure of ground be opened in a fitting place to the calculated depth and breadth, and a report of its charge be made to estimate the whole by a mean. The Board agreeing thereto, it is resolved that considering the danger of further delay, no time be lost in testing the cost of the proposed ditch.¹

About the close of June the same year (1739) the merchants came forward with a voluntary subscription to aid Government in fortifying the wall. They say: The great happiness we enjoy under the English Government in the perfect security of our property and in the free exercise of our respective ways of worship, leads us to be very desirous of continuing the same advantages to our posterity. As the formidable power of the Maráthas has subdued the neighbouring country and as the invasion of this island is threatened, we cannot avoid being anxious that such a defence may be secured as may tend to disappoint their evil designs. As we apprehend the town wall was intended as a security to the merchants admitted to the protection of this Government, for the erecting of which we have long contributed; and as notwithstanding that we are apprized it is not yet in a condition to resist the neighbouring power, and seeing we have no other place to retreat to in case of an invasion, we humbly request that the said wall may be fortified with a ditch and such other additions made to it as may on an emergency secure our effects and families. Towards defraying the expense of the same, we the merchants residing in Bombay and whose names are hereunto subscribed, beg leave to propose that a duty of one per cent be laid and collected until the amount of thirty-thousand rupees be raised which is as much as we can offer, considering the present decay of trade and the want of substantial merchants.²

In laying this representation before the Council at a Consultation on the 29th June 1739, the President remarks: Our present situation admits of no longer delay in coming to some resolution for or against the carrying of a ditch round the town wall. The principal merchants of the place convinced of the necessity of putting the town in some better state of defence have subscribed the sum of thirty thousand rupees towards the expense of this work. This is as much as can be expected from that body considering the low declined state of trade. And whereas, for the reasons set down in our Consultation of the 1st May last, a resolution passed the Council for testing the charge of completing the proposed ditch the failure of submitting such a

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings

The Ditch,
1739.

The Ditch
One Per Cent
Duty,
1739

The Town Ditch,
1739.

¹ Bom Gov Consultation 1st May 1739, Pub. Diary 12 of 1738 39, 158-159.

² Bombay Merchants' Representation to Government, June 1739, Pub. Diary 12 of 1738 39, 218.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings
The Town Ditch,
1739

report is owing to the rains setting in, and preventing digging to a competent depth. At the same time information is available for the calculation that admitting the ditch to be fifty feet broad and fourteen deep, the charge will come out about eighty-five to ninety thousand rupees. It remains then to determine what is most expedient for the Honourable Company's interest. Our present insecurity from the weakness of the fortifications round the town, is fully set forth in our Consultations of the 1st and 10th May last. As the same is apparent and evident to every member of this Board, and as the security and preservation of the island, and the tranquillity and protection of the inhabitants are trusts essentially reposed in this Government, since this addition of a ditch to the town wall appears the only means to strengthen our defence, the question is proposed to the members severally for their respective assents, and is carried in the affirmative, Mr. Geelke only dissenting. The Consultation adds. As this Resolution is of so great importance the following summary recapitulation of our reasons is submitted to our Honourable Masters for their judgment and satisfaction, that in this determination we are guided entirely by our duty and a regard to their interest and to the preservation of their estate entrusted to our care and management. However express the Honourable Company's repeated injunctions may be against burying their money in expensive works on any pretext whatever, when these orders are set against and compared with their repeated assurances of grudging no expense for the immediate defence and preservation of the island itself, since no sufficient dependence can be had on any promise, treaty, or assurance from or with the Maráthís, our present situation is undeniably such as will warrant this only step we can think of for the attainment of any tolerable degree of security. In truth without the addition of a ditch, the town wall may be reckoned of no use or significance to the purpose of defence, and consequently a neat loss to the Honourable Company. For the truth of this we need only appeal to the survey of its present untenable condition more amply set forth in our Consultation of the 16th May last.

Our inhabitants are grown so apprehensive of the insecure posture of the place against the power of our encroaching neighbours, that it is highly necessary for the Government with all expedition to procure and provide for their security in case of an invasion. Such security can in no wise be so effectually obtained, as by fortifying the town itself for the greater assurance and encouragement of the inhabitants. The trading part of these inhabitants have voluntarily contributed the sum above declared, and in future no care shall be omitted to consider all fitting ways and means to lighten the burthen to our Honourable Masters.

As the calculate now furnished is as exactly taken as the nature of the subject would admit, the amount of the charge cannot but be esteemed by our Honourable Masters on a consideration of all circumstances well applied towards securing so great a capital and interest as they have in this place and its dependences. Nor do we see how we could justify the neglect of our duty in the maintenance of this great trust or hazard, the loss of the island, for fear of incurring this

additional expense, without which all the rest may be counted thrown away, or in so dangerous a state as to deserve no reckoning on it as a property in stock, unless the lying at the Maráthás' discretion can be esteemed any degree of trustworthy security. Agreed likewise that the most efficacious methods be pitched upon for completing the ditch in as easy a manner to the inhabitants, and working people, as can be devised.¹

Mr. Geekie's dissent from the above resolution regarding the ditch is thus recorded in the Government Diary of the 6th July 1739: The following are Mr. John Geekie's reasons for dissenting from the resolution of the 29th June Consultation to set about out of hand the making a ditch round the town wall of Bombay. The Honourable Company's positive orders (in their last letter by ship *Harrington*) against any enormous expense of what kind soever, seem to me a good reason why we should not set about so chargeable a work, as no doubt this will prove, without their previous commands concerning it, especially as further I presume that it will be impossible to finish the ditch in time, so as to be of service on the emergency, for which it is judged necessary to make this ditch.

Again from the many works already in hand, and the great complaint for want of people I presume that this new and heavy work can hardly be carried on without force, or at least without causing great uneasiness to the labouring people. As our new neighbours are endeavouring by all means to draw these men from us, it is not unlikely that any order for forced labour may contribute to the driving such of them away, as during the late troubles have taken shelter amongst us. The more so, as in the treaty with the Maráthás now on foot, one of the articles they insist on, and to which we have consented, is that all recent immigrants who are willing shall have liberty to go back to their own country. For all these reasons I dissent from the said resolution of setting about the ditch for the present.²

The Board at their Consultation, the 6th July 1739, observe: The Board proceed to consider of the most proper method of raising the voluntary contribution of Rs. 30,000 towards the said work of the ditch from the body of merchants as set forth in our Consultation of the 29th June, and the same being debated upon, we are unanimously of opinion that one per cent be levied additionally upon the trade which is subject to pay two per cent contribution to the town wall until the amount be cleared and the proceed of this new duty be carried to a head of contribution to the town ditch. And it is ordered that the custom master do collect and distinguish the same accordingly.³

On the 6th July Government appointed Mr. Thomas Marsh paymaster of the town ditch. A fortnight later Mr. Marsh applies for palanquin Kohs regarding which matter the Bombay Diary of the 20th July has the following entry: Mr. Thomas Marsh appointed by Council of the 6th instant, paymaster of the town ditch, applying

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
The Town Ditch,
1739.

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 29th June 1739, Pub. Diary 12 of 1738-39, 233-235.

² Pub. Diary 12 of 1738-39, 261-262.

³ Pub. Diary 12 of 1738-39, 257.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
The Town Ditch,
1739.

for palanquin Kohs in regard to the distance of the work and some consideration for the extraordinary trouble attending this office, the Board thinks it reasonable to allow him some encouragement to a punctual discharge thereof, and agrees to fix his appointment at Rs. 10 a month and the pay of palanquin Coolies (Kohs). Further where as Mr Marsh's assistant Mr William Nicholls continues still to attend the warehouse, as well as this additional employ, in order to encourage him to do his duty punctually, the Board allows him Rs. 30 a month extraordinary. The whole is declared chargeable to the account expenses of the town ditch.¹

The one per cent duty referred to above was ordered to be levied from the 1st of August 1739 as appears from the following Government letter to Mr William Sedgwick, Mahim custom master, dated the 1st November 1739: The merchants having made a subscription of one per cent on their trade towards the ditch you are hereby ordered to collect the same from and after the 31st July last (1739) and to open a head on your books for the amount thereof entitled 'Contribution to the Town Ditch.'²

Gentlemen
appointed at
Bastions,
1739.

On the 13th November 1739 Government appointed the following sixty-one European gentlemen to the several bastions as shown below:—

Prince's Bastion—1 Thomas Waters Esquire; 2 Mr Henry Berne; 3 Mr Jno Brandling, 4 Mr William Nicholls, 5 Captain Thomas Stoneham, 6 Mr Robert Nisbitt, 7 Mr Edward Dunster; 8 Captain Francis Atkins, 9 John Anthony.

Royal Bastion and Pierhead—1 Thomas Stonestreet Esquire; 2 Mr Francis Strudwick, 3 Mr Thomas Marsh, 4 Mr Edward Owen, 5 Mr Robert Rawdon, 6 Phillip Pascoli, 7 Mr Robert Collson; 8 Mr Cromelme, 9 Mich. Razor.

Old Mandra Bastion Battery.—1 John Geelke Esquire, 2 Mr Hugh Bulwell, 3 Mr Thomas Hodges, 4 Mr Pheasant Crisp, 5 Mr Laurence Sullivan, 6 Mr William Shavell, 7 Mr. Michell Marshall, 8 Mr George Craig, 9 Mr Samuel Peters, 10 Mr. John Nicholson, 11 Mr. John Hutton; 12 Mr. Anthony Brandon, 13 Mr John Mannsee, 14 Mr. Say.

Marlborough Bastion—1 John Shorley Esquire, 2 Mr. James Stewart, 3 Mr Walter Ray; 4 Mr George Scott; 5 Mr Richard Broughton, 6 Mr Robert Balldrey.

Stanhope Bastion—1 Mr Cleland, 2 Mr John Sewell, 3 Mr Samuel Price, 4 Mr. George Jenkinson, 5 Lewis Vendall; 6 Thomas Budd.

Church Bastion—1 Mr. George Dudley, 2 Mr William Davis, 3 Mr. George Sadler, 4 Mr Charles Manningham, 5 Henry Venfield, 6 Richard Nowland.

Mons Bastion—1 Mr John Lambton, 2 Mr John Burchall, 3 Mr Alexander Douglass, 4 Robert Worth; 5 William Taylor, 6 Mr Newman.

¹ Bom Gov Consultation 20th July 1739, Pub Diary 12 of 1738 39, 279

² Bom Gov Letter 1st Nov 1739 to the Mahim Custom Master, Sec Out L B 8 of 1738-1741, 58

³ Sec Out. L. B 8 of 1738 1741, 59-60

Barrack Bastion—1 Mr. George Perceval, 2 Mr. Hugh Symons,
3 Mr. Hugh Willis, 4 John Dicks, 5 John Long

In 1741 the question of compensating the owners of the trees and grounds required for the fortifications came before Government. The following is the record of a Consultation of the 8th May 1741: A number of cocoanut trees having been cut down by order of the President and Council, as appears in Consultation the 4th April 1737, for clearance in part of the town and also round the fortification at Malum, and others since at Bombay for forming a proper space to carry on the rampart, and some batty grounds contiguous being taken into the ditch, the means by which restitution shall be made to the owners of such trees and grounds are considered. An account of the several claimants with the respective damage sustained according to the vereadores' valuation, is now presented to the Board. From this account it appears that, notwithstanding the sums there set down are considerably underrated, the whole amounts to Rs. 2974-2-56. Were we to pay accordingly, the persons would greatly suffer and therefore the Board are of opinion that it will be the most equitable method to assign an equivalent in trees and ground from those of our Honourable Masters. To the end that this transfer be fairly adjusted and if possible to the satisfaction of all parties, the Board are of opinion that the overseer of the oarts with the assistance of Jánoji, Ali Báwa Coat (Khot), Joseph de Cruz, Thomas de Silva, Ignatio de Silva, and Antonio de Azaveilo, who are esteemed competent judges and honest men, be appointed to inspect and report the particular parcels of ground and number of trees proposed to be made over that the necessary orders for delivery may pass from this Board. And as by this expedient we hope those concerned will be better pleased than by the receipt of any sum we could propose to pay them, as from observation we find that through their special knowledge the native possessors of oarts generally make them produce more than those of our Honourable Masters and as to make return in money only by the prementioned estimation would afford matter of uneasiness and complaint, so we hope our Honourable Employers will acquiesce in this resolution, since all things considered, we conceive this method to be truly most advantageous to them. The necessary instructions for Mr. Sanders the present overseer of the oarts to the foregoing purport being prepared are approved.¹

The following is the account referred to in the Consultation of the 8th May: Account of cocoanut trees cut down by order of Governor Hoine and Council as appears by the Consultation of the 4th April 1737 as also of such as have been removed in order to form the ditch and in erecting the military topass houses within the town wall, the whole taken and valued by the vereadores as appears by their respective reports now in the Portuguese secretary's office: Trees 621; Rs. 2974-2-56. Besides the above demands Vithalás Kásidás had, in February 1739, as appears by the Consultation, a share of the oart Collat assigned him belonging to the Honorable Company in lieu of 201 cocoanut trees cut down in his oart called Meeluck and valued by the vereadores at

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Compensation
for Trees,
1741.

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 8th May 1741, Pub. Diary II of 1740-41, 173-174

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Rs. 466½. In the above account, according to a current practice of the vereadores, every good coconut tree is valued at Rs 4. This rate had its rise when the Bank began to lend money on landed security. In reality the good trees are worth and will commonly fetch double that sum. However as we, say the Board, return an equivalent in trees to the proprietors from the Company's coats, they will not suffer by our under-rating.¹

Ditch Duty,
1741.

Mention is made above of the imposition in 1739 of a one per cent duty to meet the expense of making a ditch round the town wall. The measure was reported to the Court of Directors whose opinion the Bombay Government received in 1741. Their diary of the 31d August contains the following note: Our Honourable Masters in paragraph 101 intimate their opinion that the duty collected as a contribution to the town ditch ought to extend not only to the black merchants but all others. A motion is made to come to some resolution in that particular, but the members not being prepared to enter on a discussion of the point, it is referred to another day.²

On the 7th August 1741 the Board resume: Our Honourable Masters in paragraph 101 of their last commands intimating that the one per cent contribution for defraying in part the charge of the town ditch should extend to all merchants, this matter was deferred at last meeting for further consideration. It is now resumed and though it is certain even at present the trade is considerably burthened, yet as it seems to be their pleasure and is designed for easing them of that heavy though necessary work, we believe it will be the more readily submitted to. Therefore it is directed that from and after this day an additional duty of one per cent be collected on all English private trade and be appropriated to the head of Charges digging the Town Ditch.³

Consequent on the above resolution the following order to the custom masters of Bombay and Máhiní was issued the same day, 7th August. The Honourable Company in their last commands having been pleased to intimate that the additional duty of one per cent should be levied on all trade in general towards discharging the charge of the town ditch, you are hereby directed to see the same collected from this day forward on all English trade, and carried to the head of Contribution of the Town Ditch.⁴

Rules for
constructing the
Town Ditch,
1741

At a Consultation, the 27th November 1741, the President Mr Stephen Law lays before the Board instructions necessary for the better conducting of the work of the town ditch as well as for preventing any fraud or imposition on the part of the Purooes, subhedáis, and other supervisors. These being read the Board unanimously approve thereof and direct that copies be delivered to the usual persons for their strict observance.⁵ These instructions are given below.

¹ Pub Diary 14 of 1740-41, 180, 182.

² Bom Gov Consultation 3rd Aug 1741, Pub Diary 11 of 1740-41, 293-294.

³ Bom Gov. Consultation 7th Aug 1741, Pub Diary 11 of 1740-41, 303-304.

⁴ Bom Gov. Order to the Bombay and Máhiní Custom Masters, 7th Aug 1741,

See Out L B 8 of 1738-1741

⁵ Bom. Gov. Consultation 27th Nov. 1741, Pub. Diary 11 of 1740-41, 477.

Rules to be observed for the works carrying on at the town ditch and Moody's Bay, namely:¹

1 That each subhedár attends his assigned business every morning early for lining the labourers together and that so many subhedárs, as also masons, stone-cutters and Purvoes, be employed in the most likely manner to answer the main end of despatch. Each subhedár to have a list of the men entrusted to his care, noting the pay of every man and the muster to be taken in the presence of the paymaster's officer and also that to be appointed by the subhedár. At the close of the evening the said subhedár must sign the list ascertaining the number that day at work under him, which must serve as a voucher to the payment to be made by the paymaster's officers and such vouchers to remain on register for producing when the monthly accounts are to be passed.

2 Whereas an engineer or master director of the works, or his assistant, will attend a daily abstract must be given to him of the people at work for knowing whether their attendance be given, and he has moreover a liberty to be present at the muster for satisfying himself that justice is done to the Company. When he is at such muster, he should also sign with the subhedár as a testimony that the muster is right.

3 In order to regulate the chops (*chhops* meaning seals) necessary to be issued at each division, there must be immediately an account taken of all chops that are distributed. These must be called in and paid for. Then the whole chops ascertaining their number with exactness must be lodged in a good chest under two locks, each subhedár, where the division is, to have one key and the paymaster's officer another, the chops thence to be issued, a daily account to be kept thereof and seen to it that the Company are not injured for which end the chops should be called in and discharged every day. For distinguishing to which company the chops belong, Dáji Náik's must be numbered 1, Gun Náik's No. 2, Gunji's No. 3, Sen Náik's No. 4, Mahmud Náik's No. 5, and the chops to be confined to the division assigned.

4. To prevent every instance of abuse the accounts of the subhedár respecting each division, as well as the same kept by the paymaster's officer, must be lodged in a good chest with two locks, each subhedár to have one key and the paymaster's officer another; and the accounts to be adjusted and finished every day at each post and there also signed.

5 That the subhedár at each division do indent to the paymaster's storekeeper for every thing wanted. As it may not be possible to comply entirely, such storekeeper is to send with the things a note to the subhedár, expressing the quantity so sent and in whose charge. When the note is brought to the subhedár, he is to examine if the articles which come to him agree with the note. If not, he is to make the bearer answerable for any deficiency. And such bearer should count the things so delivered by the storekeeper at the time of taking them into his charge. Provided the things are right the subhedár is to sign his name to the note as a voucher. This note, with all others that come within the month, must be given to the paymaster for regulating the account with his storekeeper. He is also to keep the notes by him for proving his accounts when delivered into the accountant's office. The same caution and method to be used when the subhedárs send any old stores to the storekeeper by signing a note. This note the storekeeper is to preserve and sign, on finding the contents to answer.

6 That regard be had to dividing the people to every part of the work in such proportion as the business to be done fully requires. When the musters are taken according to the rules preceited, none of the people shall on any pretence be suffered to leave the works, saving in case of sickness, without an express command to be given by the Governor, or in his absence by the second member in Council and no one else.

Chapter IV: Fortifications: and Buildings.

Rules for
constructing the
Town Ditch,
1741

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 27th Nov. 1741, Pub. Diary, 14 of 1740-41, 479-482. Compare Sec. Out. L. B. 8 of 1738-1741.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Rules for
constructing the
Town Ditch,
1741.

7. All the materials wanted for the works must be duly laid in by the paymaster so that no stop or hindrance ensue. At the end of every month the paymaster must give in an abstract to the President of what then remains with their true value and he may see to the getting what shall be requisite for future service. In case the works be not properly supplied, the subhedár must report the want to the engineer, the paymaster, or to the President at such times as the latter takes his round for visiting the works.

8. The subhedárs are to have a true regard that the people employed whether as Purvoes or otherwise be faithful and qualified, no more than wanted to be kept in service. On any failure in this material article, they are required to make a report to the President.

9. Whatever mortar be brought for the works must be measured and taken in an exact manner at the places assigned for receiving it. The subhedár so receiving is to pass a receipt for the quantity, inserting the name of the seller. This receipt is to serve as a voucher to the paymaster and at the end of every month is to be sent with the others into the accountant's office with his accounts.

10. That the subhedárs do report to the President anything they have to offer for the benefit of the service. The works to be lined out by the director of the same and to be afterwards inspected by Ramji and Gumbaji Purvoes, who are to be apprized of the number of men of every denomination on work every day.

11. For delivering out chops it is apprehended the militia subhedárs with the approval of our subhedárs may serve instead of the Purvoes now employed. By this means the pay of twenty or more Purvoes may be saved the Company every month. This therefore must be tried and continued until solid reasons are offered to the President for altering it.

Additional
Lieutenant
at Sion Fort,
1742.

At their Consultation, the 2nd February 1742, Government admit the necessity of placing one more Lieutenant at Sion Fort. Considering the great consequence of that post of Sion and the several passes from Sálsette lying more immediately thereabouts, which obliges us to continue a large number of people on duty there, it would be eligible to have another Lieutenant in station. So long as there is only one, when he has occasion to repair to town on his private affairs, the place is left destitute of a proper command. The President therefore proposes that Mr. Thomas Andrews the eldest ensign, of whom the captain commandant as well as others give a handsome character, be appointed a Lieutenant and stationed under Mr. Sterling at Sion where he will also be of service with respect to what has been mentioned of the other's want of writing. The Board after some consideration resolve that Mr. Sterling be ordered to take the command of Sion and Messrs Lane and Forbes to succeed to the two vacant companies. On the President's motion Mr. Hollomore to have a Lieutenant's commission as also Mr. Thomas Andrews who is for the present to do duty at Sion.¹

Repairs to
Sion Fort,
1742.

Necessary repairs to Sion Fort formed the subject of debate at a Consultation on the 22nd February: A report is made of the present bad condition of the Sion Fort. The store-rooms apartments and magazine are in a most wretched state, insomuch that no kind of stores provisions or ammunition could be deposited there during the rainy season without being spoiled by the weather, and the roofs of those several places are entirely decayed. The expense that will attend this repair, by a calculate

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 2nd Feb. 1742, Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 71.

now presented, we are sorry to observe will amount to so large a sum as Rs. 2686-2-50. At the same time they are so immediately necessary that without them the fortification cannot be deemed of any benefit. This leaves no room for hesitation in ordering the repairs. At the same time the President remarks that the frequent occasions of repairs to the Company's buildings proceed in a great measure from their being ill fabricated at the first through a mistaken notion of rendering the expense less. This saving was only in appearance, for the event shows they have turned out really dearer than if made substantial and of the best material at the beginning. Therefore with the consent and approval of the Board it is positively directed and fixed as a standing rule that no mats be used in the roofing of any house or building designed to last for any number of years. Instead of mats laths sawed out of teak must be used. The rafters to be of the best sorts of the same timber. Further that it be particularly given into the charge to the workmen employed on any building to inspect into the timber and see to its goodness as well as all other materials used on the work they are carrying on.¹

The acting engineer Mr. Joseph Smith submitted a report on the condition of the dock and bandar piers, on which the Board at a Consultation on the 18th October observe: Read a report from Mr. Joseph Smith, who at present acts as engineer, of the decayed condition of the dock and bandar piers. The estimate of repairing both in a proper durable manner is specified in his report. With regard to the dock pier the Board are entirely of opinion some repair should be immediately given as great part is fallen and the safety of the shipping in the dock solely depends upon the pier without which the dock itself must be useless. The Board therefore direct the repairs be set about with the necessary speed. Mr. Smith's proposals as to the bandar pier the President desires may be referred to Mr. Wake's determination when on the spot. In this the members acquiesce.²

On learning the completion of the town ditch the Court, in their letter of the 13th March 1743, para 70, write: We are glad to find by the advices before us that the town ditch is nearly completed. As it hath cost us Rs. 2,50,000, the one per cent duty levied on the trade must be continued till we are reimbursed the same.³

The work of the town ditch being completed, the President gave orders for selling off the cattle as they were no longer wanted, and an account sale of them was laid before the Board on the 3rd June 1743.⁴

At a Consultation on the 13th June 1743 the President acquaints the Board that the several persons employed by the ditch paymaster have been discharged by his directions except two Purvoes who are to be kept for this month only to bring up and close the several accounts.

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Repairs to
Sion Fort,
1742.

Repairs to
the Dock and
Bandar Pier,
1742.

Cost and
completion of
the Town Ditch,
1743

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 22nd Feb 1742, Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 113-114.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 18th Oct 1742, Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 494-495.

³ Court to Bombay 13th March 1743 para 70, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 41.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 3rd June 1743, Pub. Diary 16 of 1743, 149.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Defences
Engineer,
1743-44

Repairs to
Butcher's
Island Fort,
1744

Repairs to the
Bandar Pier,
1745.

Court's
Approval,
1747..

Then their pay as well as that of the paymaster and his assistant will cease.¹

In their letters of the 13th and 30th March 1744, paragraph 79, the Court of Directors write: We direct that Mr Joseph Smith our present bombardier do act also as engineer and in the several offices he now holds. For this we will give him Rs 140 a month in full for all allowances for the said employments provided our President shall think him qualified for those stations.²

With a view to prevent the Maráthás from taking possession of Butcher's Island, it was found necessary to keep the fort on that island in good repair. The Bombay Government Diary of the 16th March 1744 has the following entry. A report of the condition of the fort on Butcher's island and officers' apartments, as also a calculate of the expense of the necessary repairs amounting to Rs. 1642 being presented, the Board are of opinion that as it is requisite to keep possession of that island to prevent our neighbours' settling there, from whence the entrance into Máhim river and even into this harbour might be incommoded, the submitting to the above expense is unavoidable. The repairs proposed are therefore ordered to be given and care must be taken that they do not exceed the calculate.³

Part of the bandar pier having fallen down by the continual washing of the sea, the stones at first not being laid with chunam, on the 20th July 1745 the Board directed that the bandar pier be immediately repaired with the utmost frugality and that the work be effectually performed, an estimate of the expense being first made and delivered to the Board.⁴

On the 13th August 1745 the land paymaster lays before the Board an estimate for the repairs of the bandar pier amounting to Rs. 4490. This estimate is on the supposition that the foundation is well laid, otherwise the repairs must exceed the estimate. The Board directed that the repairs be carried out with the utmost care and frugality.⁵

In their letter of the 25th February 1747, paragraph 57, the Court express their approval of the repairs to the bandar pier and other buildings. They write: We cheerfully acquiesce in the requisite expense to repair the bandar pier, make the mint more commodious, and for putting the parsonage house in decent order.⁶

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 13th June 1743, Pub. Diary 16 of 1743, 151.

² Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol 3 of 1742-1751, 42, 88.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 16th March 1744, Pub. Diary 17 of 1744, 96.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 20th July 1745, Pub. Diary 18 of 1744-45, 210.

⁵ Bom. Gov. Consultation 13th Aug. 1745, Pub. Diary 18 of 1744-45, 221.

⁶ Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol 3 of 1742-1751, 141. The Parsonage House was bought by Government in 1738 and was continued as a parsonage till 1801. The site is across Cathedral Street about 30 yards south of the south-west gate of the Cathedral. It is the second house to the south of Armenian Lane. The house was given up in 1801 because as the report says the clergyman was unable to sleep in consequence of a cotton screen built close by it. (Collector's Records, Compilation P 391 of 1827.) The clergyman who complained was the Rev. H. Burrows after whom as recorded in 1816 by Q. u. Hai (Adventures) the Sonipur burying ground on Back Bay was known as Padre Burrows' Go Down. Padre Burrows did not use his own Go Down. As late as 1815 he stated in an English law court that he had been a resident chaplain in Bombay forty-two years. Mr James Douglas.

· At their Consultation on the 3rd July 1747, the Bombay Council remark: Some part of the bandar pier being represented to us as requiring fresh facing, it is directed that the same be immediately set about and finished with a parapet at the end in such manner as on occasion to admit of mounting three guns, the charge of which is computed at about Rs. 400.¹

In 1750 Grose notices: The fortified house (the Castle) built on the site of the residence of the Portuguese Government ought to have been taken down and built at Mendham's Point. The present site is commanded by Dongri hill. The Castle was well built with regular gradients of strong hard stone. One of its bastions was called the tank bastion. In it was a large quantity of water. There is also a well within the fort, but the water is not extremely good, and liable to be dried up in the heats. The town wall ought to have included Dongri as the hill commanded both the town and the castle. The curtain of the wall between the bastions was very frail. A ditch had been made at great expense and flooded. The fort was one of the strongest of the Company's places.²

On learning of the death at Fort St. David of Mr. Robins their engineer general the Court in their letter of 4th March 1752, para 78, write to Bombay. To our unspeakable concern the *Swallow* brought us the news of the death of Mr. Robins, our late engineer general at Fort St. David in July last. It was part of our scheme that Mr. Robins should take a view of our several settlements on your side of India, and give his thoughts upon the fortifications works and buildings. In this by the event of his death we are most unhappily disappointed. You are therefore not to undertake any expensive works until you have our express leave for the purpose, and you are to be full and explicit in describing such works, the necessity of them, and an estimate of their expense, in doing which you are to take to your assistance the most knowing persons in such matters who may be resident at your Presidency.³

Of the state of the outforts the Bombay Diary of the 25th August 1752 has the following details: The President acquaints the Board that as, some time ago, it was represented to him that the outforts were in a very bad state, he ordered the provisional storekeeper, one of the military captains, and the first Lieutenant of the tram, being judged the most proper people, to make a regular survey of them. They having delivered him a report, dated 24th August 1752, it is now read to the Board. From this report it appears that the works in general are much decayed, and the greatest part of the gun carriages quite unserviceable. As the safety and preservation of the island so much depend on the artillery, it is unanimously resolved to lay in a quantity of timber proper to gun carriages, as this is deemed the

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Addition and
repairs to the
Bandar Pier,
1747.

Castle,
1750.

Mr Robins,
Engineer
General,
1751.

State of the
Outforts,
1752.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 3rd July 1747, Pub. Diary 20 of 1747, 228.

² Grose's Voyage, I. 49-50

³ Court to Bombay 4th March 1752 para 78, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 4 of 1752-1756, 14.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Outforts,
1752.

cheapest season of the year for entering into a contract. In regard to the works it is agreed to defer making any alterations additions or repairs, but such as are immediately and absolutely necessary for their preservation, until we receive orders from the Honourable Company on this head, for whose inspection it is ordered that a copy of the report be transmitted to England by the first ship.¹ The report is as follows -

Outforts survey report from Messrs. John Hope John Stanton and Eric Rohng, to the President, dated Bombay 24th August 1752 : Agreeable to your Honour's orders received from Mr. Secretary Price, we have surveyed the several outforts belonging to this island. The following are such remarks as we apprehend most worthy of notice :

Mahim Fort, 4th August 1752

No.	Pounder	Weight.		Remarks.
		Cwt	qr lbs	
1	5½	24	2 13	Good gun, the carriage not repairable, being quite rotten
1	5½	24	1 21	Do do
1	5½	24	1 6	Do do
1	5½	15	3 18	The gun very old, the carriage may be made use of till another can be provided but is very wide betwixt the cheeks, being not intended for the gun
1	4	10	3 12	Both gun and carriage unserviceable
1	4	10	2 5	Good gun, carriage not repairable
1	4	11	0 12	Good gun, carriage unserviceable
1	4	12	3 6	Indifferent gun, carriage not repairable
1	4	9	3 24	Good gun, carriage not repairable.
1	5½	24	2 18	Do do rotten.
1	3	8	0 0	Do. do unserviceable
1	5½	24	3 17	Do do not repairable
1	5½	24	0 18	Do do may be made use of until another can be provided
1	5½	24	2 4	Do do do capsquares wanting
1	5½	24	3 26	Good gun, carriage unserviceable
1	6	23	0 27	Do do repairable, capsquares new wheels and axletree wanting.
1	6	24	3 23	Do do
1	4	10	3 0	Do. do
1	6	22	3 12	Do do
1	6	20	3 14	Do do
1	6	22	1 0	Do do
1	6	24	1 7	Good gun, complete carriage, wants only a smith to bend one capsquare a little more
1	6	23	0 14	Good gun, carriage repairable, wanting capsquares axletree and new wheels
1	4	13	2 22	Do do.
1	6	22	0 7	Good gun, carriage repairable wanting as the one before
1	1	2	2 5	Good gun, carriage unserviceable.
26				

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 25th Aug. 1752, Pub. Diary 25 of 1752, 259-259.

Mortar Beds.

- 1 8-mch unserviceable being too light and rotten.
1 4½-mch howitzer bed, but very indifferent.

2

New quoins (or wedges) wanting for the whole number of guns.

The powder chests want to be new canvassed and dammed.

Some of the above carriages were never made for the guns that are mounted on them. The eight swivel gun-posts to be moved and shortened being quite unhandy and extremely dangerous to re-charge the guns, occasioned by the height of their position. All the gun aprons ought to be exchanged. Wooden horses are required for the musquet cartridges to stand on. The spunges want to be new thrummed. New wadd nets are wanting.

Thirty grape shot of sorts want to be repaired.

The gunpowder in magazine of this fort is pretty dry.

The gunners and military stores agree with the officer's list.

Sion Fort, 5th August 1752.

No.	Pounder	Weight.	Remarks.
		Cwt. qr. lbs	
1	3	8 0 5	Good gun, and new carriage complete.
1	3	5 3 12	Do. do
1	6	16 3 22	Good gun, the carriage may be made use of provisionally, but wants capsquares and new wheels, likewise very wide
1	3	6 2 22	Good gun, the carriage sound, but wants as the former, and is too long and wide betwixt the cheeks
1	3	7 1 10	Good gun, new carriage complete
1	3	8 0 22	Do an old but serviceable carriage.
1	6	16 3 15	Do the carriage serviceable, provisionally wanting capsquares new wheels and axletree
1	6	16 3 1	Good gun and now carriage complete.
1	6	17 2 24	Good gun and sound carriage, wanting capsquares
1	6	17 2 14	Good gun, new carriage complete.
1	6	23 3 25	Do. do.
1	6	24 1 18	Good gun, carriage wanting only new wheels.
1	6	17 3 21	Good gun, new carriage complete
1	6	17 3 4	Do. do. wants only a smith to alter the capsquares
1	2	4 0 0	Bad gun and bad ship carriage
1	2	4 2 2	Good gun, indifferent ship carriage.
1	½	2 2 25	Brass swivel gun good.
1	½	2 3 27	Do gun dismantled and unnecessary.
18			

Chapter III.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Outforts,
1752.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Outforts,
1752.

1 7-inch howitzer 10 2, good field carriage
1 4½-inch brass mortar and one 4½-inch howitzer good, but both
want new beds.

2

The flag-staff is rotten in the socket, and very loose, wants repairing. Some large and small gun quoms are wanting. The arms in this fort are in an indifferent condition and greatly more than necessary, the post being relieved monthly, the soldiers carry their accoutrements complete with them.

The gunpowder in the magazine of this fort is pretty dry. The gunners and military stores agree with the officer's list.

Passage Battery, 5th August 1752

No.	Pounder	Weight.	Remarks.
		Cwt. qr. lbs	
1	4	10 0 0	Good gun and new carriage complete
1	9	30 3 21	Do. do
1	6	24 2 5	Do. do
			One 7-inch howitzer good, the carriage rotten and unserviceable
1	3	7 3 6	Good gun, serviceable carriage
1	½	1 2 0	Do. swivel
5			

This swivel gun to be removed, the post being rotten, requires a new one, and the three-pounder gun, standing on the bank of the river, to be moved to the sepoy *chauki*, it being liable where it stands to be nailed up and upset in the night time nobody being near at hand. New hand spikes and quoms required. Very necessary to make new platforms for preventing the carriages and wheels rotting, they now standing on the bare ground. Likewise proper to carry the parapet further out to the river side, and the flanks fronting the Tank Battery, and sepoy *chauki* to be enlarged, that three guns may be abreast. The whole battery out of repair, several parts of it being tumbled down.

Triangle Battery, 5th August 1752

No.	Pounder	Weight.	Remarks.
		Cwt. qr. lbs	
1	6	24 1 11	Good gun, the carriage rotten and unserviceable
1	6	24 0 21	Do. do.
1	6	24 0 23	Do. do.
3			

Here the guns stand on the ground so that the trains and wheels sink and must soon rot. If this battery is to be repaired it requires a bank to be raised and a stone platform to be made. If flanks are made to the Passage and Tank Batteries there is no great need for this battery.

Tank Battery, 5th August 1752.

No.	Pounder	Weight.	Remarks.
		Cwt. qr. lbs	
1	6	16 3 15	Good gun and new carriage complete.
1	6	15 3 12	Do do.
1	3	8 0 26	Good gun, the carriage serviceable, wanting capsquares and new axletree
1	3	8 0 4	Good gun, the carriage rotten and unserviceable
1	3	8 0 2	Do do
1	3	8 0 6	Good gun, new carriage required, being rotten in the cheeks
6			

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.Outposts,
1752.

New apions and quoins wanted. This battery requires platforms and flanks. There is no gun that can be brought to bear on Rewa Fort.

Rewa Fort, 5th August 1752.

No	Pounder	Weight.	Remarks
		Cwt. qr. lbs	
1	4	10 2 2	Good gun and carriage.
1	3	8 1 24	Do do
1	4	12 2 16	Do do.
1	4	9 3 0	Good gun and body, the carriage requires new wheels
1	4	12 2 14	Do do
1	4	13 0 9	Good gun and carriage
1	4	13 0 26	Do do.
1	4	9 3 21	Do do.
1	4	12 3 11	Do do.
1	4	12 2 25	Do do.
1	3	8 0 2	Do do.
11			New quoins wanted. No spare arms in this fort.

Wark Fort, 5th August 1752

1	4	12 3 12	Good gun, carriage indifferent
1	4	12 3 12	Do and carriage.
1	4	12 3 12	Do and carriage may be made use of till another can be provided
1	4	12 3 12	Good gun, carriage rotten
1	4	12 2 21	Good gun and carriage
1	6	18 0 0	Do do.
1	6	18 0 0	Do do.
1	6	17 1 14	Do do.
1	6	18 0 0	Do do.
1	6	17 3 20	Do do.
1	6	17 2 21	Do do.
1	4	12 3 12	Do do.
1	4	12 3 12	Do and carriage indifferent
1	4	12 3 12	Good gun, the carriage very indifferent.
11			

Wark Battery, 5th August 1752.

1	4	9 3 8	Good gun, the carriage decayed
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Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Outforts,
1752

At Wauli may be made a good battery. The gun having no platform to stand on runs a chance of being overset in firing, occasioned by stones and rocks. The passage it is set in will not permit of one person passing on either side. New set of powder measures to be sent, so that each measurefull be the just allowance for that sort of ordnance, the cartridges filled being very uneven, and, on weighing, several of them greatly deficient. We judge about $1\frac{1}{2}$ barrels short on the whole of the cartridges being 300, for which the officer could not account, being years since they were filled.

The arms in this fort are in a very indifferent condition. The gunners and military stores agree with the officer's list

Sur Fort, 6th August 1752

No	Pounder	Wt., ht.	Remarks.
		Cwt qr. lbs	
1	6	16 2 21	Good gun and carriage but wanting cap-squares.
1	6	17 2 7	Do do
1	6	17 2 21	Do do
1	6	17 3 20	Do do
1	4	9 2 10	Do but mounted on an indifferent 6-pounder carriage
1	4	8 0 8	Good gun and carriage
1	4	8 0 1	Do do.
1	4	8 1 6	Do do.
1	4	9 3 11	Do do.
1	6	24 0 14	Good gun, the carriage indifferent, wanting new wheels cap-squares and new axle-tree, the present being rotten
1	6	17 0 7	Good gun and carriage
1	6	17 1 12	Do carriage serviceable, wanting as above
1	6	17 3 12	Do do
1	6	17 0 26	Do do
1	4	10 0 2	Good gun, carriage serviceable, only too wide
1	4	8 0 14	Good gun and carriage
1	6	17 1 8	Good gun, carriage serviceable, wanting new wheels cap-squares and new axle-tree.
1	6	21 0 7	Good gun and carriage
1	6	17 1 18	Good gun, carriage indifferent, being too wide betwixt the cheeks, wanting as above.
19			

Higher wheels are required for all the carriages in this fort or else the parapet to be taken off a foot lower. As the guns are now mounted it is impossible to lay the guns low enough to do any execution nearer than at the distance of 700 or 800 yards.

The two $4\frac{1}{2}$ -inch mortars want new beds. The gunpowder in magazine of this fort pretty dry.

The military and gunner's stores agree with the officer's list.

Mazgaon Fort, 6th August 1752.

No	Pounder	Weight.		Remarks.
		Cwt	qr. lbs	
1	3	8	1 24	Good gun, ship carriage very old.
1	3	8	1 8	Good gun, ship carriage unserviceable.
2				

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.Outforts,
1752.

The platforms ought to be repaired being full of holes and torn up in many places.

Dongri Fort, 6th August 1752.

No	Pounder	Weight.		Remarks.
		Cwt	qr. lbs	
1	3	8	1 0	Good gun, carriage very indifferent, capsquares wanting.
1	3	7	3 20	Good gun, carriage serviceable provisionally, but wants capsquares and new axletree.
1	3	8	1 15	Good gun, carriage serviceable, wants new axletree.
1	3	7	3 0	Good gun, rotten and unserviceable carriage.
1	3	6	2 10	Good gun, very bad carriage.
1	3	8	3 25	Good gun, serviceable carriage, wants capsquares and new wheels.
1	9	29	1 0	Good gun and carriage.
1	9	29	3 0	Do. do.
1	9	30	3 0	Do. do.
1	9	29	3 0	Do. do.
1	18	50	1 9	Do. do. wants new axletree.
1	18	48	3 14	Good gun and carriage complete.
1	9	30	2 7	Do. do.
1	6	23	3 0	Good gun, carriage wide but serviceable.
1	6	23	0 7	Good gun and carriage.
1	6	24	1 14	Do. & carriage serviceable but too wide.
1	6	23	0 14	Good gun; carriage unserviceable.
1	6	23	2 0	Good gun; carriage indifferent, new axletree wanting.
1	6	24	0 7	Good gun, rotten carriage.
19				

The wheels in general are good, but most of the carriages require new axletrees, the present being absolutely too slight for such heavy metal. The tank to be repaired, the wood work being entirely rotten and liable to fall in.

New lanyards wanting for the aprons. Powder measures to be sent. The gun cartridges want to be started and measured over again, being a long while since it was done. The gunpowder in the magazine of this fort pretty dry.

The gunners and military stores agree with the officer's list.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Outposts,
1752.

Breach Battery, 16th August 1752

No	Foundry	Weight.	Remarks.
		Cwt. qr. lbs	
1	2	4 2 4	Good gun, indifferent carriage.
1	2	4 1 24	Do. serviceable carriage.
1	1	2 1 27	Do. mounted on a swivel.
1	1	2 2 18	Gun much worn, mounted on a swivel.
4			

On this battery are three empty embrasures. The battery is well paved. If required to be of any service must have heavier metal and two angle embrasures to be cut out of the parapet.

Town Wall,
1752.

Town Wall, 20th August 1752

No	Foundry	Weight	Remarks
		Cwt. qr. lbs	
1	9	37 0 14	} <i>Banda Piece</i> Good guns and new carriages.
1	9	37 0 7	
1	9	28 2 14	
3			<i>Battery Piece</i>
1	32	61 0 21	} The guns mounted on this battery are all pretty good, although old, the carriages are also serviceable, except one which is very bad. The merlon (parapet) of the first 32-pounder gun to the left is most tumbling down, not having its proper length and distance from the embrasure. New spare carriages ought to be made, the guns being heavy and most of the carriages, though serviceable, pretty old.
1	32	59 3 14	
1	32	61 0 21	
1	32	60 0 0	
1	32	61 0 0	
1	32	50 2 5	
1	32	50 1 12	
1	32	60 3 7	
1	32	60 1 11	
1	18	19 2 26	
10			<i>Royal Battery.</i>
1	18	41 0 0	Good gun, bad carriage.
1	18	44 0 21	Do. do
1	18	14 1 21	Do. do. no capsquares.
1	18	35 3 0	Do. indifferent carriage, no capsquares.
1	18	45 0 0	Do. do
1	18	50 1 17	} All indifferent carriages, no capsquares, nor train irons, and very wide between the cheeks.
1	18	39 2 19	
1	18	49 1 4	
1	18	44 1 17	Good gun and carriage, no capsquares.
1	18	52 0 0	Do. indifferent carriage, no capsquare.
1	18	50 1 5	Good gun, new carriage.
11			

All the wheels here must of necessity not sooner than ordinary, as no scupper holes are provided at the foot of the parapet for the water to run out.

The topwork, where the old casemate was, ought to be levelled with the rest of the parapet. On occasion it will do infinite mischief and at no time is it of service.

Town Wall, 20th August 1752.

No	Pounder	Weight.	Remarks.
		Cwt. qr. lbs.	
1	18	39 2 19	Good gun, had carriage.
1	18	50 2 21	Do. indifferent carriage, wanting capsquares and train irons.
1	9	29 2 0	Good gun, carriage serviceable till another can be provided.
1	9	29 2 4	Do. do.
1	9	40 2 0	Good gun, carriage serviceable.
1	9	29 0 0	Do. carriage new.
1	9	31 3 14	Do. and carriage.
1	9	30 2 21	Do. do.
1	9	30 2 14	Do. do.
1	18	50 2 5	Do. carriage indifferent, wanting capsquares and train irons.
1	18	50 1 23	Good gun, rotten carriage.
11			

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.Town Wall,
1752.

Here are two empty embrasures. On each side of the Apollo Gate is required a gun, mounted to defend the gate, here are embrasures and platforms for them.

Town Wall, 20th August 1752

No	Pounder	Weight.	Remarks.
		Cwt. qr. lbs.	
			<i>Marlborough Bastion</i>
1	9	28 2 14	Good gun, indifferent carriage, wanting capsquares and train irons.
1	9	24 0 4	Do. do. rotten wheels.
1	9	30 0 19	Good gun, indifferent carriage, wanting capsquares and train irons.
1	9	22 2 14	Do. do.
1	9	30 2 0	Good gun, serviceable carriage, no capsquares.
1	9	29 2 21	Do. do.
1	9	22 1 4	Good gun, the body of the carriage serviceable, no capsquares and the wheels rotten.
1	9	27 3 7	Do. do.
8			
			<i>Stanhope Bastion.</i>
1	9	31 0 7	Good gun, serviceable carriage, wanting capsquares and train irons.
1	9	26 0 16	Do. do. one wheel rotten.
1	6	15 1 10	Do. do. wanting only capsquares.
1	6	25 0 8	Do. do.
1	9	26 1 9	Good gun, indifferent carriage, wanting only capsquares.
1	9	29 3 0	Good gun, the carriage wanting capsquares, and train irons.
1	9	27 3 0	Do. do.
1	9	26 1 0	Good gun, serviceable carriage.
8			Here are two empty embrasures.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Town Wall,
1752.

Town Wall, 20th August 1752

No	Pounder	Weight	Remarks
		Cwt qr. lbs	
1	6	27 3 8	<i>Church Bastion.</i> Here are all good guns mounted on good complete carriages. Four empty embrasures, on each side of the gate, ought to have a gun mounted in each.
1	6	18 3 21	
1	6	18 3 7	
1	6	24 1 11	
1	6	19 0 0	
1	6	18 3 21	
1	6	18 0 21	
1	6	23 1 7	
8			
			<i>Mount Bastion.</i>
1	9	31 2 0	Good gun, serviceable carriage, wanting cap-squares and tram irons
1	9	30 2 0	Indifferent gun, old but serviceable carriage, wanting cap-squares and tram irons
1	6	22 2 14	Good guns and all the carriages in very good condition.
1	6	23 0 0	
1	6	23 2 7	
1	6	24 2 0	
1	9	26 1 7	
1	9	26 2 0	Good gun, serviceable carriage, but no cap-squares.
8			
			<i>Danion Bastion</i>
1	9	31 0 0	Good gun, indifferent carriage, another must be provided.
1	9	32 2 14	Good gun and carriage wanting cap-squares and tram irons.
1	9	31 2 0	Do. do
1	9	27 1 7	Do. indifferent carriage.
1	9	29 0 20	Do. and carriage.
1	9	22 0 7	Do. serviceable carriage.
1	9	31 0 21	Do. and carriage wanting only cap-squares.
1	9	23 0 17	Good gun, serviceable carriage wanting cap-squares.
1	9	27 0 0	Good gun, indifferent carriage.
9			
			<i>Prince's Bastion.</i>
1	9	25 3 14	Good gun and carriage.
1	9	30 2 0	Do. wants higher wheels
1	6	25 0 14	Good guns and good complete carriages.
1	6	18 3 0	
1	6	19 0 14	
1	6	24 0 3	Good gun, indifferent carriage.
1	6	21 2 7	Do. and carriage.
1	9	25 3 7	Good guns and carriages.
1	9	29 2 0	
9			

Here are two empty embrasures. On each side of the bazar gate ought to be a gun mounted in defence of the gate. The parapet on the right is very much decayed.

Town Wall, 20th August 1752.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Town Wall,
1752.

No.	Pounder	Weight	Remarks.
		Cent. qr. lbs	
1	6	21 2 21	<i>Old Mândri Bastion.</i> Good gun, serviceable carriage, wanting capsquares.
1	6	22 1 0	Do. do.
1	9	30 2 14	Good gun and carriage.
1	6	22 1 21	Do. wanting only capsquares.
1	6	23 0 17	Do. do.
1	6	17 0 20	Good gun, indifferent carriage, wanting capsquares and train irons.
1	9	27 0 0	Good gun, carriage wanting capsquares.
1	9	37 0 0	Do. do.
1	9	22 3 22	Do. do.
1	9	38 0 0	} Good guns and complete carriages.
1	9	37 1 14	
11			Here are two empty embrasures.
			<i>Two Gun Battery.</i>
1	6	19 0 0	} Good guns and carriages.
1	6	17 2 12	
2			
			<i>New Mândri.</i>
1	9	29 3 0	} Good guns and carriages.
1	9	29 3 21	
2			

Here is one empty embrasure. The works round the town wall are kept in a very dirty condition, which occasions the destruction of the wheels, and train of the carriages, the platforms being good but full of earth and grass, the embrasures and merlons (parapets) being filled with weeds and grass, and the ramparts shamefully torn up by the hogs.

Butcher's Island, 21st August 1752.

Butcher's
Island,
1752.

No.	Pounder	Weight	Remarks.
		Cent. qr. lbs	
1	5½	23 0 0	Good gun, the carriage strong enough, but no capsquares and train irons.
1	5½	24 1 25	Do. do.
1	5½	25 0 0	Do. do.
1	5½	28 1 5	Do. do.
1	4	13 0 7	Do. do.
1	4	13 1 2	Do. do.
1	4	14 0 6	Indifferent gun and carriage.
1	4	12 2 0	Good gun, indifferent ship-carriage not fit for the gun.
8			

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Butcher's
Island,
1752.

Here is a wooden tank made unserviceable by the white ants. It ought to be taken up and a terrace tank made in the tower in its room.

The powder here keeps very dry, but the magazine is in the middle of the tower, which being not above four feet deep and no turnings, renders it extremely dangerous. If occasion requires a smart engagement with the ordnance, it will be liable to be forced in from the recoil of the guns.

The foregoing is a true state of the outposts and works belonging to this island. We shall take permission to remark what we judge fit to be worthy your Honour's observation. Notwithstanding the powder in general belonging to the magazines is pretty dry, yet it is much clogged both in the barrels and cartridges and ought to be brought down and started, and a fresh supply of new powder sent in its room. That on weighing several cartridges we found large deficiencies, from which, with the indifferency of the powder, it was impossible to do the execution expected from the weight of metal. The first part of this we presume to think might be easily remedied by your Honour's orders to the officers and gunners on their relieving each other to examine more strictly into their stores. This at present we have too much reason to think is not the case. Apparently a list of stores is handed from one to another through form, without further inspection. As all the forts have proper powder measures for the different metal, this should admit of no such frivolous excuses as are made use of at present. The well in this fort having not been cleaned for some years, the filth renders the water unserviceable.¹

Chief Engineer,
1753.

Before issuing orders on the above report the Court in March 1753 appointed two officers, one styled Engineer General of all the settlements in India, the other Chief Engineer of the Bombay Presidency. In their letter to Bombay, of the 14th March, paras 78, 79, 80, and 120, the Court write: We have appointed Caroline Friederick Scott Esquire Engineer General of all our settlements in India. We have also appointed Jaques de Funck Esquire to be Captain of the company of artillery at our Presidency of Bombay, and likewise Chief Engineer of the said Presidency.

Captain de Funck is to take an exact survey of all our fortifications and works, and give his thoughts upon the nature and condition of them, and whether any and what alterations additions or amendments are necessary to be made. This together with the estimates of the expense of such alterations additions or amendments is to be laid before you from time to time, and afterwards transmitted to us with your observations. Works absolutely necessary and not attended with large expense may be set about immediately. But before you enter upon expensive works you must wait for our directions.

Captain de Funck, who is a very skilful engineer, is in general to do and perform whatever appertains to that post under your directions.

¹ Pub. Diary 25 of 1752, 259-268.

But you are to observe that if Colonel Scott shall at any time come to your Presidency, Captain de Funck must during Colonel Scott's stay act in subordination to him as Engineer General as before mentioned.

You are to pay Captain de Funck forty pounds a year for his services as engineer over and above the established pay of two hundred pounds as Captain of the artillery.¹

On the 1st of December 1753 the Bombay Government reported to the Court Upon the arrival of Captain de Funck we directed him to take an exact survey of all the fortifications and works and give his thoughts upon the nature and condition of them with what alterations or additions might be necessary and in general to comply with your Honours' commands. He has hitherto been able to make little progress therein.²

Before the above progress report reached them, in the next year 1754, the Court of Directors made (5th April) the following remarks on the Bombay survey of the outforts and gun-carriages. We have inspected the report of the survey which you caused to be taken of the fortifications and outworks upon the island of Bombay, and transmitted to us by the *Stitcham*. We are sorry to find most of these forts are in a ruinous and bad condition, and that in general the gun carriages are decayed and otherways unserviceable. Upon the whole very little attention seems to have been paid to keeping the several works upon the island in such a condition as to answer the purposes for which they have from time to time been at great expense erected. The neglect of bestowing the necessary repairs at proper times will now we are afraid prove a heavy burthen upon us. Under these circumstances we think ourselves fortunate in sending you last season such an able engineer as Captain de Funck. In our letter of the 14th March 1753 you were acquainted he was to take an exact survey of all our fortifications and works and give his thoughts upon the nature and conditions of them, and what alterations additions and amendments are necessary. These together with estimates of the expense of such alterations additions and amendments are to be laid before you from time to time and transmitted to us with your observations thereon. Before we can give any precise orders we must see the result of our above directions. However, you are in the meantime empowered to set about any works that shall appear to you upon a strict inquiry to be absolutely necessary for the defence of the place, and the deferring whereof may be attended with dangerous consequences. We observe you had laid in timber proper for gun-carriages, and we hope, before this reaches you, you will have completed the mounting of all the artillery or at least of so many as are necessary. If not you must proceed thereupon with the utmost expedition.³

Chapter IV Fortifications and Buildings.

Chief Engineer,
1753

Survey of
Fortifications,
1754.

¹ Court to Bombay 14th March 1753 paras 78-80 and 120, Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 4 of 1752-1756, 88, 102. -

² Bombay to Court 1st Dec. 1753 para 51, Pub. Dep. Letters to Court Vol. 2 of 1749-1751, 265.

³ Court to Bombay 5th April 1754 para 101, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 1 of 1752-1756, 163-164.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings

Bandar Pier
and Docks,
1751

In paras 106, 107, and 108 of the same de-patch the Court add. It has been represented to us that the bandar pier head at present runs barely half way to low water mark which prevents the luggage and other boats landing goods till half flood, and that consequently they cannot stay for receiving goods for shipping longer than half ebb. It likewise has been represented to us that another great hindrance to the de-patch of business arises from the piers being so short and narrow, that when several vessels import together there is not room sufficient to work at the cranes. These difficulties may be remedied by running the same pier out to low water mark, by which means goods may be landed or exported at all times of the tide. You are accordingly hereby directed to set about so useful and necessary a work without delay.

It has been further represented to us that the docks and marine yard are extremely exposed to all enemies having no security from the battery pier to the fort, and that when the bandar pier is carried out as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, a very small expense will be further incurred in carrying on poles and running a boom across. From this a double advantage will follow. It will secure the town which in that part is defenceless, it will also in a great measure prevent desertion, which we are told often happens, by the Europeans running away with our boats in the night, as there is nothing to impede their going out. Thus therefore appearing to us to be a work likewise absolutely necessary, you are hereby directed to complete it as soon as you have carried out the bandar pier as before directed. As the beforementioned works will be attended with an expense, we shall depend upon your care and best endeavours to keep it within as reasonable bounds as the nature of them will admit.¹

About the close of the year 1754 Government approved the additions and alterations to the pier head and dock proposed by the superintendent.²

In the next month in consideration that the works to be carried on at the pier head will require a strict attendance of a paymaster to overlook the labourers, and as this additional service appears too great a burthen for the land paymaster's office, the Board nominate Mr Thomas Byfeld to this service.³

Captain de Funck's
Survey,
1755

In the beginning of 1755 the Court complain of the want of a report by Captain de Funck on the survey he was to make of the fortifications. On the 26th March the Court write. For want of the survey which Captain de Funck was to take of the fortifications and works at Bombay it is impossible for us to form any idea of their condition so as to give any particular directions thereupon. But we repeat our commands to you to set about any works that shall appear to you upon a strict enquiry to be absolutely necessary for the defence

¹ Court to Bombay 5th April 1754 paras 106, 107, 108 Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 1 of 1752-1756, 166-167.

² Bom. Gov. Diary 15th Oct. 1754, Pub. Diary 27 of 1754, 288.

³ Bombay Gov. Diary 15th Nov. 1754, Pub. Diary 27 of 1754, 310.

of the place. It is of more consequence that such works should be finished out of hand, as the present situation of affairs between the English and French nations seems to be at a crisis and in prudence the worst event, we mean an open rupture, ought to be provided against.¹

In a letter dated 1st July 1755 Captain de Funck promises to submit to Government his first full report of his survey of the fortifications on the island. He says With regard to the description of the survey of the fortifications on this island, their present condition, together with the alterations and additions I may judge necessary, the same shall be laid before your Honour on Tuesday next, in as full a manner as the time will permit of, and as soon as possible afterwards I will deliver your Honour a plan of them, and a more particular description.²

On the 23rd September 1755 Captain de Funck submits the following report: As I lately received verbal directions from the Honourable the President to deliver in a description of the state of the castle and town of Bombay, with the works absolutely necessary to be immediately set about for the better defence thereof, I now enclose the same to your Honour and Council and shall in a short time present you with the different plans mentioned in the said description. In the meantime that no opportunity may be lost in getting the proper materials in readiness, I have abridged to the end thereof the works that are more immediately necessary to be set about, and shall be ready to give any attendance or direction in the furtherance thereof as your Honour may in your good opinion think proper to entrust me with the inspection of.

Description of Bombay and its fortifications by Captain Jacques de Funck 1755: A description of Bombay town and castle with the disadvantage of Dongri hill as the situation stands, how built and fortified at present, likewise how the same works are to be amended, for its better defence, surveyed in the year 1755

The plans show the town and castle of Bombay, with the situation of Dongri Fort, exactly measured.

Bombay town bearing south of Bombay island, is situated on very low ground close to the water opposite to the harbour, and fortified with a castle and other irregular walls in form of bastions, surrounded with a wet ditch, and commanded by a hill called Dongri.

This town encloses a spot of ground about 739,400 square yards, the most part of which is taken up by a number of small houses and gardens with their streets, formed according to this country method in an irregular manner. The Honourable Company's houses and magazines of stores and goods are shown by the drafts with a further explanation. The fortification by the land side of this town is composed of seven polygons, formed irregular and constructed to different bastions, namely five bastions ordinarily called Marlborough, Stanhope, Church, Prince's,

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

State of
Fortifications,
1755

Fortifications,
1755.

¹ Court to Bombay 26th March 1755 pna 82. Pub Dep Court's L. Vol. 1 of 1752 - 1756, 217 - 218. - Pub Dep. 25 of 1755, 553. Pub. Dep. 28 of 1755, 118 359.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Fortifications,
 1755

and Mándvi bastions, and two bastions triangular (or demi bastions) called the Moon's and Banian bastions, and one other half bastion, called the Royal bastion. All these bastions are joined together, with the same number of single walls or curtains, and the whole surrounded with a small wet ditch. This ditch is made passable at north, west, and south by three stone bridges, opposite to which are three gates, called the Bazin, Church, and Apollo gates, as appears by the draft.

Seaward this town is fortified with a castle, and to the right and left of the castle some other walls and detached batteries. The castle is called Bombay Castle and is situated on a low ground, about the middle part of the town, close to a bed of rocks in the sea opposite the harbour and is formed in the figure of a trapezoid which is constituted into four bastions called the Flag, Biab-tree, Tank, and Cavalier bastions. These bastions are joined by the same number of curtains. Round the polygon interior of this castle are some buildings for lodging a small part of the civil and military, besides the houses for the Governor's Council Room, and public offices of accountant, secretary, stores, and treasury. Under the wall of this fort are magazines for powder and provision namely. Under the south curtain is a magazine called the Proof magazine, capable of holding four hundred barrels of powder. Under the Biab-tree bastion is a magazine of the same name, capable of holding one hundred and seventy-five barrels of powder. Under the Tank bastion is a magazine called the Grand magazine, capable of holding three hundred and seventy barrels of powder. A little below the flank of the Tank bastion are two magazines called the Flower-tree magazines, one capable of holding two hundred barrels of powder and the other fifty barrels. Two of them are constituted with a tank of water, opposite each door of them, as shown separately by the draft, and a great water tank lies over the middle of the bastion of the same name. Down below, before the south polygon has been begun a small ditch with a small part of a covered way.

Between this side of the Castle and the half bastion Royal, are three batteries fronting to the harbour, called Royal, Marine Pier, and Bandari Pier. The Royal battery is situated upon a bed of rocks fronting the harbour, and is joined on one side by the point of the Royal bastion and on the other by a communicated line to the Marine Pier Battery, these two lines form together a single tenaille or ditch work. The Marine Pier battery is joined with the above-mentioned tenaille, and lies upon a point of rock close to the entrance of one side of a dock, and forms a sort of half redoubt, the face of which fronting the harbour is a little emvied, and the other two side lines form a sort of flanks. This battery has a little souterrain for a small quantity of powder, which is separately shown by the plan.

Between this Marine Pier battery and the Castle lies the Bandar Pier battery detached from the rest, in form of a triangle or pier and constituted in front of a bridge by a single line of three embasures. This bridge projects into the sea 250 feet opposite the middle part of the Honourable Company's bandar warehouse.

Between the other side of the castle and Mándvi bastion are two batteries called the New Mándvi and the Two-gun batteries. The New

Mándvi battery lies opposite the Company's custom house fronting the harbour in the form of a single line, constructed with two embasures, right and left, by the side of an apparell (or masonry wall?). The Two-gun battery is placed upon a high wall which is joined by a gate from the New Mándvi battery. It likewise is joined by the other end with the flank of the Mándvi bastion which the draft will shew more particularly. By the outside of this tower, overlooking the town and castle of Bombay, is situated a hill called Dongri bearing north 334 yards from the Mándvi bastion. The hill rises close by the water side, opposite the harbour, being 19½ feet high, taken horizontally with the foot of the Mándvi bastion.

This hill is fortified with a tower. To the north side it is joined with a small tower work which is constructed with a half tower and one bastion bound together with three single lines or curtains. Round the interior of this fortified work are some small buildings for the military stores and commanding officer. Likewise there are two water tanks, one in the tower and another upon the curtain near the half tower, and one powder magazine is joined by the outside of this fort in view to the land side. This fort is mostly surrounded close by the land side with a number of country houses and hedges. An old Catholic church also lies opposite the north side of this fort.

The town of Bombay is likewise by the land side surrounded close near the whole ditch with a great number of houses, pagodas, streets, gardens, hedges, and trees, inhabited and cultivated by the country people, those houses hedges and trees giving proper covered way for the enemy on any occasion. The defence of this town's fortifications cannot be otherwise than very indifferent and weak, as the construction of the works has not any connection or harmony one with another to be of equal strength and consequence. The fortifications cannot as they ought make an equal defence over all, but give an enemy the opportunity to prefer the attack upon the weakest side.

The polygon opposite the Bazin gate of this town wall is more weak and more unserviceable than any of the other polygons by the land side of this fortification. Because the face of the Mándvi bastion is not to be seen from any of the other lines of this polygon, and of consequence is not to be flanked or defended as the other lines, and, as all fortified works in general ought to be, this polygon ought necessarily to be made equally defensible with the others joined to it. The other polygons at the land side of this town are tolerably well defended by short flanks of two embasures. But these flanks have not a sufficient length for the polygons as the flank is the best line in all fortifications and does the best service on any defence. All the curtains round this wall are out of proportion by being constructed too long which makes the most part of its length to second flanks serviceable only for small arms. The thickness of the parapet round this wall is variable. At the curtains it is six feet, and at the bastions double as thick, neither of which is of sufficient thickness. This parapet ought over all to be eighteen feet thick besides its talus or rear slope. There is not any reason why the parapet upon the curtains should be less thick than the parapet upon the bastions, since the curtains of the tower are as much

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Fortifications,
1753.

exposed against an enemy's battery as the face and much more than the flanks of the bastion. As this mentioned line or entain is not as it ought to be covered by any other outwork or ravelin it is the more necessary it should have a good thickness to resist the enemy's fire.

Though the ditch makes the town walls more capable of defence, it is neither deep nor broad enough nor sufficiently regular to the works. A covered way should be made round this work, and a retreat ravelin opposite each gate. The town would then be more respectable as the enemy in such case could not raise any battery opposite the gate as is now practicable. It is likewise necessary to have a drawbridge at each gate, there being none at present.

The houses and hedges are so close round the works that it is necessary to clear further round them, as an enemy may make approaches to the works unseen to the town's great disadvantage. The defensible parts of the town walls to the harbour side are of the same nature as explained of those on the land side. The Castle is not constructed in a manner to make a sufficient defence. Any battery by land or by water is able to run the wall of this fort in any part of its polygon, before it is capable to dismount any gun of the battery opposite below, because its works be too high, and cannot make any horizontal fire against such an object. If this fort or castle could be surrounded by a lower wall in form of a terrace house or sloping parapet, it would be a great part stronger and able to make a defence against any attack that ever possibly could be made in this country. In the manner proposed in the joint plan a little ditch to the land side before this castle and a drawbridge at the gate are necessary. The thickness of the parapet round this fort is not more than three feet, an insufficient thickness for any fortified works. This fort's parapet ought to have an ordinary thickness of eighteen feet, the same as the proposed measure at the town wall. But as the Castle be high and the construction of the rampart will not permit one large parapet of that kind, twelve feet thickness will be passable but not less as this is one-third part weaker than ordinary, neither is it necessary to be of stone. In tower or tower bastionary one is obliged to make the parapet of stone. As the construction of this sort of work is ordinarily small, it will not permit a larger parapet than eight to nine feet and not less. This is the proper thickness for a parapet of stone. Round this fort the parapet is not of half this thickness. Therefore if as the parapet is at present, any cannonading should happen against this fort, the stones would annoy and trouble the defenders more than the enemy's fire. It would break the carriages and dismount the guns upon the ramparts, and make the small arms unserviceable.

For the foregoing reasons for the fort's better defence, such parapets should be made of a proper thickness to prevent the inconveniences set forth, and cover the people on duty upon the ramparts.

The rampart in this fort is not constructed with any apparell (or masonry wall?) as is necessary to draw guns and carriages easily up to the walls, and likewise to bring powder ball and other stores for the service of the people upon the rampart. All this addition will be represented as serviceable by the proposed plan. The magazine of powder lie under

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Fortifications,
1755.

the curtains and bastions of this fort's fortifications, which is not a proper place for them. For in case any danger by an attack at this fort should happen, these magazines by hazard or otherwise may unluckily take fire, demolish the works, and give the enemy an advantage of mounting such breach as in such case may with ease be made upon the bastions and curtains. Such bad placing of a powder magazine has often by danger of fire given the enemy possession of a work which would have been otherwise difficult to gain. All magazines ought to be built and placed separate from the fortified works. Too many powder magazines in one place are both dangerous and troublesome. This fort has five magazines but two are sufficient, one for a necessary quantity of powder in reserve, the other for the powder in daily use. The other sort of magazines for provisions may be constructed under the walls when the place is not large enough to build them apart. All the powder magazines in this fort look to be bomb-proof, as the thickness over their arches demonstrates, they being far above the ordinary thickness of a usual bomb-proof. The floor of all these magazines being paved with stones, is very bad and may be of great danger. For if a barrel should fall down upon the floor, it may force a grain of sand to take fire and the whole quantity of powder blow and cast up the magazine in the air. If, as is customary, these floors were laid of wood the magazines could not be so exposed to danger as at present. Neither in these magazines is there any ventilator to give proper air to the powder which is absolutely necessary. The water tanks opposite each door must damage the powder as in the rain time there falls a great quantity of water which fills the tanks and casts a damp therein, which must be prejudicial to the powder.

The place interior of this Castle is large enough for lodging a proper garrison, stores, and ammunition. But the present barracks for the artillery are in a very bad condition, and have not room to contain above sixty to seventy men. Besides the infantry guard room is not sufficient for a necessary garrison in this Castle. There ought to be barracks for four hundred men at least, and such barracks should be placed separate from the other works, as much as possible for the benefit of air, which is greatly conducive to the health of the people in these warm countries. The best place for the barracks is the line which goes parallel close to the rampart of the polygon interior, which at present is the Governor's house and offices as the draft explains. The barracks ought to be built strong and construed with a parapet, in order to cover the interior of the fort from shot and shells from the seaside, and at the same time serve for defence, and lodging the garrison and keeping other materials in good order.

The Governor's house in the fort at present is built with great inconvenience to the fortification, it being considerably higher than the fortified works, which ought not to be. If the guns upon the two polygons at the seaside of this fort should be fired with any warmth, it would bring the building to the ground, the ruins of which would prevent the people from doing their duty on the rampart. The land side of this fort is greatly incommoded with several buildings of the Honourable Company's, which lie so near the fortification that on this side the

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Fortifications.
1755

defence of the fort is very much hindered. The mint house lies too close opposite the west polygon of the fort, and hinders the guns from this side from doing any service. This house therefore ought to be built in another place, as should likewise the foundry and smiths' and carpenters' workhouses which lie too near the fort opposite the Bhabice bastion. The infantry barracks lie too near opposite the face of the Tank bastion in such situation that the guns from this face cannot do much service. Seaward these barracks lie quite open. They have not any fortified line before their face and are not to be seen in flank from the fort.

The present place for the common soldiers in these barracks is not able to contain above 150 men. There ought to be built sufficient barracks for the garrison of this town, that is proper places for 2000 men at least.

The barracks ought to be built, and detached from any other buildings, one by each gate, but not far from the fortified works, and the subaltern officers to be lodged in the wings of the same. An artillery barracks to this garrison is absolutely necessary, as the present one is not sufficient, and is in a bad condition. All these barracks ought to be built so that the fresh air can have a clear passage through them, which contributes much to the people's health. The artillery barracks ought to be together, and near the magazines of stores, carpenters' and smiths' shops, with a proper covering on each side for the spare gun carriages as explained in the plan.

The Honorable Company's grand warehouses on the land are tolerably well situated by the seaside, between the fort and marine pier. Being quite open on each side, it is necessary to have a fortified line before them. Nothing at present defends them but the small Bandar pier battery.

From the Marine Pier battery to the Royal half bastion the line is ill defended and in a bad condition. The Royal battery has no other defence than in front, cannot be defended or flanked by more than one gun from the Marine Pier battery, and all the shot from this gun will strike obliquely on the object, and of consequence its defence is of little or no service. Neither is this battery fortified with any ditch as it ought to be. One man can easily mount through the embrasures of this battery without any great trouble. It is therefore necessary to repair these defects on this side, with some other tower works before the polygon, in harmony with the other fortified works round this town. By the interior of these batteries are two magazines for powder. The small magazine will contain only sixty-four barrels of powder and is so very ill contrived that by an accident of fire it might ruin the whole battery. It is likewise exposed to take water when the spring tides are high which damages the powder, and makes this magazine unserviceable. The plan shows the other called the Battery magazine, which is capable of containing 360 barrels of powder, and from the extraordinary thickness of its arch, appears to be bomb-proof, but the walls round, which support the arch, are not in proportion to bear it; therefore it is necessary to be fortified with counterforts or buttresses on each side.

This magazine is built in the Royal half bastion two sides of its face lying under the rampart of this work. Opposite its door a tank of water, which by the falling of the rains has overflowed, enters the magazine and damages the powder. The floor is likewise of stone, which ought to be of wood, for the reasons heretofore given on speaking of the magazines in the fort. Notwithstanding these inconveniences this magazine can be put in order at no very considerable expense.

As these magazines are not sufficient to hold the quantity of powder necessary for this fortification, it is proper to build a new magazine sufficient to contain from eight hundred to a thousand barrels of powder, bomb-proof, dry, and secure from danger. The best place for such a magazine is by the Mándvi bastion, as explained in the plan. The other magazines for provisions and other necessaries for the town's defence shall be explained in a future address.

As is to be seen by the draft, the fortified line seawards from the fort to the Mándvi bastion is not half finished, the counterforts being quite open, and only a part serviceable for two guns finished. The construction of this line is mostly defended in high front and in oblique flanking to the fort. And at this side of the Mándvi bastion the face is not flanked from any part of the line as it ought to be, which will be better represented by the draft.

The present condition of the polygon opposite the bazár gate, is mentioned before, and how near the hill Dongri is situated to the same. It is proper to connect the fortified works of this hill with this polygon of the town with some lines of art, for to have a secure transport for people and ammunition in time of war, and it is absolutely necessary to be performed with all expedition as this part may be reckoned the key of the island. The present fortification on Dongri hill is bad. The interior of the work is not sufficient for the guns and people to do good service on any occasion, neither has it any magazine for provision of war, more than a miserable place for twenty barrels of powder, which on any attack lies by the outside of this fort, in view of an enemy. The tower is of small defence, being built too weak, and cannot bear great guns or mortars. The other works below cannot defend one another, which makes several dead angles. In short as the present work is built and constructed, it is very easy in many ways to surprise this fort. The houses and streets too closely surround this work, so that without any trouble the enemy can come under the guns from any part. The old Portuguese Church, as it lies now opposite this fort, upon a little height, may serve the enemy to a great advantage for to make a lodgment and battery. All these inconveniences should be rectified, and a proper view given round this place as the hill has great advantage in lying high, and commands the town and harbour, and is not commanded by any hills near it. Therefore it ought to be fortified in a proper manner, with a good communication to the town in order to render both the castle and town stronger, and more respectable to an enemy.

The works most necessary to be set about immediately are as follows: (1) The communication from Dongri Fort to the polygon

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Works
Approved,
1755

De Funck's
Plans

Harbour Defence
Urgent,
1756.

opposite the bazar gate and at the same time to put the fortification of Dongri in more defensible order. (2) One low wall or fausse-braye on the sea side of Bombay castle, and to make the parapets on the old works of this fort of a sufficient thickness. (3) One defensive work opposite the Royal and Marine Pier batteries; likewise to amend the old work with a flanking line, to make it defensible, which it is not at present. (4) Three drawbridges one for each gate of the town wall, which are absolutely necessary. (5) Barracks for the military and artillery, and to put in order the battery magazine as fast as possible.¹

The same day, 23rd September 1755, Government passed the following orders on the above report: Read a letter from Captain Jacques de Funck, also his description of this town and castle and the present disadvantage of Dongri hill, showing from a survey taken this year how those works ought to be amended for its better defence. As Captain de Funck judges that some works more absolutely necessary to be added or altered than the rest, ought to be immediately begun, it is unanimously resolved that the President give orders for that purpose.²

Six months later, 9th March 1756, Captain de Funck writes to Government: I now lay before your Honour a plan of the town of Bombay, with its fortifications, castle, and Dongri Fort, whereby you will see how the same is at present surrounded with houses and hedges. Likewise an annexed description how to render the same more defensible and secure, differing very little from the one I delivered near six months past. All the particular plans and profiles to this general one now delivered with those designed for the intended new works I shall prepare from time to time, and lay before your Honour hereafter.³

On the same day Government pass the following remarks: Read a letter from Captain Jacques de Funck (9th March 1756) delivered with the plan of this town, its castle, fortifications, and Dongri Fort, also a description annexed how to render them more defensible, which, as he mentions, we perceive differs very little from that delivered the 23rd September last; and that he has not yet prepared the particular plans and profiles of the new works. The Board agreed that the whole now before us be transmitted by the *Stielham* for our Honourable Masters' inspection.⁴

Three months later Captain J. de Funck attends at the Government Consultation on the 8th June 1756, when after debate the following orders are passed: Captain Jacques de Funck attending with a foul draft of the new works, the same is inspected. And as in the present situation of affairs between us and the French we deem it the greatest importance to put ourselves in a proper state of defence next the harbour to secure the place against the attack of large ships, it is resolved that those works be carried on with the utmost expedition and the consideration of the rest is deferred.⁵

¹ Pub. Diary 28 of 1755, 349-362.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 23rd Sept. 1755, Pub. Diary 28 of 1755, 342.

³ Pub. Diary 29 of 1756, 123. Except the 23rd Sept. 1755 description noted above, none of the papers or plans mentioned in the text are available.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 9th March 1756, Pub. Diary 29 of 1756, 117-118.

⁵ Bom. Gov. Consultation 8th June 1756, Pub. Diary 29 of 1756, 240.

The following notices relate to the supply of workmen and supervising officers in connection with the fortification works. At a Consultation, the 5th June 1756, the Board remark: As our Honourable Masters now again direct us to get the fortifications in proper order, and as the Chief and Factors at Surat advise they shall not be able to procure any workmen there, it is resolved that the new fortification paymaster endeavour to hire a sufficient number of workmen at Goa or elsewhere.¹

At a Consultation, the 20th July 1756, Mr. Byfeld representing that Captain de Funck has lately sent some Europeans belonging to the train of artillery to be employed on the works as overseers who, he is apprehensive, may want to be allowed Rs. 18 a month and desiring our opinion in regard to the allowance which ought to be made them, we think Rs. 9 a month, exclusive of what they receive from the military pay office, will be sufficient for that purpose. He is ordered to regulate the rate accordingly. We hope this encouragement will excite the men to discharge their duty with alacrity. Captain de Funck is likewise informed.²

Shortly after the Bombay Government received a letter of the 31st of March 1756 from the Comt, approving the works ordered at the dock and pier head: We are well pleased to find that the works we gave orders for at the dock and pier head, are, in your opinion as well as ours, of the most public utility. We shall therefore expect you will carry them on and complete them as soon as possible, agreeable to the plan transmitted to us, with such additions and variations as you may think necessary in the progress of your works. Although they are carried on under the direction and management of the marine superintendent, a due regard must be had to the sentiments of Captain de Funck whenever it may be necessary. We shall depend upon your assurances that the whole will be executed with as much frugality as the nature of the works will admit.³

On the 4th May 1757 the Court write to Bombay: The directions we have given for three years past have been to empower you to set about any works at Bombay that should appear to you upon a strict enquiry to be absolutely necessary for the defence of the place, and the deferring whereof might be attended with dangerous consequences. In pursuance of these orders we find you are carrying on several works upon the projects of Mr de Funck. But as they seem to us to be calculated with little regard to expense as well as not to come within our intention of having absolutely necessary works only erected, we intended to have put an entire stop to your proceedings. Mr. Mace's going to Bombay gives us the opportunity of being more satisfactorily informed of what is necessary to be done. When therefore he comes from Ghera he is to take a careful survey of all your works and form a project of what may be necessary to render the island defensible upon the most frugal

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Workmen,
1756.

Supervising
Officers,
1756.

Dock and Pier
Head Works,
1756.

Survey of
Fortifications,
1757.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 5th June 1756, Pub. Diary 29 of 1756, 239.

² Bom Gov. Consultation 20th July 1756, Pub. Diary 29 of 1756, 271.

³ Court to Bombay 31st March 1756 para 87, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 1 of 1752-1756, 309.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Workmen
during
the Raids,
1757.

Drift Sand
against
Máhuu Fort,
1757

Kámáti Militia,
1757

plan which, together with estimates of the time and expense necessary to complete it, must, with your observations, be transmitted to us for our directions. Without our directions you are to proceed no further on M^r de Funck's general plan or any other, unless M^r Mace shall make it appear some works are evidently necessary for the immediate defence of the island. Such you have our full authority for erecting, without waiting for our further orders.¹

On the employment of the workmen during the rains the Bombay Diary of the 24th June 1757 has the following entry: Mr. Thomas Byfield, new fortification paymaster, representing that the workmen procured from the adjacent countries for carrying on the additional fortifications and buildings cannot be all constantly employed on that service during the rains, desires the opinion of the Board whether any of them should be discharged for the present or destined to assist in any other manner in which they may be most useful to the service in general. The Board determine that none of them be discharged as the procuring them has been attended with so much dissimilarity and expense that the paymaster employ them at this season in such manner as may be most conducive to the Honourable Company's interest.²

Mr Thomas Whitelock representing that the drift sand thrown up against Máhuu fort is almost as high as the embrasures, the Board on the 2nd August 1757 directed to set the militia of that district to its immediate clearing away.³

In August 1757 the Kámáti labourers employed on the fortifications and other works being asked if they would form themselves into a regular body of militia, proposed the following articles:

1. That when formed they shall remain entirely under the command of their own officers and not be called or sent to duty or draughted anywhere upon or off the island nor be subject to any military service till the place is attacked. In event of attack they will, to the most of their skill and power, do what may be required of them provided Gaudhiji Pullaji, the head overseer of the country workmen, be appointed their conductor who has made a voluntary offer of his services on such an occasion.

2. That in case any of them shall be wounded, injured, or killed in the defence of this place, a provision shall be made for themselves or families equally as if they were in constant monthly pay in the service as regular sepoys.

3. That provided the paymaster is previously acquainted therewith they shall be allowed to exercise whenever their officers may judge it necessary without being subject to a check of absence on the working muster-rolls, and that when sickness or the inclemency of the weather will not permit of their discharging their duty of labourers at the public works full pay shall be allowed as to all other monthly servants. Also a country doctor and such proper medicines as he may think necessary to make use of for their recovery.

4. That they shall be obliged to form themselves into companies of 216 each and no more, officers included, namely 1 Subhedar, 4 Jambhedars, 8 Bar Naks, 1 Colour-bearer, 1 Trumpeter, 1 Bhaldar or usher, and 200 Private men.

For the extraordinary trouble their subhedars will have in disciplining and keeping them and their arms regularly together for immediate duty their present Rs 11 a month must be increased to Rs 15 to be continued to them whilst in the service. When employed in defending the place against an enemy, they and the officers are to be allowed the following monthly rates

¹ Court to Bombay 14th May 1757, Pub Dep Court's L Vol 5 of 1757-1761, 33-34.

² Bom Gov. Consultation 24th June 1757, Pub Diary 30 of 1757, 238.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 2nd Aug. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 291.

Subhedár Rs 20
 Jumledár „ 13
 Sar Nâik „ 8½

All others in the said company to continue at the pay they now receive as labourers without any further allowance except it be a perpet (perpetuano or seige) jacket which they request may be allowed. If granted they will esteem themselves obliged for the same and deem it as a distinguishing mark of favour. In case any of their countrymen should be hereafter entered at greater pay and allowances, they are then to be put on a footing with them in respect thereto.

5 That if these proposals should prove agreeable, the undermentioned body of 648 men will immediately form themselves into regular companies conformable to the foregoing statement and vigorously oppose the efforts of any enemy that may attempt to invade this island using such arms as they have been accustomed to make use of in their own countries which will distinctly appear by the following abstract ¹

Kamati Militia, 1757.

Captains.	ARMS AND THE MEN.					Total.
	Firelock Men	Match-lock Men.	Pataw or Long Sword Men.	Sword and Target Men.	Bow and Arrow Men	
Shaikh Ahmad Lodia ..	104	..	6	4	..	114
Kabir Muhammad ..	20	..	..	1	..	30
Dhawan Singh	45	5	3	1	1	55
Kamal Muhammad ..	10	..	..	2	4	25
Bipuji Selar ..	13	..	..	..	..	13
Ibrahim Khan Patel ..	18	22	..	13	..	53
Hazmantran ..	10	..	..	..	3	12
Sher Muhammad	25	..	..	0	3	34
Kanah Morah ..	0	..	..	2	1	13
Jivan Lawar ..	5	..	..	2	..	7
Majman Habib ..	..	15	..	2	0	53
Ramji Nâik	20	..	..	3	..	23
Fakir Muhammad ..	33	..	3	5	..	40
Ibrahim Khan ..	24	..	3	0	..	33
Gomaji Chorga ..	16	..	..	..	..	16
Hussanj Nâik ..	24	1	..	0	..	34
Shiv Nik	10	..	..	3	..	21
Bach Nak	7	..	..	2	..	9
Hassan Nâik	24	..	3	..	..	27
Mali Nâik	5	..	..	..	..	5
Shaukh Hassan ..	0	..	..	3	..	12
Shinaji Kadam ..	12	..	..	..	..	12
Abdul Kadir	8	..	..	..	..	8
	477	73	18	63	17	648

¹ Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 307-310.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Kāmāti Militia,
1757.

Kāmāti Militia by Caste Age and Country, 1757.

Captains	CASTE				AGE				COUNTRY			
	Gent. tus.	Moors	Chris- tians	Phre- rish or no Caste	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60	Narā- tha	An- grā's	Sidi's	Gujar- āt
Shah Ahmad Lon- dia	19	91	2	-	37	54	16	7	50		34	
Kabir Muhammad	1	29			5	15	8	2	0			21
Ushawasingh	39	16		1	5	14		5	7	18		30
Kamil Muhammad		25			13	7	2	3				27
Majun Solar	4	4			3	10	1		17			
Urahmukhin Patel	10	42		1	32	0	11	1	40			13
Hammurto	11	1			2	8	2		12			
Sher Muhammad	7	27			13	17	3	1	15			19
Kamal Morah		12			6	6	1					12
Juan Lawar	1	6			3	2		2				7
Mayman Habib	1	52			25	20	7	1				53
Hamji Nāik	16	4	1	2	5	15	3		23			
Fahir Muhammad	11	17	2		14	16	8	2	22	18		
Urahmukhin	8	31	1		6	10	8		10			3
Gomaji Chorga	13	3	1		6	10			4	1		11
Husaji Chorga	2	30		2	20	12	2		7	1		20
Shah Nāik				21	11	9			21			
Buch Nāik				9	4	4	1		0			
Hussan Nāik				27	15	7	5		27			
Mall Nāik				5	1	4			5			
Shah Hassan		12			3	6	1		11			1
Shivaji Kadam	11		1		4	6			12			
Abdul Kadir	1	1		6	5	3			6		1	1
	169	393	8	74	241	506	79	22	155	39	35	222

On the above proposals the Bombay Diary of the 12th August has the following entry: The new fortification paymaster laying before the Board an abstract of 648 labourers from the adjacent countries mustered yesterday before the President and now employed on the new fortifications with their proposals to assist in defending the island in case of its being attacked by the French or any other enemy, the same are read and being duly considered, are unanimously approved. By this arrangement we shall secure such a large body of men for the small additional expense of Rs. 4 a month to their subhedās for disciplining them and an increase of their own, their subhedās', and then Sar Nāiks' pay in case of their being actually employed in defending the place against an enemy. With a perpetual jacket to each of the corps we are resolved to indulge them as a reasonable gratuity for the zeal and alacrity they show for preserving our Honourable Masters' estate and property as also in their request that Gambāji Pufaji may be confirmed their conductor or leader.

Being in want of arms for this militia and a number having been lately sold to the bazār people by the agents for the captors at Ghenna the new fortification paymaster is directed to endeavour to purchase them for the use of his men on the most reasonable terms.¹

Some weeks later a similar abstract of two more companies was presented to the Board, when the following orders were recorded at a Consultation held the 27th September: Mr. Thomas Byfeld, new fortification paymaster, presenting an abstract of two companies more of the foreign labourers, consisting of 432 who have offered to serve as

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 12th Aug. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 303-304.

sepoys on the terms agreed on the 12th ultimo, he is directed to incorporate them with the rest of that corps.¹ The details are:

Kāmāti Militia, 1757.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
*Kāmāti Militia,
1757.*

Captains.	Men.	ARMS AND THE MPY.				CASTE.			
		Firelock Men.	Match-lock Men.	Pataw or Long Sword Men	Sword and Target Men	Gentus.	Moors.	Christians.	Pharash or no Caste.
Shaikh Ahmad Londa	34	15	12	1	6	14	18	.	2
Ibrahimkhan Patel	59	59	.	...	.	32	55	..	2
Bach Nuk	24	24	...	.	.	.	.	...	24
Hussanji Nuk	20	30	...	.	.	.	...	...	30
Khandoji Karrah	24	15	.	1	8	24	.	.	.
Anandaro Jadhav	9	7	1	..	1	9	...	.	..
Shaikh Abdul Rahiman	11	11	.	.	.	3	8	..	..
Abdul Khaliq Jamadar.	8	7	.	.	1	.	8	..	..
Muzi Husun Beg	3	3	.	.	.	...	3	...	..
Abdul Kadar	9	8	...	.	1	...	3	...	2
Shaikh Balu	11	11	.	.	.	.	11	..	..
Esant Bhalji	4	4	.	.	.	4	.	..	..
Bahu Rao	10	8	.	..	2	10	...	..	..
Bapuji Selir	6	6	...	.	...	6	.	...	6
Shinkar Nuk	6	6	.	..	1	.	.	...	6
Raghoji Balusa	8	7	.	...	1	8	.	...	...
Kahir Muhammad	9	8	.	.	1	.	9	...	...
Bhawan Singh	40	37	.	1	2	27	12	1	..
Kamal Muhammad	4	4	.	.	.	.	4	.	..
Fakir Muhammad	25	24	.	1	.	18	7	..	..
Ibrahimkhan	11	9	...	..	2	.	11	..	..
Shor Muhammad	1	1	.	..	...	1	.	..	..
Gomaji Chorga	1	1	.	...	1	1	.	..	..
Hussanji Nuk	3	1	1	..	2	1	2	..	..
Shu Nuk	13	13	...	..	...	...	...	...	13
Mall Nuk	2	2	.	.	.	.	.	...	2
Rajaji Nuk	19	15	..	1	3	10	.	.	3
Shivji Kadam	13	13	.	..	.	13	.	.	.
Vithaji Nuk	6	1	.	.	4	5	.	.	.
Total	472	370	14	5	34	189	151	1	84

Captains.	Men.	AGE.				COUNTRY.			
		20 to 30.	30 to 40.	40 to 50.	50 to 60.	Marathi.	Angria's	Siddi's	Gujarat
Shaikh Ahmad Londa	34	10	8	9	1	26	3	3	2
Ibrahimkhan Patel	59	25	53	10	1	52	2	2	33
Bach Nuk	24	1	18	5	.	24	..	.	.
Hussanji Nuk	20	10	16	4	..	30	..	.	.
Khandoji Karrah	24	9	9	6	..	24	..	..	..
Anandaro Jadhav	9	2	4	3	.	9	.	.	..
Shaikh Abdul Rahiman	11	3	6	2	..	10	1	.	..
Abdul Khaliq Jamadar.	8	1	6	1	..	8	.	..	..
Muzi Husun Beg	3	..	1	2	...	...	.	..	..
Abdul Kadar	9	1	4	4	...	9	.	..	..
Esant Bhalji	11	.	6	6	...	4	2	..	..
Bahu Rao	4	.	4	.	.	4	...	..	6
Bapuji Selir	6	1	5	...	.	6	.	..	..
Shinkar Nuk	6	..	6	..	.	6	...	..	..
Raghoji Balusa	8	..	7	..	1	8	...	..	..
Kahir Muhammad	9	..	5	..	.	9	...	..	..
Bhawan Singh	40	13	21	6	.	37	..	...	5
Kamal Muhammad	4	2	2	..	..	..	...	...	5
Fakir Muhammad	25	2	14	9	..	24	..	1	4
Ibrahimkhan	11	2	6	3	..	10	.	.	1
Shor Muhammad	1	.	1	1	.	1	...	..	..
Gomaji Chorga	1	..	1	..	.	1	...	..	..
Hussanji Nuk	3	.	2	1	..	3	...	..	..
Shu Nuk	13	6	6	1	..	13	.	...	1
Mall Nuk	2	2	.	.	..	2	...	..	..
Rajaji Nuk	19	..	17	1	1	19	...	..	..
Shivji Kadam	13	4	6	3	.	13	11	...	..
Vithaji Nuk	6	1	3	1	...	5	...	..	..
Total	432	100	244	78	4	340	21	6	59

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 27th Sept. 1757, Pub. Decy 30 of 1757, 368, 373.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Karnati Militia,
1757.

At a Consultation the 24th October 1757, the Board record the following entry on a similar application: The new fortification paymaster presenting an abstract of another company of labourers who offer to serve as sepoy's he is ordered to incorporate them with the rest.¹ The details are:

Karnati Militia, 1757

Captains.	Men.	ARMS AND THE MEN.				CASTE.			
		Firelock Men.	Match-lock Men.	Pistol or Long Sword Men.	Sword and Target Men.	Gentle.	Moore.	Christians.	Pharad or no Caste.
Ramaji Nalik	23	26			2	20	2		
Bapuji Selar	6	5				5			
Abdul Rahuman	23	10			3	11	8		3
Vithoji Nalik	22	22		1	9	4	8		20
Abdul Khabib Jamadar	23	22			1	8	16		
Shahaji Balu	19	19				10	8		
Abdul Kadir Subhedar.	21	21				3	15		3
Fakir Ismailji	19	10				8	8	3	
Kasiram	15	11			1	4	2		
Rajhoji Balusa	10	10				10			
Govindram Parab	15	11			4	17			
Abdul Kadir	7	7				3	4		
Kondaji	1	1				1			
Total	210	193		1	20	103	70	3	55

Captains.	Men	AOP.				COUNTRY.			
		20 to 30	31 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60.	Marathi.	Angrezi.	Sidi's	Gujarat
Ramaji Nalik	23	1	20	1		23			
Bapuji Selar	6		5			5			
Abdul Rahuman	23	3	10	3		22			
Vithoji Nalik	22	2	28	2		21			
Abdul Khabib Jamadar	23	4	18	1		23			
Shahaji Balu	19	3	14	1		19			
Abdul Kadir Subhedar.	21		21			21			
Fakir Ismailji	19	2	11	6		19			
Kasiram	15	2	8	5		17			
Rajhoji Balusa	10	3	6	2		10			
Govindram Parab	15	8	9	3		17			
Abdul Kadir	7	3	1			7			
Kondaji	1		1			1			
Total	210	26	160	21		203			11

Request
for Batty,
1757.

towards the close of 1757 the workmen and their ~~overseers~~ employed on the fortifications requested to be allowed batty at a certain rate. The Bombay ~~Journal~~ of the 1st November 1757 has the following entry: The new fortification paymaster lays before the Board a petition presented him by all the officers and people working under him praying that they may each be allowed two *pharads* of batty out of the Company's warehouse in part of their pay. Thus they offer to receive at the rate of Rs. 31½ the *muda* while they may be employed here, as they can have no dependence on being supplied by the cutcheras (Kacharás or grain dealers). As we hope grain will not long continue at the present high price when we cannot expect to abide by their offer, it is resolved that batty be issued to

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 24th Oct. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 395-396.

them at the market price which we hope will encourage a more diligent discharge of their duty.¹

The Bombay Diary of the 20th December 1757 and the 31d January 1758 have the following entries:

December 20th.—The chief engineer (Captain de Funck) having this day acquainted the new fortification paymaster that there are some small houses and hedges contiguous to the rampart of the Banian bastion which obstruct his finishing the Cavalier, it is ordered that the new fortification paymaster is, with the assistance of the clerk of the works, to survey the same, and deliver in an estimate of the expense which will attend the removal of the houses to a proper place.²

January 3rd.—Fortification Paymaster to Government: In compliance with your command signified to me by the Secretary, I have, with the Clerk of the works, viewed the several houses contiguous to the Banian bastion which Captain de Funck desires (20th December 1757) may be removed. I now enclose an estimate made by the veradores, master carpenters, and bricklayers, whom I summoned for that purpose, of the expense amounting to Rs. 400 that will attend the replacing them elsewhere.³

January 3rd.—Bombay Government Consultation: The new fortification paymaster delivering his report survey of eight houses contiguous to the Banian bastion which Captain Jacques de Funck on the 20th ultimo represented ought to be removed elsewhere, it is ordered that the paymaster make good to the proprietors the expense which must be incurred thereby, agreeable to his estimate being Rs. 400.⁴

At the close of 1757 Major Mace who had been appointed principal engineer for Bombay arrived from England. After Mr. Mace arrived the Bombay Government, the 31d January 1758, directed that the Secretary write Mr. James Mace to survey all the fortifications and works of this town and island, and report to us what are and may be necessary conformable to para 101 of our Honourable Masters' last communication (of 1757), a copy of which has been delivered him. At the same time we would have him survey and make a report of the fortifications of the town previous to his proceeding to the out forts. Captain Jacques de Funck must be ordered to lay before Mr. Mace as principal engineer, all his plans descriptions and designs relative to the fortifications of this Presidency, and give him all the information as well as assistance in his power for executing the Honourable Company's commands relative thereto. Copy of this has likewise been delivered to Captain de Funck.⁵

As differences of opinion between Captain de Funck and Mr. Mace prevented due advance with the fortifications, and, as the Bombay

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Houses
Removed,
1757-58.

Mr Mace's
Survey of
Fortifications,
1758.

Captain de Funck
and Mr. Mace,
1758.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 1st Nov. 1757, Pub. Diary 20 of 1757, 409

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 20th Dec. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 465.

³ Fortification Paymaster's Letter to Government 3rd Jan. 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 5. ⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 31d Jan. 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 2

⁵ Bom. Gov. Consultation 3rd Jan. 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 2-3. Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol 5 of 1758, 81-83.

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings

15

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15

Thereupon, on the 21st January of the present year, Captain de Pouch
expressed his desire to resign. His letter was read by the Board at
their Constitution of the same day: Read also the just received from
Captain de Pouch, replying to a letter of the 10th of January
in reply to our Honorable Master's command and order in appointing
him, and deeming at the same time to resign his office of engineer.
The course being laid to para 101 of the 1st General letter 6th 1757,
wherein our Honorable Master forbids our proceeding on his plan in
doing anything to the fortification without Mr. Mos's judging it
necessary, it is resolved that the Secretary write Captain de Pouch
in reply, that, if he is determined not to conform to our superior
commands and not to do what we direct him in consequence of Mr.
Mos's proposals and recommendation, he has our permission to
leave his office of engineer, as others do without making them
dependent condition, the fortification must be as it stand.

In reply, on the 7th February 1758, P. Jean de Franche submitted his resignation, the Board making the following observations at their Consultation of the same date: Received a letter from Captain de Franche representing that he desired to resign the office of engineer, and did not think it necessary to return any answer about it, though it is evident from the resolution in our last Consultation that our replying therein was only on condition that he finally acquiesced in that he was determined not to conform to our Honourable Masters or our orders in respect to Mr. Mace's proposal for fortifying the town.

¹ Hogg, *Confederate Cavalry* 10; Jure 1788, Pub. Papers 51 of 1788, 10-11.

*Bour. Com. Consultation 31st Jan. 1754, Publ. Papers 31 of 1754, vol. 67.

Thinking it highly requisite that in consequence of such resignation Captain de Funck should deliver in to us any plans or designs he may have remaining relative to his having been so employed at this Presidency, the Secretary is directed to require his compliance herein. And it being the opinion of every member (Sir James Foulis and Mr Hornby excepted) that by refusing to obey the Honourable Company's orders, as an engineer, he has forfeited his title to the command of the first artillery company, it is resolved that he be dismissed from the command of the first artillery company, and Major Foulis is accordingly ordered to signify this decision to him.¹

Two weeks later (23rd February 1758) Captain de Funck writes the following letter to Government: Agreeable to your orders I now send you the remaining plans of this island as per enclosed list. As you have thought proper to dismiss me from the Honourable Company's service without any apparent cause or form of trial, I hope you will be pleased to order me a passage to Europe on board one of the Company's ships, with proper accommodation agreeable to the rank I came abroad in.²

On the 28th February the Board pass the following order on the above letter. Read a letter from Captain Jacques de Funck advising that he delivers all his remaining plans. But as they are now inspected and found to be only rough and imperfect sketches without any scale or graduation, now them, we are induced to conclude that he must have some other useful plans of the island, which the Secretary is directed to intimate to him, and that we expect he should deliver them, when we will determine in regard to ordering him a passage to England conformable to his desire.³

On receipt of a reply from Captain de Funck, the Board remark on the 31d March 1758: Read a letter from Captain Jacques de Funck declaring that he has no other plans than those he has delivered. It is resolved therefore that they be copied and the originals sent to the Honourable Court of Directors for their observation. And it is agreed that an order be given to any commander of the three homeward bound ships for receiving Captain de Funck and affording him all suitable accommodation in the passage on his signifying on which ship he intends to embark.⁴

The Consultation of the 3rd January 1758 has the following reference to a fresh measure for raising funds to meet the cost of the fortifications: Our Honourable Masters having for some time been at a prodigious expense in increasing the fortifications and works on this island for the security of the inhabitants, a general contribution towards reimbursing our Masters is taken into consideration. This being judged highly reasonable, it is resolved that from this day till countermanded, the Bombay and Mithim custom masters levy an additional duty of one per cent on all imports and exports, in the customary manner and the

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Captain de Funck
Resigns,
1758.

Fortification
Cess,
1758.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 7th Feb 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 92-93.

² Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 165.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 28th Feb. 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 161.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 31d March 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 163.

Chapter IV
For: - - - - -
and - - - - -

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On the 1st of April, the next day, at 11 A. M., the Board of Directors of the Philadelphia Board of Health decided that each day see for Mr. Jones. Messrs. Jones and others, prepared to assist in carrying out the work - then it was further that Captain James D. Thompson, a member of the Board, be appointed to carry out the functions of the Board with the members of the Board no further than to prepare the report. On the contrary, that the work was to be carried out with all expedition, and in such manner as to the members of the Board be a matter of interest. The reason for this was that the work was satisfactory, it was decided that the Secretary report him that the work will give Captain Thompson an order for carrying the work out.

177

I wrote to Mr. 20th January 1758, Mr. M^r. further wrote. The
 1st condition which I find the works of this town now is, such in
 my opinion that I thought it to defer and to return to you
 However the necessity I think there is that with a copy of whatever
 care should be taken to amend the said parts of these works, which

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1975. Pub. (D) 60-1067 2-7. Pub. (D) 60-1067 Vol. 56 of 1975, 81-85.

from the U.S. Patent 20th Jan 1788, P. 10, 21 and 37, 1788

most immediately require either alteration or addition to make them defensible. That as the whole is to be defended, attention must be had to every part but especially those which stand most in need, I therefore humbly apprehend that several amendments might be carried into execution at the same time and more especially in an uncommon degree where there is so urgent an occasion for it. In my humble opinion the gates are not sufficiently protected. The condition of the parapets is most wretched. On the land side the walls fail to provide any sufficient cross fire; and the northward end of the town near the bazar gate requires the utmost attention. Before the bazar gate all is in the greatest disorder imaginable. Dongri fort not only commands that part which is now so defenceless but even the whole town itself. I do myself the honour to lay before you this my general opinion of the condition of Bombay as far as concerns the land side which I cannot but think merits not a little consideration. Any particulars you are pleased to require I shall have the honour of explaining.¹

On the next day, 31st January 1758, the President lays before the Board the above letter from Mr. James Mace, principal engineer, setting forth the defenceless condition of Dongri and the town in general on the land side, and earnestly recommending those works being put in a proper posture as soon as possible. The Board remark: As we are desirous that as therein proposed, Mr. Mace should explain the same, the Secretary is ordered to require his attendance at our next meeting.²

At the next Consultation, the 7th February 1758, Mr. Mace attending, the following entry is recorded: Mr. Mace, principal engineer, attending with a plan, in order to explain to us the necessity of fortifying the town on the land side, pursuant to an order of the 31st January 1758, the same is examined and approved as far as our judgment enables us to judge of it. At the same time as he represents that he deems it absolutely necessary to carry the same in execution without loss of time, in which case our Honourable Masters have directed us to proceed in whatever he may recommend without waiting their orders, he is required to represent by letter the reasons he has now urged for that measure for our Honourable Employers' and our own satisfaction. That no time may be lost Mr. Mace is directed immediately to give the necessary orders for the workmen employed on the new fortifications proceeding therein under his direction with all expedition.³

A week later (14th February 1758), Mr. Mace submits the following letter to Government: Agreeable to your orders of the 8th instant by letter from Mr. Secretary Diaper, I do myself the honour to set forth the inducements I had for proposing to fortify this town from Dongri to Back Bay according to the plan which I had the honour of laying before you the 7th instant. To put this town in a proper condition of defence it will yet require many alterations and

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Undefended
Condition of
the Town,
1758

¹ Mr. Mace to Government 30th Jan 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 69.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 31st Jan 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 61.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 7th Feb 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 92.

under all the difficulties that the present situation offers. The expense of the line which I propose to be fortified cannot greatly, if at all, exceed that of putting the old works in any tolerable condition. For the covert way round the present walls would be one-third longer than the covert way in front of the new line of four bastions and a half that I propose. The new line will also secure the following advantages. The town will be considerably enlarged, the inhabitants in security with their effects, and that security will invite others to settle in it. How far this will tend to the advancement of trade and in consequence to the emoluments of the Honourable Company, is humbly submitted to better judges, but this method is particularly recommended to your Honour's consideration as the most effectual to secure the possession of Bombay. I should propose, for the greater despatch, to have the new work begun and carried on at several parts of the parapet of the gates, and the flanks of the bastions at the same time. By this means I hope before long to have the work in a respectable condition, even before it be near finished.¹

On the above letter, the Board at a Consultation on the 17th February 1758 remark: We unanimously think that Mr. Mace's reasons for proposing to fortify the town from Dongri to Back Bay are very explicit and satisfactory. The more so, as it appears a considerable expence will be saved by preferring the execution of that plan to that of altering and amending the present old works, by a vast charge in making ravelins, raising cavaliers, and other works as therein mentioned without being then sufficiently strong. It is resolved, therefore, that the Secretary signify to Mr. Mace our entire approval of his reasons for fortifying the town by a new line from Dongri to Back Bay agreeable to his plan, and repeat our orders for his executing it with all possible expedition.²

Finding it necessary to have a committee to look after powder ammunition and other military stores the Court write on the 12th May 1758: We have already laid down some directions respecting the powder and ammunition and the surveying of our military stores that they are always good and sufficient. We now judge it necessary to place this important trust with a committee who are accordingly, every three months or oftener if you judge it necessary, to examine and survey our magazines, the fortifications, ramparts, guns, carriages, platforms, arms, granary, in short to take under their consideration and inspection even the most minute articles and constantly to remark to the Board all defects and deficiencies. It being our meaning and intention that our island should be kept in all respects in a state of defence and provided with ammunition and provision, we will have no quantities of ammunition (particularly powder) or military stores sent from your garrison to other places without a report first made to you by this committee, assigning reasons for their approval or disapproval. The whole

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Dongri, to
Back Bay,
1758.

Military Stores
Committee,
1758.

¹ Mr. Mace to Government 14th Feb. 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 136-139.

² Bcm, Gov. Consultation 17th Feb 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 134.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Allowance to
Supervisors of
Fortification
Works,
1758.

Fortification
Workmen how else
to be employed,
1759.

of their transactions are to be entered upon your Consultations. But for our observation let them be transmitted to us separately and we appoint the Major, Superintendent, and Engineer for the time being to be this committee.¹

As regards the extra allowance to be paid to military men who were employed as overseers during the progress of the fortification-works the Bombay Diary of the 21th October 1758 has the following entry: Read a letter from Captain Richard Maitland, commandant of the King's detachment, advising that he is unacquainted with the allowances usually made to officers employed as overseers of works in Europe, also a letter from Major Mave representing that half a crown or two shillings a day have been allowed in Europe; that was looked on as much too trifling and that the number of men each officer had to overlook in Europe was very small in comparison to those employed here. In consideration of these details and of the progress made in the works since the King's officers have acted as overseers it is agreed to fix the allowance of each at four shillings a day.²

It has been noted above that when the question was raised if owing to rains or otherwise the fortification building work could not be carried on, whether the labourers should be discharged, or how else they should be employed, it was decided that they should be formed into military companies and taught to serve as a militia. When this subject came to the notice of the Court of Directors they wrote on the 25th April 1759: We observe that you have entered a number of labourers as occasional soldiers at seemingly a small increased expense, and appointed Gumbaji Putlaji their leader. The measure may be right and judicious in training up such men under proper restrictions, but in no shape could a Purooe be a fit person to govern and conduct them. When the weather will not permit of their working, these people are to be allowed the same pay when they exercise. They are to exercise but when they please, to be liable to no military duty, to be subject to no command but that of Gumbaji Putlaji, to be clothed with a coat and cap at our expense, and if they are maimed or wounded in our service to be in all such respects put upon a footing with our soldiers. The numberless abuses that may creep in under cover of this plan, the great expense that we conceive will be entailed upon us in paying such numbers every day they do not work and the little expectation we can have that with such sort of discipline these men will prove better than the ordinary inhabitants, are sufficient considerations for us to disapprove of the scheme. Upon receipt of this letter we direct that the whole be abolished. And in its place we recommend that you are attentive in training and disciplining the body of militia (and the inhabitants of your island may form a very good one) and these in case of an attack may prove of real service.³

¹ Court to Bombay 12th May 1758 para 122, Pub Dep Court's Letters Vol 5 of 1757-1761, 123-124.

² Dom Gov Consultation 21th Oct 1758, Pub Diary 31 of 1758, 175.

³ Court to Bombay 25th April 1759 para 101, Pub Dep. Court's Letters. Vol. 5 of 1757-1761, 157.

A year later regarding the employment of military men as overseers of works in progress the Court write on the 25th April 1760: The appointing persons to oversee the labourers and check their musters we do not object to, and if Mr. de Funck's assertions are true it was high time for Major Mace to enter upon such laudable regulations. But we condemn your lavishness and extravagance, nor can we approve of your employing people in our affairs, when our own servants are willing and equally capable to manage them. Instead of looking towards Eniope for precedents in the allowances to officers for extra duty, prudence should have directed you to your own customs and practice. Then you might have seen that if military officers were necessary to oversee the works, that as our own, when at out-posts or other service generally benefited about fifteen rupees a month or fifteen pence a day, they doubtless would gladly have attended this duty on the like terms; and thus by entertaining six strangers at ten shillings a day, you increased our expenses full £800 a year and disgusted our own military who have certainly a preference to our favour.¹

In the same letter of 1760, paragraph 89, the Court positively order that no works of any consequence or expense be begun without their permission being obtained, unless they are of such a nature as not to admit of waiting for the same. They write: Upon receipt of this letter you are to stop all such works as can possibly be let alone for the charges of Bombay and the subordinates are become enormous and beyond bearing. Our engineers, when they get abroad, seem either infatuated or suffer themselves to be grossly misled.²

Regarding the progress made in the fortifications since March 1759 the Bombay Government write to the Court on the 27th February 1760, paragraph 160. The bastion of the castle called the Cavalier bastion has been raised 16 feet, filled up with earth, and completed for mounting eleven guns; and the passage which communicated with the lower part has been converted into a small magazine for fixed shells. The low curtain between that bastion and the flag-staff bastion has been raised nearly to a level with the Cavalier, completed, and mounted with ten 32-pounders. The embrasures are disposed so as to have a more extensive command over the greatest part of the anchoring ground before the fort. Two bomb-proof casemates either for troops or stores are nearly finished, one behind part of that which was a low curtain as abovementioned and the other behind the low curtain on the other side of the Cavalier bastion. By this means also a good communication is made for transporting guns and that curtain will be broad enough for conveniently working the guns thereon which it was not before. The parapets of the face and flank towards the sea on the flag-staff bastion which before was a mouldering sod work, have been faced with brick and masonry. Another embrasure has been made on that face and five 32-pounders mounted thereon. A batterdeaux or dam with a sluice has

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Military
Overseers,
1759.

Progress,
1759

¹ Court to Bombay 25th April 1760—para 98, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 5 of 1757-1761, 269-270.

² Court to Bombay 25th April 1760—para 89, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 5 of 1757-1761, 261. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 125.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Progress,
1759.

been made across the ditch near the Apollo gate to secure the water in case of any accident to the sluice at the angle of the Royal bastion. The dock wall has been continued and joined to the last face which is almost up to its proper height. The wall called here the dock wall is built so as to answer the purpose in case another side should be added when another outward dock will be complete. The two low flanks at the Royal bastion have been raised nearly ten feet higher and three embrasures provided in each. The parapets on the Royal bastion have been faced with brick and masonry. The covert way and parapets to the northward have been continued and the communicator to Dongri hill has been carried above half-way. The two flanks and one face of the ravelin before the Bazarri gate have been completed and terrace platforms laid. One face with five embrasures and flanks to each and the other face with a drawbridge are far advanced. Several of the deep holes and pits adjacent to the walls have been filled with sand from a rising ground opposite to the Prince's bastion. A battery to secure the ground before the Apollo gate and prevent any attempts to land near Old Woman's island is not quite finished. A wall has been raised about eight feet and carried from the north shoulder of the Cavalier bastion, northward obliquely before the low curtain between that bastion and that of the tank. In this wall there will be three returns or faces towards the beforementioned anchoring ground opposite the Cavalier bastion. This is extremely necessary as the battery which was behind it and raised with coconut trees was wasted away and rendered useless.¹

Bombay Consultation, 10th June 1760: Ordered that the principal engineer be again required to deliver us copy of the plans and sections of the fortifications on the island, transmitted to our Honourable Masters by the *Chutun*.²

Dongri Fort,
1760.

About the middle of 1760 the principal engineer Major Mace writes the following letter (7th July) to Government regarding the Dongri fort: I have always looked upon the commanding height and situation of Dongri hill or fort to be such as might prove of dangerous consequence to Bombay whenever attacked. And therefore in my humble opinion I deemed it absolutely necessary that the hill should either be fortified or the fort entirely demolished. The former I have begun but am so much impeded by some houses and several huts that I fear it will not be in my power to secure the remainder of the hill as it ought to be against the attempt of an active enemy unless those obstructions are removed. For by the vicinity of those houses an enemy may unseen come up to the very top of the hill. There are some houses which on the same account were ordered to be removed above two years and now remain a complete nuisance to the defence of the hill. Upon this account lest there may not be time sufficient to put that part out of danger, I humbly apprehend it ought as much as possible to be rendered unseizable to an enemy and to be done in time whilst in our power. It may be made ready for blowing up whenever it is found requisite

¹ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 7 of 1760, 61-62.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 10th June 1760, Pub. Diary 34 of 1760, 442.

and only such a part now be destroyed as may be most advantageous to the present purpose. I humbly beg leave to observe that in my opinion I cannot see of what benefit that work is now to be to the town. But I venture to affirm it would afford very singular advantages to an enemy attacking the town. I hope your Honours will please to take this affair into consideration and at the same time be entirely assured that it is through a strict adherence to my duty that I now press this point. I never had and hope I never shall have a desire to remove a single stone or any other particular whatever but such only as appear to me detrimental to service. I must also beg leave to recommend to your Honour's consideration the obstruction I now meet with from the houses before the bazar gate ravelin and immediately in the way of the glacis, the owners of some of them as I have been well informed having dwelling houses elsewhere let out at a very small rent.¹

This letter was read at the next day's Consultation when the Board remark: Read a letter from the principal engineer representing that he is greatly impeded in carrying on the public works by several houses near the bazar gate ravelin and in the way of the glacis, likewise by several near Dongri fort, not being pulled down agreeable to former orders, proposing at the same time to destroy a part of Dongri fort immediately and to prepare the rest for being blown up to prevent an enemy getting possession of it. It is resolved that after a valuation he be required to proceed immediately in pulling down all the aforementioned houses and such others near Dongri as he may judge necessary, and that he be ordered to acquaint the proprietors of those houses already directed to be pulled down that if they do not forthwith set about the same, it will be done at their own expense. The determining with respect to Dongri fort is deferred till the principal engineer delivers a more particular account of his proposals regarding it.²

Four days later the principal engineer submits his further explanation as required by Government on the 12th July. He writes: In obedience to your Honours' directions to me for a farther explanation of what I propose in regard to the demolishing of Dongri fort, I propose to dismount and take out the guns from the tower, to break up the floor and clear out the earth down to the rock, to break down the walls which join the low works to the tower so as to make a separation sufficient to prevent an entrance by that means into it, to make mines under the two small platforms beforementioned in order to their being destroyed when necessary or when the other part of the hill is put in a proper condition of defence. When this is done I am humbly of opinion that the tower and other works should be demolished.³

On receipt of the above letter the Board pass the following orders on the 15th July: Read a letter from the principal engineer wherein he particularly explains the proposals he made the 8th inst. in

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Dongri Fort,
1760.

¹ Major Mace to Government 7th July 1760, Pub. Diary 31 of 1760, 518 - 519.

² Bom Gov. Consultation 8th July 1760, Pub. Diary 31 of 1760, 513.

³ Major Mace to Government 12th July 1760, Pub. Diary 31 of 1760, 536 - 537.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Dongri Fort,
1760

regard to demolishing Dongri fort. But as we deem it a matter of importance and as two members of the Board are now indisposed the determining thereon is deferred till another meeting.¹

Two weeks later on the 29th July consideration of the principal engineer's letter regarding Dongri fort was resumed when the following orders were passed: Repetition of the principal engineer's letter delivered the 15th inst explaining his proposals about demolishing Dongri fort. As he has represented under the 3rd inst. that he cannot see what benefit that fort can be to the town, and that it would afford very singular advantages to an enemy against the town, and he being the properest judge in these cases, it is resolved that he proceed in demolishing the fort in the manner he proposes.²

Hammals and
Khairias,
1760

At a Consultation, the 22nd July 1760, the Board observe: There being many hammals and carwais (*khairias* or sailors) on the island who are not employed at this season and we have reason to believe would work on the fortifications were they assumed of being called off to their own proper business as the season opens, the President proposes putting them under the Bombay custom master's orders for fortification purposes which is approved.³

Sepoys
as Workmen,
1760.

Some sepoy's being employed as labourers on the works, then daily pay for acting in that capacity is settled at 12 pice each being less than what is allowed common labourers.⁴

Artificers' Wives
employed
on Works,
1760.

Several artificers living at Mirgaon complaining of their being assessed for the county jail and of their wives being obliged to work on the fortifications, an inquiry into the same is referred to the collector.⁵

Survey of
Fortifications,
1760.

The President acquainting the principal engineer that he thinks it advisable to take into consideration the state of the fortifications now going on and which of them are most absolutely necessary to be completed at this juncture, the engineer represents (23rd September 1760) that the work at Dongri fort and at the ravine before the land gate will be very shortly finished, the essential part being done, and that he is now completing the flank of the Dock Head bastion, the battery below the Tank bastion of the fort, and the covered way. These he thinks are most absolutely necessary. He is ordered to finish them before he begins any new work.⁶

Portuguese
Church
Demolished,
1760.

Regarding the demolition of the Portuguese church the Bombay Government write (20th November 1760) to the Court: The Portuguese church without the bazaar gate being considerably within 100 yards of the gate and as we are satisfied that, if attacked by an European enemy the church would prove of the utmost ill consequence to the defence of this place, as some of the walls were four feet thick

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 15th July 1760, Pub. Diary 31 of 1760, 528

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 29th July 1760, Pub. Diary 35 of 1760, 562.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 22nd July 1760, Pub. Diary 35 of 1760, 553.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 29th July 1760, Pub. Diary 35 of 1760, 566.

⁵ Bom. Gov. Diary 5th Aug. 1760, Pub. Diary 35 of 1760, 592.

⁶ Bom. Gov. Consultation 23rd Sept. 1760, Pub. Diary 35 of 1760, 710

built of chunnam and stone, we resolved on the 29th July on its being pulled down and ordered the principal engineer to pitch on a proper place for the materials being removed that the church may be rebuilt and the new valuation amounting to Rs. 18,675-3-95 or Rs. 7565-3-75 less than the estimate made by the clerk of the works in 1755 be paid to the proprietors. This difference has arisen from our allowing 2½ feet thick only, sufficient for the walls of the new church and the valuation of an oart belonging to your Honours given in exchange for one appropriate to rebuild the church in, will be deducted from the valuation. The demolition of the church is nearly effected and we hope that your Honours on considering its extremely dangerous situation and prodigious strength of the walls will concur with us in the necessity for having it removed.¹

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Portuguese
Church
Demolished,
1760.

Dock Pier-Head.

In the same letter the Bombay Government continue regarding the other works: Since the month of February, the last face of the Dock Pier Head has been raised and closed to the wall for a third dock and the retaining wall to the rampart of those faces of the Pier Head has been raised and filled with earth. An arched bomb-proof passage has been carried under that rampart to communicate with the small pier for covering the gate of the outward dock from the violence of the sea. Upon the three faces of the Dock Pier Head embasures are now forming for eight guns (seven of which the engineer says will be ready by the end of this month) having an entire command over the chief anchoring ground before the fort which on that side will be well flanked thereby. On the other side of the fort near where a battery of cocoanut trees and earth had been raised but washed away, batteries of masonry well flanked are raised from the outermost rocks at low water to the height of the floor of the embasures. Two sides face towards the aforementioned anchoring ground and command it well being almost as near to it as the cavalier bastion before which it lays. This battery has the advantage of not being seen from ships until they come on the ground and are ready to drop their anchors as the batteries lie retired behind the shoulder of the cavalier bastion under a low emtain and the tank bastion of the fort which they cover. The communication up to Dongri hill is just done except finishing some banquettes and two or three platforms. The whole hull is now made capable of being disputed with an enemy by its breastworks and platforms (both with embasures and barbette) for running on field pieces or mounting guns occasionally. All this lies open to the guns of the two northern bastions, to the cavalier on the Prince's bastion and to one face of the ravelin before the bazar gate. So that an enemy must be very numerous to prevail over these difficulties particularly as the tower is now rendered useless against the town, should an enemy get possession of it. Whereas before had an enemy forced or surprised that advantageous post and ground it would have been almost impossible for the town to have withstood the annoyance that might have been poured on it from that quarter. The parapet and banquettes

¹ Bombay Government to Court 20th Nov. 1760 para 119, Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 7 of 1760, 196-197.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

of the place of arms and covered way before the Prince's bastion are done and the glacis is nearly formed. The parapets and other parts of the covered way before the Bannan Bastion are carrying on. Part of the floor of the west curtain in the fort, under which are a magazine and some storerooms, having fallen in by the beams rotting in the walls two bomb-proof casemates under that part are now well advanced.¹

Workmen
Reduced,
1761

To reduce the expenditure on fortification works, at a Consultation the 27th January 1761 the Bombay Government direct. Mr. Mace being present to consider the state of the fortifications and the Honourable the Court of Directors' orders concerning them, it is resolved that the number of people employed thereon from this date shall not exceed 800 in the whole though 1800 to 1800 have hitherto been employed. Mr. Mace proposing to deliver his opinion in writing of the works he judges most requisite to be carried out, likewise the necessity for the works which have been finished, the same is approved. And he further proposing, as the retaining wall of the covert way is far advanced and he deems it absolutely necessary for the safety of the place that it should be completed with all expedition, that any people who may be willing to carry it on by contract under his direction may be employed for that purpose, we concur therein. Agreeable to this the Secretary is ordered to give notice we shall sit this day fortnight to receive any sealed proposals that may be tendered us. The Major and Principal Engineer then withdrew.²

Bombay Defences,
1761.

On the 3rd February 1761, Mr. James Mace submits the following detailed report on the state and requirements of Bombay in point of defence and security to the inhabitants. On my arrival here I often heard it was generally expected that numbers of black merchants would come from Surat and other parts to settle at Bombay, judging it would be a secure residence, not only from the insults of an enemy but also to avoid other inconveniences, which they were reported to be subject to under the country government. That these merchants would want to build large houses and which could not be done within the present town, neither in my opinion ought it to be permitted within 600 yards of the town walls. The walls appeared to me to be generally bad, and from their construction, afforded very little defence. The environs of the town were very disadvantageous. On the south-west a body of troops might be lodged and sheltered within two hundred yards of the place, under cover of houses, walls, banks, holes, trees, and a burying ground with large monuments. Under favour of these means of shelter an enemy might approach unseen within a few paces of the Apollo Gate.

Towards the north end of the town an attack might be formed with great advantage from behind an offensive rising ground sufficient to cover a number of men. This rising ground extends southward near the length of the town, and is too apparent an advantage for an

¹ Bombay Government to Court 20th Nov. 1760 para 126, Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 7 of 1760, 199-200.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 27th Jan. 1761, Pub. Diary 36 of 1761, 105.

enemy to neglect, besides the many quarry holes for sand stone where in a short time batteries might be formed within one hundred yards and much less of the wall.

Between the piectioned rising ground and Dongri, upwards of two hundred houses were standing far within the four hundred yards which long before were ordered to be cleared. Adjoining to these houses and fronting the north end of the town stood the commanding hill and tower of Dongri. As from their construction and other defects I considered the defences of the town to be very insufficient in case of an attack, and as the environs were so favourable to an enemy I felt these evils could neither easily nor speedily be remedied. Add to this the great hill of Dongri commanding the whole town, hiding behind it good landing places, and, as ships can pass above the middle ground so near as to cover a landing there, the probability and danger of an enemy possessing that hill or forming even a lodgment behind it with security, appeared to demand my utmost attention and capacity. On these and the like considerations I formed the plan of a line from Dongri to Back Bay, which would then have shut out an enemy from annoying the town in the most defenceless places. By these means likewise there would have been sufficient room for the number of houses wanted, not only in lieu of those pulled down, but for the new inhabitants as expected. Nor would this have been so expensive as putting the town and side of the present town in a proper condition of defence. I had the strictest attention to the interest of my Honourable Employers. I judged it the best, and indeed my only motive for not having vigorously pursued that plan was my doubt of its meeting the Honourable Company's concurrence.

I humbly beg leave to observe it is not probable any European enemy, least of all the French, would attempt this place only by sea. The land is their more immediate view on those occasions, and their military capacity would easily avail itself of every advantage. Therefore I thought it my duty to have an eye to every point I judged dangerous, and the work was conducted with all the despatch I was capable of driving the workmen to. I acted with true zeal and used all the frugality possible, which I hope will never be doubted, as I can solemnly declare that in all my proceedings here I never meant other than to do the utmost in my power for the Honourable Company's interest. The huge sums expended have been chiefly applied to those services pointed out in the Honourable Company's 97th paragraph, such as the Dock Pier Head the bastions and curtains of the fort, the batteries below the Cavalier and Tank bastions commanding the anchoring ground before the Castle. These were mostly in bad condition, and some, before the additions, were incapable of defence.

The Dock Pier Head, as it was intended to be conducted before my proposal of altering its length and direction, I may venture to affirm, would have been infinitely more expensive than anything that has been done in my time. It would have prevented the construction of a third dock, and would, no ways, have commanded the anchorage from the Castle. This it now does with seven embrasures. The two faces of the bastion in the fort called the Cavalier, were so low as to be

Chapter IV.

Fortifications and Buildings

Bombay Defences,
1761.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Bombay Defences,
1761.

commanded by the ships, and at high water the embrasures might have been entered from boats. The parapets both on the Royal Bastion and in the fort toward the sea being too thin, had been augmented with sod work, and though in the boats constantly watered to land and preserve them, yet were fallen down by the burrowing of rats and other vermin. The battery made of coconut trees and earth below the Cavalier and Tank Bastions I likewise found in ruins, being mostly washed away by the sea and destroyed by vermin. My attention was then highly due to such works whose ruinous and defenceless condition or other defects demanded immediate remedy.

Reducing the hill at Dongri to a proper level would be a work of many years. Further, as the intended line from the tower to Back Bay was not begun, it was necessary to secure the hill from an enemy's possession, by having a good communication thereto. The top of the hill has now a temporary breastwork to prevent a surprise. And the line of communication is commanded by the Mándvi and Pinner's Bastions, the Cavalier and one face of the Ravelin before the Bazar Gate, while by its own flanking angles the line commands the shore towards Mázgaon more freely than the tower.

In case of the intended line from Dongri to Back Bay not meeting the Honourable Company's concurrence, it became still more necessary to guard against what might occur from the bad situation of the present town walls, at least by the addition of a covered way and glacis (the parapet of which is already carried from the Mándvi to opposite the Banian Bastion). As the situation of the ground round the town walls was so disadvantageous to its defence, it would have been highly requisite to have cleared away 600 yards round it in level of 400 (as batteries for breach might be raised at the latter distance) which would have added considerably to the expense which by the intended line might have been avoided. All these inconveniences which I had to encounter will, I hope, show the necessity for what has been done. Also that in justice to my Honourable Employers, I could no way avoid giving my opinion freely of what I could not but think was so highly requisite for the defence of the place. Had any accident happened how might not I have been censured?

Three days later, 6th February 1761, Mr Mace writes another letter to Government regarding the works he thinks absolutely requisite. Agreeable to your Honour's orders I have now the honour to lay before you such works as seem in my humble opinion to be absolutely requisite. The foundations for turning arches under the rampart near the dock pier to be laid before the rains as the work will be very troublesome. Bomb-proofs under the west curtain in the fort to be continued, or the remaining part may fall in, as that now arched did last year. As it is communication over the west curtain to the Flag bastion is not safe. The building of other magazines, those in the fort being bad. The Church gate and Apollo gate to be secured, by some

¹ Mr J. Mace to Bombay Government 3rd Feb. 1761, Pub. Diary 36 of 1761, 145-147.

small work before them, more particularly the Apollo gate, as the situation before it is very disadvantageous to that end of the town.¹

On receipt of the above two letters the Board pass the following order on the 6th February 1761. Read two letters from the principal engineer, one urging the necessity for the works which have been carried on since his arrival, the other representing those works he yet deems absolutely requisite. Determining on the latter of these letters is deferred till proposals are received for completing the retaining wall of the glacis by contract. But the proposed damman house near the Dock head being very essential to the marine service, it is agreed that he be ordered to set about it directly.²

On the 10th March 1761 the Board order that Mr. Mace be directed to prepare two sketches of the buildings round the Green from the Mándra to the Marine House to be transmitted to the Honourable the Court of Directors by ships *Edmont* and *London* to show them the true state of those buildings and that none have been carried on between the Church and the Fort.³

Regarding the progress in the fortifications on the 4th April 1761 the Bombay Government write to the Court, paragraphs 136-137: The following progress has been made in the fortifications since (27th February 1760) the last ships were despatched to your Honours. The two large bombproof casemates under the west curtain in the fort are closed in and the upper coat of the terrace is laying on. The batteries between the Cavalier and Tank bastions are in forwardness, three embrasures being finished and seven others begun. Most of the retaining wall for the rampart is done and filled with earth. Three platforms on the Dock Pier head are laid and the others completing. Under the rampart near the flank of the Dock Pier head damman and cook rooms for the shipping are begun. The parapet of the glacis is carried on towards the curtain between the Banian and Moor bastions.⁴

In regard to the heavy expenses on the works on the 4th April 1761 the Bombay Government write to the Court: We of the Council are concerned that notwithstanding the authority given in the 101st para of your commands of the 4th May 1757 for erecting such works as Mr. Mace might think evidently necessary for the immediate defence of the island without waiting for further orders from your Honours, and the letter he delivered us in Consultation the 17th February 1758, fully represented in the 145th paragraph of our address of the 8th April following, your Honours should censure the fortifying the town on the land side from Dongri to Back Bay so severely as to deem us guilty of an absolute breach of orders. The necessity of this work Mr. Mace has represented in a letter delivered the 6th February last to which we beg leave to refer your Honours. At the same time we have long desisted from carrying on the land fortification. Indeed no further progress has been made therein than clearing

Chapter IV.

Fortifications and Buildings.

Bombay Defences,
1761.

¹ Mr. Mace to Bombay Government 6th Feb. 1761, Pub. Diary 36 of 1761, 148.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 6th Feb. 1761, Pub. Diary 36 of 1761, 139.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 10th March 1761, Pub. Diary 36 of 1761 260

⁴ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 9 of 1761, 61.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Bombay Defence,
1761

away the cocoanut trees for laying the foundation of the wall With respect to your Honours remarking that we have lately permitted large and lofty houses to be built betwixt the Church and Fort, we likewise beg leave to refer your Honours to a sketch we ordered Mr. Mace to draw to show you the true state of the buildings round the Green from the Mándvi to the Marine House and we shall pay a due regard to your Honours' orders for no houses being built in future but with the engineer's written approval¹

On the 6th May 1761 the Court write In your letter of the 27th February 1760 you give us an account of the works which you thought necessary to be carried on and a detail of the progress made therein to that time There we observe are attended with very heavy expenses not only in carrying on the works, but likewise in the pulling and cutting down many houses buildings and trees to the amount of Rs 16,000 and upwards which we find has been paid to the proprietors on that account Works of real use and immediate necessity you have had our leave to set about and only such without our previous approbation We expect you will most strictly attend to and observe our orders on this head and in particular those contained in our general letter of last season under date of the 25th April 1760. There were so very full and explicit that we flatter ourselves after the receipt thereof you will give us no further occasion to animadvert upon your conduct with respect to the fortifications and works.²

Works to be
Completed,
1761.

Seeing that certain works should be speedily completed, the Board direct on the 8th September 1761 It being absolutely necessary the following eight works should be completed as fast as possible, the expense of which we judge will not be considerable and as the people employed on the dock may work therein when the tides will not admit of their working at the dock, it is ordered that they be employed accordingly The works to be completed are (1) The arches intended as dammah houses (which are already nearly completed) as such houses are much wanted and the arches in their present state are liable to much danger (2) A retaining wall to be run from these arches to the wall towards the sea that the upper flank which is partly formed by them may be made useful and have guns mounted on it which cannot be done in its present state This for ships coming towards the road will be a very useful line (3) The entrance of the archway to the lower bastion This in its present unfinished state may moulder away and submit the Company to a much heavier expense than will be incurred by finishing it now. (4) The two small arches intended for cookrooms and the slope up to the ramparts being works of little expense as their foundations are laid and brought above the surface. These arches will not only admit of mounting useful guns towards the sea but the cookrooms thus fixed will prevent the seamen of the squadron making fires in the dangerous manner they now do in different places a practice which without fixed cook rooms it is hardly possible to prevent (5) The

¹ Bombay to Court 14th April 1761 part 1d1, Pub Dep Letters to the Court Vol 8 of 1761, 62

² Court to Bombay 6th May 1761, Pub Dep Court's L. Vol 3 of 1757-1761, 784.

angle of the bastion at the outward dock-gate, the work there in its present unfinished state being liable to receive much damage. (6) That open part of the bastion once talked of as a magazine. This must be converted into a small temporary magazine for lodging the powder of any ship or vessel which may haul into the dock or ashore to prevent the large store magazines being opened so often as they are at present. (7) The drain or cut that leads from this intended magazine to the dock must be filled up. At present it only serves to collect water which incommodes the docks as the works above mentioned likewise do in their present unfinished state inasmuch that they are a considerable addition to the expense of keeping the docks free from water. (8) A proper drain to be continued for carrying the water clear of the docks which will save a considerable monthly charge.¹

Regarding the heavy expenses on works the Court again write on 16th April 1762: It is always with concern we begin our remarks upon fortifications and buildings, as we find by the accounts you from time to time give us of the works, that they are attended with heavy expenses, far more than we had any reason to expect. The preceding as well as our last year's orders were express that no works should be carried on but those that were most immediately and absolutely necessary. We took notice last year of the large sums paid for houses, buildings, and trees. Now we find this article swelled with the demolition and rebuilding the Portuguese church and paying for still more buildings amounting in all to Rs 25,268. We must suppose that you had extraordinary good reasons for this transaction. It is evident if an immediate stop is not put to these expenses, on the least opening given them the engineers will be ever forming new projects, so that our money will be buried in stone walls churning and expensive operations, while our mercantile concerns languish and we experience disappointments which we should have no reason to expect if our money was not expended on these unprofitable works. From the long account you give of the state of them in the 126th para of your letter of the 20th November 1760, sufficient seems to be done for your security in the points we directed. Consequently all the future charges we shall expect to hear of in regard to them will be only what may preserve them in good order. For we positively repeat here that no more be undertaken without our previous approbation.²

In the same letter the Court continue. Our orders are peremptory and express. You shall enter upon no expensive works without our approbation, excepting such as necessity obliges you to and where your safety will not admit of waiting for our directions. Can you possibly avow that the demolition of the Portuguese church comes under that description? Then why should you at a time, when we most earnestly called upon you for every aid, wantonly dissipate thousands? We can hardly pardon such gross disobedience. And once for all we do

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Works to be
Completed,
1761.

The Court on
Expenditure,
1762.

¹ Dom. Gov. Consultation 8th Sept 1761, Pub. Diary 37 of 1761, 582-583.

² Court to Bombay 16th April 1762 para 80, Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 6 of 1762-1761, 40-41.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings
State of
Fortifications,
1762

positively tell you that we shall call upon you in another manner if our orders are thus disregarded.¹

In 1761 (August 11th) the principal engineer Major Mace died in Bombay and the sub-engineer Captain Andrew Werner was placed in charge. On the 15th June 1762, Captain Werner inspected the fortifications and submitted to Government the following detailed report. Having lately inspected the state of the fortifications, I think it incumbent on me to represent to you the additions and repairs I consider absolutely necessary, to be immediately given them to render them tenable in case of an attack from the enemy. I have likewise enclosed a list of such stores as I think will be sufficient for a six months' siege. Since without these stores all our endeavours for the defence of the place might be made ineffectual, they ought to be provided. A couple of line ships would also be of the greatest service against an attack by sea, but as this does not come within my sphere, I beg leave merely to offer my opinion. The works which I deem immediately necessary are.

1 The two cavaliers on the Prince's and Bamar bastions to be repaired and guns mounted on them.

2 A kind of ravelin for covering the church and Apollo gates.

3 To complete the glacis round the town wall.

4 To complete the battery under the Tank bastion of the castle in such manner as to render it fit for immediate service.

5 To mount Dongri fort for being blown up in case of an enemy's taking possession of it and to have some small guns mounted there to oppose their landing.

6 A battery to be erected at Mirzoon.

7 Guns to be mounted on the Bunder wharf on the side towards the Marine House.

8 To make some bomb-proof places for the preservation of the men of duty and for an hospital during the siege.

On the points noted in the above letter the Board pass the following resolutions. (1) The select committee concerning in the necessity of repairing the two cavaliers on the Prince's and Bamar bastions and of mounting guns on them for the better defence of the place, the bastions are ordered to be repaired in the speediest manner and so as not to require any further additions. (2) The Church and Apollo gates being very much exposed, a kind of ravelin for covering them is deemed very essential to their security, and is therefore ordered to be completed with all possible expedition by throwing up earth for the present to serve in case of need and to be afterwards faced with masonry when time will permit, should it then be found necessary. (3) As to completing the glacis round the town wall the Board observe: A good part of this work is already finished, and as it must be allowed to be of the greatest use for the preservation of the town, it is resolved to carry it on as fast as possible. But as it will be impracticable to

¹ Court to Bombay 16th April 1762 para 98, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 6 of 1762-1764, 17.

² Sub-Engineer to Government 15th June 1762, Pub. Diary 35 of 1762, 312-314.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

State of
Fortifications,
1762.

complete it with masonry in the same manner as that part already finished, the sub-engineer is ordered to throw up earth as pointed out in the preceding article, and it must be constructed so as to admit of redoubts being thrown up to strengthen the curtains. (4) To complete the battery under the Tank bastion of the castle in such manner as to render it fit for immediate service, is a work so very essential to the defence of the place towards the sea that it is agreeable to complete it with all possible expedition. (5) To mine Dongii fort for being blown up in case of an enemy's taking possession of it and to have some small guns mounted there to oppose their landing, are also deemed proper and ordered to be carried into execution, the tower not to be blown up till the last extremity, as it may be of service. (6) As regards the battery to be erected at Mázgaon, as the enemy cannot bring vessels to cover the disembarkation of their troops at this place, a battery is answered very essential, as the field pieces, it is imagined, will enquire the same purpose; but the expediency of it to be further side towards. (7) As to mounting guns on the Bandar wharf on the necessary to pier the enemy landing between the dock and bandar pier head, it is ordered to be put in execution and the parapet being at present very thin, it is to be thickened as well as that at the end of the pier, so that here small guns already mounted may be placed there instead of the places for the heavy cannon. (8) As regards making some bomb proof during the siege, the Board resolved that Majors Munro, Piers, and Gown be desired to survey the fort together with the sub-engineer and whatever they recommend in this respect to be complied with.¹

At the same Consultation the Board consider certain measures proposed by Major Munro. The Diary has the following entry: The President having some time ago desired Major Munro to give him his sentiments in writing with respect to what might be requisite in case of a siege, that gentleman delivers the following list of what measures he judges absolutely necessary to be immediately taken :

1. All stores to be examined and a report made of their condition. All shells to be proved and fitted (filled), and the guns on the several works to be fitted with carriages. These steps have been already taken and orders issued accordingly.
2. Field pieces to be fitted with sea carriages to be used occasionally on the works. This being deemed very proper, the marine paymaster is ordered to make such a number and of such dimensions as the commanding officer of Artillery may acquaint him will be necessary.
3. A small temporary magazine to be made to each bastion for holding powder for immediate service. Three of the bastions have already got these small magazines and to each of the others it is agreed to make one of large timber planks and fascines in the best manner the time will admit of.
4. All houses and buildings within cannon-shot of the works to be immediately razed. This is a measure which will undoubtedly be taken on

¹ Dom Gov. Consultation 16th June 1762, Pnb. Diary 38 of 1762, 342-344.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

State of
Fortifications,
1762.

the appearance of an enemy. Till then we think it unnecessary to subject the Honourable Company to so great an expense as they would necessarily incur by its being done immediately.

- 5 As none of the guns on the Munda bastion command the ravine before the main gate, the Board ordered that a cavalier be immediately built there to remedy this defect, and as cavaliers are a great defence to a fortification without outworks, it is agreed when time will permit to make one to each bastion.

The Board also ordered that all the artificers and labourers which the sub-engineer may judge necessary for carrying on the works proposed, be immediately entertained. Also that the Bombay and Māhim custom-masters take an account of all the provisions and grain in their respective districts and make a report thereof to the Board, that we may know what is without as well as within the town. With respect to the list of stores judged necessary by the sub-engineer, we have already got a great many of them and such as we have not, we ordered to be immediately provided.¹

The select committee acquainted, 15th June 1762, the Board that in consequence of a letter from the sub-engineer representing the necessity of some works being thrown up for the more immediate defence of the place, they had issued the necessary orders for that purpose as per copy of their proceedings now laid before the Board, which being read are unanimously approved and the Superintendent is ordered to convert the *Guardian* and *Fort* catch as fish traps but not to prejudice the former as a cipher if this can be avoided.

As there is a great difficulty in procuring artificers and labourers for the above works, a publication is immediately ordered to be issued that no people be employed in any private works whatever until the Honourable Company's works are furnished with as many as the sub-engineer may judge necessary.²

Stores of Grain,
1762

At a Consultation, the 29th June the same year, the Bombay and Māhim custom-masters lay before the Board an account of the grain in their respective districts. Abstracts of these accounts are given below³:

Bombay Grain Store, June 1762.

Butty	Wt. in	2004	Crans	Feet in
Buck	Rs. in	521	67	2000
Whist	Rs.	55	01	1000
Butt	Do	161	1000	1200

Māhim Grain Store June 1762

Place	Oil	Grain	Butty	Whist	Butt	Whist	Butt	Whist	Butt	Whist
	M s	M	M p	M p	M p	M p	K p	K p	K p	K p
Bombay	651 0	279	519 5	5 5	1 1	7 21	06 1	17 0	1 7	2 600
Māhim	100 0		20 15	1 3		0 22	2 5	1 7	1 7	12 000
Whist	10 2		35 15	2 0			1 4	1 2	1 2	12 000
Butt	200 0		747 15	1 21	51 6	0 10	2 2	0 2	0 2	
Total	1150 20	279	1207 0	58 1	215 1	9 12	102 4	20 3	20 3	25000

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 15th June 1762, Pub. Diary 38 of 1762, 312-345.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 15th June 1762, Pub. Diary 38 of 1762, 311.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 29th June 1762, Pub. Diary 38 of 1762, 359, 372.

As regards overseers the Bombay Diary of the 6th July has the following entry. Being of opinion that the appointing gentlemen to oversee the workmen employed on the fortifications will greatly forward the same, and in the end prove a considerable saving to our Honourable Masters, and many officers of vessels now unemployed having made a tender of their service on this occasion, it is agreed to entertain them at the rate of Rs. 18 a month or four shillings a day being the same as is allowed to the military officers. The sub-engineer having likewise represented that a palanquin is not sufficient for him to attend the several works which he is under an absolute necessity of visiting every day, the paymaster is ordered to make him an additional allowance of Rs. 30 a month for a conveyance.¹

On the question how far the new fortifications are sufficient for the security of Bombay, the Sub-Engineer, on the 30th July 1762, makes the following further representation to Government. Notwithstanding the great defence we may justly expect from the new fortifications now carrying on, yet upon examining the ground round about I have observed some deficiencies which I think it my duty to lay before your Honours. It is in my opinion probable that any European enemy that would attempt a siege against this place, must land their troops upon Old Woman's island as the most convenient place both for landing the men and warlike stores, and the point behind Mr. Court's house would afford them a very sufficient shelter till such time as they could survey the ground along Back Bay. I therefore humbly suggest that in order to secure the beach opposite to Old Woman's island so as to annoy the enemy and hinder their gaining any favourite spot of ground they may think convenient for them, a redoubt should be raised behind the Old Hospital with a communication with the outworks of the town. While they remain within cannon shot this redoubt will also create the enemy as much trouble and loss after passing it as before they came up to it. The distance of the redoubt from the town ditch will be but 620 feet which renders the communication tolerable safe and will amount to but a small expense. It is further my opinion that no guns ought to be mounted on the battery without the Apollo gate, which the late Major Mace raised. Field pieces would be much more serviceable, and their retreat more easily accomplished, should an enemy make their appearance on Old Woman's island. In the next place I must beg leave to represent the inconvenience of the tops of cocoanut trees by the Madagascarese houses. These trees would furnish materials for the enemy, should they be lucky enough to get that length, for raising a battery, and the hill they stand on is so much higher than the sand hill that unless our outworks were complete, we have not in the power of our guns to hurt them while lodged behind it. An enemy may lie securely behind the hill till they find an opportunity of taking possession of the sand hill, and raising batteries, which may be done in a night time. In order to obstruct the enemy's designs still further, I am of opinion that a mine with several branches to it carried under the sand hill, would be very necessary (as indeed were there some more dangerous places

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Overseers,
1762.

Bombay Defences,
1762.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 6th July 1762, Pub. Diary 38 of 1762 375-376.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Bombay Defences,
1762.

undermined within cannon shot it would not be amiss) and as we are not sure of having time to reduce it to a level, I propose that the mine should be of such a depth as that the levelling of the hill at any time may not affect the galleries. It will also be of great use to have that angle of trees cut down from the entrance of Souápu to the present burying ground, which is but a very small space and will open the avenue for our guns to play from the cavalier upon the Prince's bastion and outworks. All these representations I humbly beg leave to refer to your Honour's consideration, and as I thought it my indispensable duty to lay them before you, I hope you will pardon the trouble.¹

On receipt of the above letter the Bombay Government pass the following order: Read a letter from the sub engineer setting forth the necessity of erecting sundry additional works therein pointed out for the better defence of the place. Its consideration is for some time deferred, as we have not been able to procure a sufficient number of labourers for the works already on hand. But the Collector is ordered to value the coconut trees therein mentioned as necessary to be cut down and to make a report thereof to the Board.²

In consequence of the Government Resolution of the 30th July, the Collector was ordered the following day to report on the valuation of the trees to be cut. He accordingly submits the following report on the 31d August 1762. In obedience to your commands of the 31st ultimo, I now enclose for your Honours a transcript of the vereadores' and matthans' report of the valuation of 171 coconut trees, and 25 vacant spaces of the cart belonging to Fakir Shaw Jannulla situate near Back Bay, valued at Rs. 558½. I request your further directions thereon.³

At their Consultation on the same day the Board make the following remarks on the above letter: Read a letter from the Collector, enclosing a report valuation of the cart belonging to Fakir Shaw Jannulla, which the sub engineer wants to cut down agreeable to an order last Council day. As we do not know how the above Fakir became possessed of the said cart, the Collector is directed to enquire into it.⁴

On the 21th August the Collector submits the following report regarding Fakir Shaw's cart. In compliance with the orders of the Board, I have made enquiry how Fakir Shaw Jannulla became possessed of the cart situated near Back Bay. I find that a grant thereof was given to his widow Sarambai by the President and Council on the 13th August 1748, Mr Thomas Dornil being at that time Collector. On making the grant 18 years 7 months and 15 days' pension was recovered from her, and she was to pay for the first ten years at the rate of Rs. 13-1-50 for every 100 trees, and ever after at the rate of Rs. 26-3-0, a certificate being granted her accordingly. She now (1762) pays the Honorable Company annually:

Pension	Rs.	qr.	rs.
Tax	33	2	82
	9	3	20
Total	43	2	2

¹ Sub-Engineer to Government 30th July 1762, Pub. Diary 38 of 1762, 410-412.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 30th July 1762, Pub. Diary 38 of 1762, 401.

³ Collector to Government 31st Aug. 1762; Pub. Diary 39 of 1762, 415-416.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 31st Aug. 1762, Pub. Diary 39 of 1762, 414.

I should not have failed to deliver in the account before, but the widow representing to me that the veredores and mattaras had greatly undervalued the oart, I caused them to inspect it again and deliver in a report of its intrinsic worth for your Honour's notice.¹

On the 24th August the Board passed the following order on the above letter. Read a letter from the Collector representing that the widow of Fakir Shaw Janulla became possessed of the oart near Back Bay in the year 1748 by a grant as usual from the then Collector of the Honourable Company's rents and revenues; it is therefore ordered that the Collector enquire and report to us if there are any of the Honourable Company's oarts which can be given in exchange for it.²

On the same subject of Fakir Shaw's oart the Bombay Diary of the 25th August 1762 has the following entry. Read a letter from the Collector wherein he acquaints us there are none of the Honourable Company's oarts but what are let out to farm to give in exchange for that near Back Bay, and therefore recommends our giving one of those whose farmer is in a bad condition in lieu of it. As we have often found great difficulty in recovering the rent of such oarts, it is agreed to give the oart recommended by the Collector; and the trees in the Back Bay oart are agreeable to the sub-engineer's recommendation, ordered to be cut down and the compound wall and house situated therein ordered to be valued.³

On the 28th September 1762, the new fortification paymaster delivers a report valuation of the house and compound wall of the oart belonging to the widow of Fakir Shaw Janulla, amounting to Rs. 157-3-15, which sum the Board order to be discharged.⁴

In August 1762, owing to want of fodder, the owners of cattle employed in connection with the fortification works requested permission to send them to the other side to graze. The Board pass the following orders. The owners of private oarts requesting permission to send their cattle to graze on the other side, as has been always usual at this season of the year, but lately prohibited on account of the works, declaring that for want of fodder they lose many animals, the same is agreed to. But the new fortification paymaster is ordered to take security from the owners that the cattle be brought back in two months to be employed again upon the works. In the meantime the paymaster must purchase some oxen and buffaloes for the Honourable Company on the best terms he can that the works may not stand still.⁵

On the 14th September 1762, the Sub-Engineer made the following proposals to expedite the works: Observing the slow progress in filling up the glacis, and the length of time unavoidably required to complete the work by carrying the earth in wheelbarrows from the present distance, also since both the difficulty and expense will become greater with the increased distance the earth has to be carried, I was

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

**Bombay Defences,
1762.**

**Cattle for
Fortification
Works,
1762.**

**Sub-Engineer's
Proposals to
expedite Works,
1762.**

¹ Collector to Government 24th Aug. 1762, Pub. Diary 39 of 1762, 467-468.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 24th Aug. 1762, Pub. Diary 39 of 1762, 467-468.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 25th Aug. 1762, Pub. Diary 39 of 1762, 468-469.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 25th Sept. 1762, Pub. Diary 39 of 1762, 519.

⁵ Bom. Gov. Consultation 13th Aug. 1762, Pub. Diary 39 of 1762, 441.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings.
 Sub-Engineer's
 Proposals to
 expedite Works,
 1762.

led to consider the nature of the ground near the works. Having duly examined it, I am led to make the Board a proposition that I am convinced will greatly lessen not only the expense but the time required for filling the glacis, and will at the same time add much to the strength of the town.

From near the Prince's bastion on round to the Marlborough bastion the ground is soft, and free from rocks, except an easily separated sand stone. A forty-foot trench at the foot of the intended glacis will afford sufficient earth close to hand to complete the glacis in a short time. I am persuaded that doing this will not be attended with one-half our present expense. This trench is to be formed parallel to the works in such manner as not to afford any shelter to the approaches of an enemy, but rather after having made approaches at a distance, it will be a great check to them, and lay them open in full sight of the several fires and greatly retard their progress. I do not extend this trench further than from Prince's bastion to the Marlborough bastion as there the ground grows rocky and hard. I have also considered that the constructing by each ravelin and redoubt of small lunettes, or rather batteries of a few guns, will, at a very little additional expense, add much to the security of the place, and require scarce any additional people. Those quartered to the redoubts will man the proposed works with the addition of a few gunners only, as they communicate with and depend on each other. Such lunettes will add so much to the defence and so little to the expense of the works that I cannot but recommend them earnestly to be constructed. Indeed without lunettes it would not be so safe to work the trench as proposed. The great length of the curtains of the old works of the town wall, also makes these lunettes necessary. Without them the wall, which from its original construction is in itself very weak, would remain rather too much exposed to an enemy. Lest I should not have sufficiently explained myself, I take the liberty of laying before you a complete plan of the works as now proposed. If any difficulty or doubt remains, I will in person if necessary give you every information in my power in respect thereto. This trench is to be formed sloping on each side to such a depth as earth may be required for the purposes of filling up the glacis. The trench requires no masonry unless the Board should think masonry necessary in the faces of the small lunettes. Even this is not of material importance. This trench will for many years continue to answer the purpose of defence. Hereafter if necessary it might be easily converted into a regular ditch. Even as a trench it will I hope be evident to you that it will answer every purpose we can wish for. I beg leave to have your determination on this head as soon as possible, as the speedy completing of the works in hand so much depends on it. I shall in a future address to this Board explain myself as to the interior works in the plan, the above at present being what requires the most immediate attention. It may be necessary to remark that the remains of the sand hill or high ground will be best thrown down into the hollows near at hand by the side of the middle road, or used to fill such other hollows near at hand on the esplanade or before the town as may require it.

Two of the principal powder houses laying very near the works, are very necessary to be pulled down, as if they take possession of them before the new works are complete, they are or may be a great shelter to an enemy, there being no guns that can play upon them from the town. The rest as well as these two should be removed as our works regularly approach. The only place to remove them, I imagine, would be to Old Woman's island. I have also enquired and find a very complete well may be dug near the tombs in the dry season. This would answer for the use of the powder works as there was a well formerly on the same spot. As the rains are almost over I should be extremely glad to have one thousand labourers more employed on the works, to finish at least the glacis and the covered ways.¹

At the Consultation on the same day, 14th September 1762, the above proposals from the sub-engineer Captain Andrew Werner were read when the Board made the following remarks. Read a letter from Captain Andrew Werner accompanying a plan of the works he has and does propose erecting. As he represents that it would be attended with less expense to cut a trench at the foot of the glacis (while it would add considerably to the strength of the town) than to bring earth from the distance he does at present to complete the embankment and would also require much less time, the same is agreed to, as his reasons for this proposal appear to us to be well founded. Further the great difficulty we experience in procuring carts renders it very tedious and expensive to bring a sufficient quantity of earth for this purpose. Besides this we shall by this means be able to remove the sand-hill so long complained of as a nuisance to the works. For these several reasons Captain Werner is ordered to carry on the works in the manner he points out, in doing which the strictest frugality must be enjoined.²

The following extract from the monthly accounts of disbursements on fortification works shows what works were going on in 1762 and at what monthly cost³:

Fortification Works Monthly Charges, October-November 1762

Disbursements and Vouchers,	For Oct 1762.	For Nov 1762
	Rs. q. r.	Rs. q. r.
To mending a Dock Pier-head battery	1138 2 21	1099 2 16
" additional works carrying on at the Royal bastion	105 3 77	165 1 37
" a magazine near the Dock Pier-head battery	250 2 23	365 3 24
" covered way and glacis round the town wall	5071 3 7	4277 1 63
" additional works at the Prince's bastion	507 2 80	221 1 53
" Do do at the Bunni bastion	500 1 41	667 2 17
" a batter below the Co do bastion	1215 0 51	1127 1 15
" raising a rampin before the Apollo gate	605 0 32	1411 1 21
" Do do before the Church gate	193 1 27	277 3 57
" blowing 10,14 and cutting stones at Dongri	1689 2 19	1456 2 57
" making new stones	702 3 56	671 0 10
" repairing old stones	114 0 11	205 0 09
" charges on account of cattle	263 3 18	291 2 70
" extraordinary charges	2108 0 00	10,500 1 16
" cartages	345 2 0	315 2 0
" chimneys	2638 1 0	3715 3 50
" stores	1875 0 0	513 1 01
" cattle		295 3 56
" copperware		182 1 07
" repairing and covering houses and sheds		
Total	21,616 10	25,005 2 00

¹ Sub Engineer to Government 14th Sept 1762, Pub. Diary 39 of 1762, 532-531.

² Bom Gov Consultation 14th Sept 1762, Pub Diary 39 of 1762, 529-530.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 25th Jan 1763, Pub Diary 40 of 1763, 71-72.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Sub-Engineer's
Proposals to
expedite Works,
1762.

Bombay Ditch,
1762.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Excessive Cost of
Fortifications,
1763

Once more, in a despatch of 6th April 1763, the Court caution the Bombay Government against undertaking additional works and strictly enjoin frugality. For the reasons given by you and Rear Admiral Cornish we acquiesce in your continuing and finishing the third dry dock; the Dock pier battery and Dock pier head may also be completed, together with the damming houses, cook rooms and the small magazine that is to hold the powder of ships coming into the Dock. But as we are now at peace with France, you must not set about any new or additional works that are very expensive without first representing to us the absolute necessity of them, and waiting for our answer. We expect you will be as frugal as possible in carrying on these necessary works, and see that the materials are laid in at the best hand. We see that you had begun to reduce the lower flanks of the Royal bastion to their original standard. If a regular survey had been made and reported to the Board before the said flanks had been raised to an improper height, we imagine this trouble and expense might have been saved. You must therefore be cautious in future and not suffer the work of one engineer to be undone by his successor without assigning such reasons for it as may appear to you satisfactory.¹

Reductions,
1763.

About the middle of 1763, in consequence of the close of the French war, the Bombay Government had to consider what fortification works could be deferred so that the current charges might be reduced. The sub-engineer submitted his sentiments on the subject at a Government Consultation on the 7th June 1763. The Bombay Diary of that date has the following entry. In consequence of the intelligence we have received of a cessation of arms between Great Britain France and Spain, the sub-engineer is now called upon to give his sentiments as to the present state of the fortifications, the possibility of lessening the expense of the works now in hand, and stopping such as can be deferred until the Honourable Company's pleasure can be known. He thereupon declares that the lunettes without the covered way and the advanced works proposed in his plan to be carried out towards Back Bay near where the naval hospital formerly stood may be deferred. But that the ravelin and lunettes within the covered way carrying on at the Apollo gate and the redoubt between that and Church gate constructed with masonry, are in such forwardness that they cannot now be left undone without the Honourable Company's sustaining a heavy loss by their running to ruin if left in their present unfinished state. The work which at present in his opinion requires the greatest and most immediate attention, is the construction of the ravelin at the Church gate and that it may be brought to such an height before the expiration of the rains that, as has been the case this season, the water may not be so low as to subject the Honourable Company as well as private people to a great expense by obliging them to furnish the engineers and private ships with water brought from the several wells. The engineer further represents that this work is already carried on in part and is absolutely necessary considering the weak state of the town

¹ Court to Bombay 6th April 1763 pp. 71 and 73, Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 6 of 1762-1764, 201-202. Comp. of Fortifications Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1768, 191-192.

on that side. Further if this ravelin were not completed, the expense of the works already carried on in that part would be thrown away as of no use without it. He also recommends the completing the covered way already in great forwardness. This covered way we consider a work which may be carried on at leisure or as our circumstances permit. We concur with the sub-engineer in the necessity of completing the other works above mentioned, particularly the ravelin at the Church gate. The number of men required for this purpose and for completing the third dry dock and its pier head being considered, in order that we may reduce the expense as much as possible, Captain Weiner thinks 517 men including artificers and labourers of all sorts as by an abstract now delivered by him will be sufficient. It is therefore ordered that only this number be employed in future. As to the works proposed in the plan to be erected within the town (except the small magazine and casemates carrying on to complete the bastion in the maine yard which being now so far advanced cannot be left unfinished without subjecting the Honourable Company to a heavy loss), it is agreed to defer carrying them into execution until we have our Honourable Masters' sentiments on our works in general which we shall probably receive by the expected ships. With respect to the trench proposed to be cut without the glacis, the sub-engineer will consider and report to us hereafter how far he judges it will answer the purpose of saving expense by filling up the glacis. If he is satisfied it will save expense, the ditch will be carried on unless orders to the contrary should in the interim be received from the Honourable Company.¹

At a Consultation, the 9th August 1763, regarding Dongri fort and hill Government observe: In consequence of the late engineer's frequent recommendation for the demolition of Dongri fort and hill as being a very dangerous spot in case of an attack, the fort some time ago was dismantled. As the most effectual and least expensive way of removing the hill will be to require all stones wanted for buildings and ballasting of ships to be taken from thence under a penalty of Rs. 100 for every omission, a publication must issue to that effect and the paymaster be ordered to employ such a number of labourers and duffers to blow up the rocks and get the stones in readiness for being carried off as may be deemed necessary.²

On learning the above orders of the Board, Captain Weiner the sub-engineer submits the following report on the 5th September 1763: Having lately received copy of the Honourable Board's order to the new fortification paymaster directing the levelling Dongri fort and hill, I think it a duty incumbent on me to represent to your Honours that such a work will not only be attended with an enormous expense and a tedious length of time (for I will venture to say that 2000 men a day cannot complete it in 15 years) but after all will not answer the purpose intended as the ground at and about Dongri in general as far as Mánckji's hill or the Seven Brab-trees is considerably higher than the

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Reductions,
1763.

Dongri Hill
turned to Ballast,
1763.

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 7th June 1763, Pub. Diary 40 of 1763, 412-111

² Bom Gov. Consultation 9th Aug. 1763, Pub. Diary 11 of 1763, 515. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 192-193.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Dongri Hill
turned to Ballast,
1763

town wall and consequently will always command the town. By the enclosed draft of the profile of the hill, showing the height breadth and length, your Honours may partly judge how tedious and expensive the levelling would prove. As this is a period when something should be done to render that spot as serviceable as possible to us and a check to the progress of an enemy, should they make attempts on that quarter of the town, I humbly beg leave to offer it as my opinion that the hill should be well fortified and the works undermined. The expense will be trifling in comparison to that of levelling the hill and fort. A time may be ascertained when it may be completed. It will greatly strengthen that side of the town which is weakest and entirely command the shipping in the harbour and great part of Back Bay. The part of the hill which at all events it is necessary to blow up, will supply stones enough not only for all the public and private works but also ballast for the ships. For this work about 100 men more than are at present employed must be added.¹

The above letter was read by the Board on the 6th September 1763, when they observe. Read a letter from Captain-Lieutenant Andrew Werner, wherein he strongly represents that our late resolution for demolishing Dongri hill and fort cannot be effectually carried into execution in less than fifteen years, nor without a most enormous expense, which will far exceed that which would be incurred by fortifying it in a proper manner, and which, as the ground continues so high as always to command the town to a great distance, is in his opinion by far the most eligible scheme. It is agreed, therefore, as it is now peace and as there is no absolute necessity for coming to an immediate determination to which of these two measures to give the preference, that we submit the same to our Honourable Masters. In order that they may be the better able to give us their sentiments thereon, Captain Werner is directed to prepare and deliver in a plan of the work he proposes to erect there. In the meantime the publication for carrying all stones for ballasting of ships and private buildings from Dongri must be contradicted. At the same time such stones as may be wanted for the works now being carried on are to be taken from Dongri in such manner as may forward either of the above measures the Honourable Company may determine on.²

Captain Keating
Principal Engineer,
1764.

In 1764 the Court appointed Captain Keating principal engineer at Bombay. In their letter of the 3rd April to Bombay they write. We have appointed Captain Thomas Keating to be our Principal Engineer at the Presidency of Bombay. He has been very well recommended to us for a gentleman of abilities in his profession, and we hope will fully answer our expectations. Besides his post of engineer he is to succeed to the command of one of our artillery companies upon the first vacancy that shall happen after his arrival. Captain Keating as principal engineer is to rank as captain and to have the annual salary of three hundred pounds in full consideration for his

¹ Capt Andrew Werner to Government 5th Sept 1763, Pub. Diary 11 of 1763, 531-532. Forrest's Home Series, II 126.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 6th Sept 1763, Pub. Diary 11 of 1763, 544-545. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol 2 of 1759-1765, 193.

services in that station. As captain of one of our artillery companies, upon the first vacancy that shall happen after his arrival. Captain Keating is to have the established pay of two hundred pounds a year. In the meantime and until such vacancy happens, it is our pleasure and direction that he be allowed the said pay of two hundred pounds a year, and take rank as Captain upon his arrival.¹

On his arrival at Bombay Captain Keating took a survey of the fortifications and reported the results to Government on the 20th November 1764: In consequence of your letter received from Mr. Secretary Ramsay I have taken a survey of the fortifications of Bombay and beg leave to give my opinion as follows. The works that I think most necessary to be carried on at present are the finishing the Church Gate ravelin, completing the flagstaff and cavalier bastions, and the curtain between; next the finishing the Apollo Gate ravelin. After these works are in a proper state, I would recommend as soon as possible the completing the covert way and glacis of the place as without this the place, be it ever so well garrisoned and outwork heaped on outwork, it can never be said to be tenable. I must acknowledge my surprise at the great care and attention that has been given to the outworks in general, while the parapet of the body and that excellent defence (I mean the covert way and glacis allowed by all gentlemen to be so who have ever wrote or seen service) is entirely neglected. You all gentlemen must know what good defences were made in the last war by the fortresses of Louisbourg and the Moro, against I will take upon me to say an army of eleven thousand as good troops as ever were taken into the field and as well supplied with warlike stores. And neither of these places had more than a ditch, covert way, and glacis. Not to mention the great expense it must be to the Honorable Company to build and keep in repair these amazing outworks executed and intended, there is a still heavier one behind, I mean that of maintaining a sufficient body of troops to properly defend them, without which works can be of no manner of service, but rather help in case of being attacked to the reduction of the place. In order to demonstrate to your Honours that the present military establishment at Bombay is not nearly sufficient to defend the place in case of an attack, I have taken the liberty of enclosing an abstract of the number of troops which I think necessary for defending the fortress according to the designed plan, supposing it to be besieged. As it is the opinion of military gentlemen in general that no place can be properly defended for any length of time that has not three reliefs of troops, according to this system the number required for this place will be 4961 men. This may appear mysterious to your Honours, but any gentleman who has read Authors that treated of this subject will find I have largely allowed for the difference of situations between this country and Europe (where more than double the number would be wanted to works of our extent) by reducing the numbers, not only in the fronts unattacked, but also in that attacked as twelve hundred infantry is often thought

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Captain Keating's
Survey of
Fortifications,
1764.

¹ Court to Bombay 3d April 1764 paras 52, 55, 57, Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 6 of 1762-1764, 286-287.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Captain Keating's
Survey of
Fortifications,
1764.

little enough for defending a front of the same extent. By a consideration of those matters your Honour, I flatter myself, will be convinced of the absurdity of an engineer extending the works of a fortress one inch beyond the real necessity. Had the money that has been expended on the outworks been properly made use of in repairing the body of the place and giving it a proper covert way and glacis, I will venture to say we might (supposing Dongri to have a simple and plain fortification) bid defiance to any force that can be brought into this part of the world, and that with one-half the number of troops required to garrison our intended plan. The mentioning Dongri, gentlemen, has led me in part to give my present opinion of that spot as speedy resolutions are absolutely necessary to be taken in regard to it. I give it as my humble opinion that fortifying Dongri is the most eligible and best method, as the removal will be attended with a very heavy and tedious expense. On the other hand, if fortified, it is so very commodiously situated for the annoyance of an enemy in their approaches, and in all probability may retard a siege until reinforced, and lastly as it is capable of being fortified at a moderate expense by having the materials near at hand. Upon considering the affair of lodgments for the troops off duty in case of being attacked, I offer it as my opinion that finishing the works I have before mentioned is of more consequence for two reasons. First works begun and not finished are a heavy expense for no end. Second a place of Bombay's extent cannot want safe lodgments, as it can never be so warmly or closely besieged, but there may be sheds erected in places free from the enemy's shot or shells. It is also my opinion that, for the distance of 400 yards at least from the foot of the glacis, the Esplanade should be cleared from all encumbrances and levelled. As I have observed many of the works (the parapets in particular) have given way and separated in a very short time, I have taken some pains to inspect into the nature of the workmen and upon the whole of my observation find the masons and bricklayers in particular have a very imperfect knowledge of carrying on the works of a fortification, as they pay no sort of regard to laying the masonry in proper and regular courses without which a work can never be durable. All that I can say to them on this subject is of no sort of consequence any longer than I remain on the spot. Thus, gentlemen, make me take the liberty to beg you will request the Honourable Company's sending from Europe six good workmen (at least) in each of the branches in the list subjoined to be under the directions of the engineer or as the Honourable Governor and Council shall think proper. These, gentlemen, are the principal observations and remarks which I beg leave to offer to your consideration at present.¹

¹ Principal Engineer Captain Thomas Keating to Bombay Government 20th Nov. 1764, Pub. Duty 13 of 1764, 676-679

Abstract of the Troops necessary for the defence of the fortresses of Bombay, supposing it to be attacked, and finished according to the present plan, 20th November 1764.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Captain Keating's
Survey of
Fortifications,
1764.

Place.	Number of Ordnance.		Engin- neers		Artillery-				Infantry.			General
	Cann.	Mortars.	Chief.	Sub.	Officers.	N-C Officers	C. and M.	Additional.	Officers.	Serjeants.	Rank and File.	
The face at- tacked, sup- port it in front of the barricade.	Mandvi bastion	8 13 inch	1 at least	1	1	1	16	24	1	1	25	69
	Opposite do.	6 10 do.			1	1	12	19	1	1	25	69
	Do's Cavalier	5 6 do.			1	1	10	15	1	1	12	49
	Curtain	2 19 do.			1	1	4	6	1	1	5	65
	Ravelin	11 18 do.			1	2	26	39	1	2	50	123
	Two lunettes	10			2	2	20	30	2	2	24	80
To the adjacent front one third of the attacked front's complement.	Counter guard	6			1	1	12	18	1	1	12	41
	Covert way	6 Royals			1	1	0	10	1	1	100	120
To the adjacent front one third of the attacked front's complement.	1 do.	1 do.			2	2	35	53	3	3	100	203
To other 6 fronts, one third of the attacked front's complement.	2-100 R			1	6	10	100	160	10	11	295	605
From Royal bastion to Pier-head	35				1	2	13	36		2	21	77
Shelling battery	18					1	3	9		1	12	29
Castle	90				1	2	12	36		2	50	105
2422 battery under the Castle	12					1	8	9		1	12	26
Town line between Zingee and Mandvi bastion										1	12	17
Total		22		3	16	23	276	437	34	39	904	1015

No artillery allowed to work 16 mortars, but suppose them to be served by those detached to the guns.

A B—If any ships of the enemies are in sight, the sea face will require a great many more men. Con-Lant artillerymen in the laboratory and many others as artificers, not allowed for.

At the same day's Consultation the Board passed the following orders on the above report: Read a letter from the principal engineer, wherein agreeable to our orders on his first arrival he gives his opinion of the works now carrying on and which of them he thinks most immediately necessary to be completed. On taking his opinion into consideration it is observed that Captain Keating, at the same time that he recommends the immediate completing of some other works, says it is absolutely necessary some speedy resolutions should be taken about Dongri fort. As our present circumstances will not admit of our carrying on both at the same time, that gentleman is called in and asked whether the works already begun should be first finished or Dongri fortified. On this he declares the former to be most essential. At the same time he is of opinion no delay should be allowed in setting about a plain and simple fortification at Dongri whenever circumstances will admit of it. He is therefore now directed to carry on the works in the manner he points out in his letter and in the meantime to prepare and lay before us a plan of such a work as he judges absolutely necessary at Dongri. It is agreed likewise to request our Honourable Masters in the address now preparing by the *Anson* to send out the artificers Captain Keating represents to be necessary.²

Early in the next year, February 1765, want of funds compelled the Bombay Government to stop all fortification works. Two months later, the 25th April 1765, they write to the Court: Little has been

¹ In this statement N. O. denotes non-commissioned and G. and M. probably gunners and masons.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 20th Nov. 1764, Pub. Diary 43 of 1764, 671-672.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

done to the fortifications since our last address. On the 26th February finding the balance in our treasury to be reduced to Rs 17,000 and that we had then very little probability of soon having it in our power to recruit it we determined, as a measure which could not in such circumstances be avoided, to discharge at the end of that month all the workmen employed on the fortifications as well as on the docks and other public works. Although we were and still are thoroughly sensible of the utility and indeed absolute necessity of completing these works, yet as it is peace we were of opinion this service could better be dispensed with than any other. Circumstances as we were it was impossible to carry on those works and our investments at the same time. As soon as our situation will possibly admit we shall not fail to complete the works.¹

Church Gate
Ravelin,
1765.

At a Consultation the 5th March 1765 Government considered the assistant engineer's representation regarding the arches to the gateway of the Church gate ravelin and passed the following orders: 'The assistant engineer represents that the arches to the gateway of the ravelin at the Church gate will infallibly go to ruin unless completed out of hand, which may be done in two months by 229 workmen and labourers whose pay will not exceed Rs. 1500 a month. It is therefore agreed to complete them; and as the lunettes are represented to be unnecessary, it is ordered that the guns thereon be dismounted and the platforms taken up.'²

Principal
Engineer's
Progress Report,
1765.

On the 10th May 1765, the principal engineer Captain Keating submitted a report showing the progress made in the fortifications since his arrival. 'On my taking charge of the engineer's department the works in hand were the ravelin before the Church gate, the dock pier head, and the additional works in the Castle. The Church gate ravelin has one of its faces and flank raised as high as the cordon, the other face and flank not so high by two feet, no part of the gateway was begun and not more than half the rampart filled in. The parapet is now entirely completed. The arches of the gateway turned and the rampart filled up and little more is wanting to finish the whole of this work than covering the arches, terracing it, and laying the platforms. This I believe will be completed with the number of workmen now employed by the 14th or 15th of next month. The curtain between the cavalier and flagstaff bastions in the castle was ordered some time before I arrived to be lowered six feet and new parapets to be built to the aforesaid bastions. The parapet of the flagstaff bastion was finished except the banquette, that of cavalier just begun, and the lowering of the curtain commenced the day I arrived (30th September). The whole of this work was finished 9th January 1765

The dock pier head, the other work then in hand, has been raised upwards of twelve feet. It had long since been finished had we not been detained for the carpenter's work which is to come from the marine yard. Ten masons, six hard stone-cutters, and 40 labourers will finish the

¹ Bombay to Court 25th April 1765 para 37, Pub. Dep. Letters to Court Vol. 12 of 1765, 16

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 5th Mar 1765, Pub. Diary 41 of 1765, 125

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

work in 17 or 18 days. On finishing the works in the castle I set some part of the workmen to carry on the ravelin before the Apollo gate, one face and flank of this work was raised almost as high as the cordon, the other face for the most seven and eight feet lower, and the other flank the foundation not begun and very little of the ditch dug. The whole of this ravelin (except eleven feet of one face and one flank which is ten feet lower) is now raised to the cordon, a good part of the ditch before the south-west face and flank dug, and the glacis before this part well advanced as also that before the Church gate. These are the whole of the works on which any people have been employed since my taking charge of the post of engineer.¹

After visiting the several outforts Major J. Gouin submits the following report to Government on the 24th September 1765: In consequence of your Honour's direction I have carefully visited the several outforts in company with the engineer and commanding officer of the train. I find them to be in very good condition but beg leave to point out the following necessary alterations and repairs. The line of communication between Sion and Rewa forts to be repaired as also the redan of the said line. The front of Rewa next the water to be raised with some alterations in the figure so as to be flanked; one of the bastions of Mihim fort to be made a retrenchment to serve by way of citadel. All these are esteemed by the engineer absolutely necessary.²

Outforts,
1765.

On this report the Government remark: Read a letter from Major Gouin representing that sundry additions and repairs are absolutely necessary to the several outforts: ordered that copy of this letter be sent to the engineer who must be directed to frame and lay before the Board an estimate of the expense which will be incurred by the repairs and additions therein mentioned when we shall come to a resolution.³

At a Consultation the 19th November 1765, the Board record: The grand chanki being greatly out of repair the land paymaster now lays before us an estimate of the expense which will be incurred by repairing it amounting to Rs. 2174½. Ordered that the same be repaired accordingly.⁴

It has been noticed above that the plan of the fort and town prepared by the sub-engineer Mr. Werner was submitted to the Court of Directors. Their orders regarding this plan dated 22nd March 1765, were received some time before the close of the same year. The Court say. By the *Speaker* we received the plan of the fort and town drawn by Mr. Werner. We observe what you say about the works and should have given our opinion thereon agreeable to your desire by this conveyance. But as we last year sent out Captain Thomas Keating as principal engineer at your settlement, we think it proper to defer our opinion until we have his sentiments on the works in general and Dongri in particular. At Dongri we would have no additional works made until you have our further orders; it appears to be a matter of consequence and

Fort and Town,
1765.

¹ Principal Engineer to Government 10th May 1765, Pub. Diary 44 of 1765, 306, 307.

² Pub. Diary 45 of 1765, 606

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 24th Sept. 1765, Pub. Diary 15 of 1765, 604

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 19th Nov. 1765, Public Diary 15 of 1765, 737.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Apollo Gate
Ravelin,
1766.

Principal
Engineer's
Progress Report,
1766

you must continue to pay due regard to our orders about carrying on the works.¹

In his letter to Government on the 4th February 1766 the Principal Engineer writes: As the Apollo ravelin and lunettes are now so far advanced that a number of bricklayers are unnecessary for that work, I take the liberty to recommend to your Honours the carrying on the adjoining redoubts during the remainder of the fair season. The additional monthly expense incurred by carrying on the above work will not exceed Rs. 1200 exclusive of materials.²

At the same day's Consultation on perusing the above letter Government remark: The engineer recommends completing the redoubts at the Apollo ravelin. This is agreed to as the bricklayers must otherwise be discharged, and when once they leave the island it is difficult as well as expensive to get others.³

Five days later, the 9th February 1766, the Principal Engineer submits his progress report to Government. He writes: Under the 10th of May 1765 I laid before the Honourable Board the progress made in the fortifications from my arrival to that day. I am now to acquaint your Honours the Church gate ravelin wants nothing to complete than laying the platform most of which is ready for nailing down and making doors and window shutters for the arched rooms of the gateway. This work would have been long since finished but that I judged it best to let the filling of the rampart settle well before I laid the platforms or made the banquettes. The dock and pier head remain as per my last for want of the timber work being completed. The masonry of the Apollo ravelin is finished all but the gateway. A small part of the rampart and parapet adjoining that of the lunettes will be completed in a few days. Forming the ditch of the above ravelin has been a very heavy work. In most places we have been obliged to cut by mines through nine, ten, and eleven feet of solid and hard rock. The ditch is now well advanced as well as the whole of the ravelin lunettes covert way and glacis except the terracing over the gateway and raising the banquettes and the platforms which will be completed before the setting in of the rains. I am also carrying on the glacis and covert way from the Apollo ravelin towards the south-west redoubt. At present this redoubt has a little more than half its face raised within four feet of the cordon and the ditch is one-third formed. I propose forwarding this work as fast as possible during the remainder of the fair season.

On the 29th of last month I received from Mr Ramsay, a copy of the 117th paragraph of the general letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors wherein they say that nothing relative to the fortifying Dongri must be undertaken until they have my sentiments thereon. In my letter to the Honourable Board under the 20th November 1764 I have given it as my opinion that fortifying Dongri

¹ Court to Bombay, 22nd March 1765 para 117, Pub. Dep. Court's L. Vol. 7 of 1765: 1764, 38.

² Engineer to Government 11th Feb. 1766, Pub. Diary 16 of 1766, 93.

³ Board Consultation 11th Feb. 1766, Pub. Diary 16 of 1766, 87.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Principal
Engineer's
Progress Report,
1766.

was by no means to be neglected. For supposing the whole of our works to be completely finished and an enemy in possession of Dongri, it has so very formidable a command that the place must infallibly fall in a short time. I beg leave to take the liberty to recommend to your notice the great necessity of carrying on the works in general, having at this time the advantage of a tranquil peace. For should it happen that war were to break out between any European Powers and the Honourable Company, the works then must be carried on with such hurry and confusion as must be attended with many inconveniences particularly the two following: First the procuring more than 600 or 700 labourers at short notice becomes at all times very expensive. I may venture to say one-half more than at present since in such extremities they must be furnished with provisions. Secondly, works obliged to be carried into execution upon emergencies of this kind are seldom if ever properly conducted. The people employed on them are mostly unacquainted with their business, so that badly put together works are (it may be) scarcely finished before an enemy attacks them. The consequence is the works are fired from before they are half cemented. It follows that by the explosion of our cannon they are shaken and rent to pieces, perhaps to the very foundation. And, if you are so lucky as to keep possession of them, they are constantly in want of repair. These are some of the bad consequences that may arise from want of timely determination which I beg leave to submit to your better consideration.¹

Two days later, on the 11th February, the Board ordered that this report follow this Consultation and a copy be transmitted to our Honourable Masters by the *True Briton*.²

At the close of the rains of 1766, 21st October 1766 the Principal Engineer made the following recommendations: As the season is now opened I beg leave to recommend to the Board the finishing the retaining wall of the rampart within the town to commence near the Apollo Gate. This work I the more warmly recommend as the works of the body in general sustain the greatest damage for want of the said wall and the cattle having free access to all parts of the rampart and parapet a heavy daily expense is thereby incurred. An additional advantage will be gained by carrying on this work at present as it is nearly connected with the works in hand and is more immediately under close inspection. The additional expense of carrying this work on, all materials included, will be about Rs. 2400 a month. I must once more beg leave to mention and recommend to the Board's most serious attention and consideration the absolute necessity for commencing the fortifying of Dongri hill. To leave this post in its present defenceless state must in case of an attack infallibly cause the loss of Bombay. In order that the Honourable Court of Directors may the more fully and clearly understand the situation and consequence of Dongri I take the liberty of making the following remarks. The Mündri and Royal

Importance
of Dongri,
1766.

¹ Principal Engineer to Government 9th Feb 1766, Pub. Diary 46 of 1766, 100-102.

² Board Gen. Consultation 11th Feb 1766, Pub. Diary 46 of 1766, 95.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Importance
of Dongri,
1766.

bastions are the extremity of the sea or harbour (as also the land face-) bearing nearly north by west and south by east. The town is an oblong widening gradually from the Māndvi to the Royal bastions of which the above bastions are the greatest extremities and is composed of six more bastions lying towards Back Bay and the land. Dongri hill the greatest height in the town, bears nearly north of the Māndvi bastion, distance 329 yards, its height 36 feet above the terrace-plain of the rampart. By being so advantageously situated Dongri hill has a most formidable plunging fire both in reverse and enfilade into all the sea and most of the land faces of the town. An enemy once in possession of Dongri and their batteries judiciously erected, it would be next to impossible for the place to make any tolerable defence. No wonder if the most alarming consequences are to be dreaded from the neglect of a post of so great importance, the more especially as the hill is naturally formed and situated to admit of being strongly fortified at a moderate expense. If strongly fortified and sufficiently garrisoned I will venture to affirm, considering our great distance from Europe and the many disadvantages an enemy labours under in such expeditions, Dongri will most effectually secure the Honourable Company's settlements on this coast. I am now preparing and in a few days shall lay before the Board a plan of the works which I think the most adapted and least expensive for securing Dongri.¹

This letter was read at the same day's Consultation when the Board remarked: Read a letter from the principal engineer Captain Thomas Keating, recommending the completing the retaining wall of the rampart within the town and urging the necessity of erecting a fortification upon Dongri hill. The consideration of this is deferred until the plan he mentions in his letter is ready to be laid before us.²

At a Consultation, the 28th October, the same year, the Principal Engineer submitted a plan regarding Dongri, when the Board remarked: The principal engineer now delivers a rough draft of the work he proposes to erect upon Dongri hill. As the determining of this seems to be a matter of great importance, it is agreed to meet again to-morrow purposely to consider thereof when the major and engineer must also be present. In the meantime the Secretary is directed to have recourse to our Honourable Masters' late orders on this subject that we may regulate ourselves conformable thereto in the resolution we may take on the engineer's letter.³

Plans for
Dongri Fort,
1766.

As agreed on the previous day, on the 29th October the Board met to consider the proposals regarding Dongri hill. The Bombay Diary of that day has the following entry. Met agreeable to our resolution purposely to take into consideration the principal engineer's letter read and entered the 21st instant wherein he recommends the finishing the retaining wall of the rampart within the town and strongly urges the necessity of erecting a fortification upon Dongri

¹ Principal Engineer to Government 21st Oct. 1766, Pub. Diary 17 of 1766, 687-689.

² For Gov. Consultation 21st Oct. 1766, Pub. Diary 17 of 1766, 681-683.

³ For Gov. Consultation 28th Oct. 1766, Pub. Diary 17 of 1766, 691.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.Plans for
Dongri Fort,
1766.

hill agreeable to a plan yesterday laid before us. His letter being repereused and duly and maturely weighed and considered and the finishing the retaining wall of the rampart appearing to us to be a very necessary work and one that must sooner or later be completed, and as he represents the monthly expense of it will not exceed Rs. 2400, he is ordered to carry the same into execution without loss of time. Notwithstanding the very urgent manner in which the principal engineer sets forth the necessity of erecting a fortification upon Dongri hill, as on reference to our Honourable Masters' orders for these three years past, we find they expressly forbid this work being carried on without further orders from them, we cannot possibly proceed thereon until such orders are received. Therefore that no further time may be lost in settling about this necessary work, Captain Keating is ordered to finish the plan now before us in a proper manner and to prepare a profile of the hill to be transmitted to our Honourable Masters by the *Royal Charlotte* with any remarks or explanations he may think proper to lead them or those whom they may be pleased to consult on the occasion to form a proper judgment thereof. It is agreed that at the same time we set forth the absolute necessity of this work being erected without delay and desire their final orders regarding it.¹

On the 25th November the same year as desired in the previous month, the Principal Engineer submits to Government a survey of Dongri. Captain Keating writes : Agreeable to your orders of the 29th ultimo, I now lay before you a survey of Dongri hill taking in the space of six hundred yards from the salient angle of the Mándvi bastion with one centre and five cross and diagonal sections of that plot as also my design for fortifying the said hill. Upon examining with accuracy into the present state of the old tower laid down in the plan I find the late Captain Werner succeeded so far in his intentions of demolishing it from the top of the parapet to within four feet of its offset. I am not able to give any kind of reason (nor do I believe it possible to give a good reason) for his attempting to demolish the said tower. For let the form given to the defences of the hill be what it will they must at all events take in the tower. Equally certainly the tower must be a work of the utmost consequence being so high as to have a very formidable command over an enemy in the whole of their approaches either against Dongri or the adjacent polygon of the town. The finding the said tower cannot be turned to so good an account as I at first expected, has led me to make some alterations in my first design. This I think when executed will fully answer the defending this post. In this design I have endeavoured to help nature at as little expense as is possible by not extending the works more than what cannot possibly be avoided without the place becoming so very small as to be able to make only a like small defence. On the other hand had the design been more extensive the expense would be greatly increased by carrying the works on the low ground which of course must very much enlarge the expense of masonry. My reasons for not making any works to flank the west face of the S. W. B. S. bastion

¹ Pom. Gov. Consultation 29th Oct. 1766, Pub. Diary 47 of 1766, 710-711.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Plans for
Dongri Fort,
1766.

and the N. E. B. N. face of the S. S. E. bastion was that in my opinion an enemy will never venture to carry on an attack against the former as in that case they must be situated between two very heavy fires. And supposing they should first take the town they then would find themselves very severely galled in their approaches on the angle of this bastion by a heavy plunging fire from the round tower which by being so much above them they will find very hard to run even in its defences. There may likewise a temporary battery erected near the gorge of the S. W. B. W. demi-bastion that will also flank the said face. In regard to the N. E. B. N. face of the S. S. E. bastion there is no ground for an enemy to work on. Even if there was, great part of the objections is removed by the same advantages from the old tower and a like battery near the gorge of the other demi-bastion. Although the design is small yet we shall be able to present a pretty formidable front to the hill. And the entains being arched afford very commodious repositories for all kinds of stores and provisions. The magazines, from their situation near the flanks of the bastions, will be very secure. Should, after a length of siege, we be obliged to evacuate the fort, the magazines being used as mines will serve to open the whole front to the adjacent polygon so that an enemy will not find their expectations so fully answered as they might hope. The arched rooms of the rampart with a little trouble may be turned to the same use as likewise the round tower. As a great deal depends on the place making a long defence we should endeavour to make use of every art in order to spin time to its greatest verge so as to be able to benefit from the many casualties to which an army in these climates is liable, as likewise from any success which may be expected from our other settlements. A long defence in a great measure depends on being able to keep up a good and safe communication between the town and Dongri fort, in order that in case of an attack on the said fort there may be a constant relief of fresh troops thrown into it every twenty-four hours. For those reasons too much care or pains cannot be taken to have such a communication. This will I think be fully answered in my design as I intend the communication to be covered with a strong parapet wall even and a half feet high covered with a glacis which from its situation is very little subject to an enfilade. Upon the whole I think the form of this design will fully prevent an enemy possessing themselves of this post without a regular and obstinate siege. Should they think it best first to reduce the town and in that attempt succeed, I think our army by sending a good part of their stores into Dongri and taking post to the northward of it, might change the scene and from the besieged become the besiegers. Or at least prolong the reduction of the island until we received succours or might be able to form proper connections on the continent. From considering the sections of the plan now before you and by the knowledge each gentleman in Council has of the hill's situation and form, the Honourable Board will be able to form a complete judgment of the matter. To these plans I therefore beg leave to refer.¹

¹ Principal Engineer Thomas Kenting to Government 25th Nov. 1766, Pub. Diary 47 of 1766, 781-784.

On the above letter at their Consultation the same day the Board remark: Read a letter from the Principal Engineer accompanying his plan for fortifying Dongri. This plan is now inspected by the Board with copy of the letter ordered to be transmitted to the Honourable Court of Directors by the *Royal Charlotte* agreeable to our resolution of the 29th ultimo¹

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings

Principal
Engineer's
Progress Report,
1766

On the 18th of November 1766 Colonel Keating the principal engineer, submitted his third progress report. He writes: Under the 9th February last I laid before the Honourable Board the progress made in the new fortifications from my arrival to that day. I am now to inform your Honours what has been done from that time to this date. Except the doors and window shutters of the arched rooms, the Church gate ravelin is now complete and the guns are mounted thereon. The dock pier head wants nothing more than the masonry filling round the mast which could not be done in the rains. Finishing this will be the work of a few days. Except laying the platforms, making the banquettes, cleaning a small part of the ditch, and fixing the standing and drawbridge the Apollo ravelin is finished. The retaining wall of the glacis has been carried round from the salient angle of the Apollo gate ravelin to the Church gate ravelin in length 2818 feet containing 3870 solid feet of masonry. The glacis is carried from its extremity near the salient angle of the Royal bastion round the S. W. redoubt or ravelin in length 2083 feet. The palisading of the covert way has been carried from the salient angle of the Apollo ravelin to the salient angle of the S. W. ravelin in length about 1150 feet. As I found the S. W. and W. ravelin would be trifling works and of very little use if finished according to Mr. Werner's plan, I have carried on the faces and terminated them on the counterscarp of the body and communicated their ditches with the main ditch. These alterations render them much more formidable as the curtain and adjacent flanks are better covered and the communication of the ditches prevents them from being carried by assault to which they were very liable before by having their ditches detached and their gorge open to the covert way. This will be more plainly demonstrated by reference to Mr. Werner's plan. Being in great want of magazines and store rooms I have constructed one small magazine in each of those ravelins capable of containing upwards of three hundred barrels of powder each. Also one store room for holding the artillery apparatus of the work. These magazines and store rooms are quite secure; they will be very useful and the expense is little. I have also opened a communication from the body of the place to each of those ravelins. This communication which was entirely omitted in Mr. Werner's design, makes those works capable of being defended to the last extremity and then affords a safe retreat. The S. W. ravelin is raised all round within four feet of the cordon stone, the pillars for the bridge of communication are finished, the timber for the standing part of the bridge laid, and the passage of communication through the curtain is raised to the spring of the arch. The west

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 25th Nov. 1766, Pub. Diary 47 of 1766, 779.

Chapter IV Fortifications and Buildings.

Principal
Engineer's
Progress Report,
1766.

ravelin has its ramparts something more advanced and the pillars of the bridge of communication are finished. But the passage through the curtain is not yet begun. Upon the whole the works on this side of the town are so far advanced as to give me hopes of having it in my power to get the whole of the fortification from the Apollo gate to the Church gate (except filling the glacis) finished both body and out-works by the setting in of the ensuing rain.

I hope by the sailing of the next ship to be able to lay a plan of the works in general (with the alterations and additions made by me) before the Board which will the more fully explain to the Honourable Court of Directors the advantages gained thereby.¹

On perusing the same day the above letter from the Principal Engineer giving an account of the progress made in the works since the *Truc Briton's* departure, the Board ordered it to be entered in the diary and a copy transmitted to the Court of Directors.²

About this time (1766), regarding the fortifications of Bombay, Mr Forbes (Ol. Mem I 151) writes. The town of Bombay is about two miles in circumference surrounded by modern fortifications with a fosse, drawbridges, three principal gates and several sallyports; but the works having been constructed under different engineers without any regular plan cannot boast of the strength or uniformity which would otherwise have characterized them.

Cleaning the
Town Ditch,
1767.

In their Bombay letter of the 4th April 1767 the Court make the following remarks on a plan for cleaning the town ditch proposed in a Bombay Despatch of the 29th April 1766. We approve the method you propose of cleaning the town ditch under direction of our paymaster. It is absolutely necessary to have the ditch cleaned in a proper manner, otherwise its state might have a bad effect upon the health of the inhabitants. The expense of this cleaning must be charged to the town.

Colonel Keating's
Plan,
1767.

On the 15th May 1767, Colonel Keating, the principal engineer, laid before Government his plan of the fortifications of the town. He writes: I now lay before the Honourable Board a plan of the fortifications of the town of Bombay, showing the alterations and additions made by me. My reasons for these changes I gave the Board under the 18th November 1766, and to them I beg leave to refer. Under the said date I laid before you the then state of the works, since which time I have done as follows. Finished the dock pier head, raised a traverse barbette at the extremity of the curtain near the pier bastion to command ships heading into the road, raised a barbette battery on the south-east face of the Royal bastion for the above purpose, altered the south-west face and new laid the platforms of the Royal bastion so as to have a fire to command the passage from Old Woman's

¹ Principal Engineer Col Keating to Government 18th Nov. 1766, Pub Diary 47 of 1766, 753-755.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 18th Nov 1766, Pub. Diary 47 of 1766, 750.

³ Court to Bombay 4th April 1767 para 81, Pub. Dep. Court's L Vol 7 of 1765-1769, 259 Comp of Standing Ord Vol 2 of 1759-1768, 195. The ditch had hitherto been cleaned by the militia. As they sent boys not men the work was never properly carried out. Letter from Principal Engineer, 22nd April 1766, Pub Diary 46 of 1766, 233-284, 286; Pub. Dep. L to the Court Vol. 13 of 1766, 110.

island on which hitherto not a single gun bore; finished and repaired the parapet of the body and banquettes from the salient angle of the Pier bastion to the north flank of the Stanhope bastion excepting that part immediately adjoining the passage of communication to the south-west ravelin; finished the retaining wall of the ramparts and its talus (or slope) from the Pier bastion to the Church gate in length three hundred and seventy toises, containing about 41,050 solid feet of masonry, and filled in the rampart; raised a traverse cavalier in the gorge of the Church bastion, containing about 21,756 solid feet of masonry, and filled with earth; the Queen's lunette is finished, platforms laid, and ready to receive its guns.

The work of filling the glacis has been carried from the south-west ravelin nearly to the salient angle of the west ravelin, in length about ninety-two toises. This work has been very heavy being most part deep hollow ways. Palisading the covert way has not been much advanced for want of timber. The south-west and west ravelins are well advanced, I believe they will be finished (except laying the platforms, flooring of the magazines and bridges) in about six weeks. This is the present state of the fortifications. I have taken every step in my power to forward them with the greatest expedition and as little expense as possible.¹

On perusing the above letter the same day the Board resolve that a copy of this letter with a plan of the fortifications in their present state, be transmitted by *Deronsshire* to our Honorable Masters.²

On the 23rd December the principal engineer submitted a further progress report. He writes: Agreeable to an order of the Honourable Board sent me this day by Mr. Secretary Ramsay, I now lay before you the progress made in the Honourable Company's fortifications since the 15th of last May. The glacis near the salient angle of the west ravelin has been completed in length upwards of 50 toises. This part being a very deep chasm has been attended with heavy labour. The palisading of the covert way has been carried from the salient angle of the south-west ravelin to the salient angle of the space left for a lunette opposite to the S. S. west face of Church gate ravelin, in length 1839 feet. Terrace platforms and banquettes have been made to the Apollo ravelin, the arched rooms of its gateway plastered, the guard rooms paved, the ditch finished, and the standing and draw-bridge completed, except the balance beam; so that this work is ready to receive its guns. A new bridge has been made to the Apollo gate, the old being too narrow, as also much decayed. The south-west and west ravelins are completed except laying the platforms, laying the magazine floors - (which is near half finished), and arching the passages of communication. All these will be done this season. A guard room has been built in the rampart adjoining the Church gate for the use of that guard as also necessary houses. On the 5th of May last

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Colonel Keating's
Plan,
1767

¹ Principal Engineer Col. Keating to Government 15th May 1767, Pub. Diary 48 of 1767, 330-331.

² Board Gov. Consultation 15th May 1767, Pub. Diary 48 of 1767, 329.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Colonel Keating's
Plan,
1767.

I lined out the new ravelin marked in the plan 26, and, previous to the Honorable Governor's knowledge, took the liberty to name it Hodges' ravelin. It is now raised in all parts eleven feet above the level of its ditch. The contents of the masonry now finished is 129,154 solid feet; part of its ditch is formed; the glacis from the salient angle of the Church gate ravelin to the salient angle of Hodges' ravelin is complete, in length 229 toises, as also the retaining wall, in length 1368 feet containing 18,210 solid feet of masonry.

The 21st of last September I set about removing the sand hill and levelling the esplanade to the northward of the Church gate. Since that time, as near as I can compute, upwards of 480,000 solid feet of sand and earth have been removed from the sand hills and filled into holes and the low batty grounds between the Church gate and Moormen's burying ground. This is a work which is attended with great trouble. Nevertheless it is indispensably necessary, as great part of the sand hills are upwards of ten feet higher than the level of the esplanade, while the batty grounds are so very low and also dry in the fair season that an enemy might make their approaches on that side without our guns causing them more than a very slight annoyance.

Bombay Roads,
1767.

On the 8th November last a road was commenced leading from the Church gate to the black town, and one branching from it to the road leading from the bazaar gate. These roads are to confine carriages and other vehicles from cutting the glacis and esplanade, the repairs of which must be attended with expense. Each road is forty feet wide. The road from Church gate to the black town is carried very near its full length of 360 yards. Another branch from this road leading 672 feet to the English burying ground is nearly finished. On the 1st of last November the work of removing the upper part of the Governor's late dwelling house in the Castle was begun. The lower parts or as much as may be found serviceable are intended to be ratched, and made bomb-proof for holding artillery and other stores, as also for lodging the Governor in time of a siege. The upper story, except that part immediately over the laboratory, is removed. How many of the lower apartments will answer the proposed end is not in my power at present to determine as they appear to be in a very ruinous state.¹

At the same day's Consultation the Board read the above letter from the Principal Engineer giving an account of the progress of the works, copy of which the Board ordered to be entered in the diary and also to be transmitted to the Court of Directors.²

Pier Head,
1768

On the 22nd January 1768, with a view to render the pier head serviceable both for defence and landing, the Board direct: As the Pier head is now carrying on and may, as is represented to us, be constructed so as to serve both for the defence of the harbour and for landing of

¹ Principal Engineer Colonel Thomas Keating to Government 23rd Dec. 1767, Pub. Diary 49 of 1767, 734-736

² Bombay Gov. Consultation 23rd Dec, 1767, Pub. Diary 49 of 1767, 745

goods, the Principal Engineer must for this reason be joined with the superintendent in the constinction of this work.¹

It has been noted that Captain Keating's plan and profile of the works to be erected at Dongri together with his letter on the subject were transmitted to the Court of Directors. On considering these papers the Court write to Bombay on the 18th March 1768: Captain Keating's plan and profile of the works proposed to be erected on Dongri hill with his letter setting forth the advantages and almost absolute necessity of them have been considered. We have determined not to fortify the hill but to destroy it. Though the removal of the hill is represented to be a work that will require a great length of time, we apprehend if it is begun on that part of the hill next to the present works of the town wall, so much may be removed in the course of a year as to prevent any great danger by its falling into the hands of an enemy. Building a fort will be attended with a great and almost constant expense. Besides this fort will draw off a part of our forces from the works within the town. Further its possible fall into the hands of an enemy would be attended with fatal consequences. As you have now our resolution to demolish Dongri no time must be lost in carrying it into execution. The stones may be taken away as ballast for ships. If no other method can be found an order must be made that all ships and vessels sailing from your port must take their ballast from Dongri which will save the expense of removing the stones. We shall depend upon your utmost attention with regard to this great work now to be carried on, that all possible frugality be observed in every instance. See that such of our covenant servants as may be employed for paying and inspecting the labourers are those you can depend upon. If any people can be found that would undertake blowing up the hill by contract we should be better pleased with that mode of carrying on this work than any other. We are informed that some work of this kind has been done at a quarter rupee the square foot. The committee of works must also regularly inspect the accounts and lay before the Board a monthly statement thereof.²

Though the Court ordered the demolition of Dongri, in the latter part of the same letter they provide for a final inquiry. They write. From the ample testimonials we have received of the abilities of Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, we have been induced to appoint him our Chief Engineer at Bengal. In order to render his services as extensively useful to the Company as possible, he takes passage first to your Presidency on the ship *Thames*. Then he, in conjunction with Colonel Keating, may take a survey of the works and fortifications thereat. What we have more particularly in view in this service is that those gentlemen should also take a survey of Dongri hill, and give their sentiments as to the propriety of its demolition or erecting a fort

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Dongri Hill
and Fort,
1768.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 22nd Jan. 1768, Pub. Diary 50 of 1768, 105. In their letter to Bombay on the 31st Mar. 1769 para 63, the Court approve the Bombay orders relating to this double use of the Pick Head. Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 8 of 1769-1771, 40.

² Court to Bombay 18th March 1768 paras 100 and 101, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 7 of 1765-1768, 335-236. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1769-1783, 196.

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

**Appointments
of Engineers.**

thereon. Whatever may be their opinion in this respect must guide you in giving the necessary orders accordingly, notwithstanding it may be entirely opposite to our direction for demolishing the hull as expressed under the fifth head, paragraphs 100 and 101.¹

In the same letter the Court order the following appointments of engineers and military officers. Notwithstanding the advancement of Captain Thomas Keating to be Lieutenant-Colonel of artillery, he is still to continue in his employ of Principal Engineer with his present salary of £300 a year. This is to be in full for all allowances on account of that station. Captain Nilson the present assistant engineer to Lieutenant-Colonel Keating is to continue as assistant with his pay of ten shillings a day over and above his pay and emoluments as Captain of an artillery company in the manner he now enjoys. Mr Lockhart Russell who now proceeds to Bombay is to be second assistant engineer to Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Keating in the engineering department. For this his allowance is to be ten shillings a day and his rank with respect to the military corps, is to be that of Captain. The said Mr. Russell is also to have a company of artillery on the first vacancy that shall happen after Major Thomas Lee is provided for when he is to have the usual pay as Captain with the benefit arising from clothing. But as Mr. Russell's beforementioned allowance of ten shillings a day as assistant engineer will not be a sufficient maintenance, until he gets the command of a company, we direct, until that event happens, he have an additional allowance of ten shillings a day, which said additional allowance is to cease upon his succeeding to a company. It is our pleasure and we accordingly direct that upon a vacancy by the death or otherwise of either Captain Nilson or Captain Russell, the survivor be the assistant engineer, it being our meaning that after such an event there should be only one principal assistant.²

**Lt. Col Campbell's
Survey of
Fortifications,
1768.**

It has been noted that on his way to Bengal Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell was to visit Bombay and survey Dongri and the other forts. On the 18th October 1768, after inspection, Colonel Campbell writes to the Bombay Government. Agreeable to your orders of the 30th of July, I have, in conjunction with Colonel Keating, taken a survey of the fortifications of Bombay, and executed such sections of the principal grounds in their environs as were necessary to determine me in the propriety of raising or fortifying Dongri hill.³ That my particular sentiments in this respect may be fully and clearly understood and viewed in their proper light, it is necessary that I should lay before you Sir and this Honourable Board a state of the fortifications as they stand at present, being the most effectual method of discovering the material defects of this fortress, the defence it is capable of making against a brisk and skilful enemy, and the only certain means of investigating the weight of such reasons or the propriety of such improvements as may hereafter be offered towards placing the capital

¹ Court to Bombay 18th March 1768 para 132, Pub Dep. Court's L. Vol. 7 of 1765-1769, 346.

² Ditto, paras 159 - 164 at pages 353 - 356.

³ The plans referred to in this report are not available.

of this settlement with the most reasonable expense upon a secure and respectable footing. Plan No. 1.—The south front A. B. is by much the most regular part of the fortifications of Bombay and in the best state of repair, although from its position it is little exposed to a land approach or open to a sea attack. Part of the outworks is deficient in flanking fire; yet I am of opinion that this front is nevertheless capable of standing a siege proportionable to the probability of its being attacked. The original design of the west front B. C. is a weak long ill constructed line for defence, consisting of a bad disposed fire from several irregular projections that could afford but little reciprocal defence in themselves, and much less to the collateral fronts of the fortifications. Were it not for the additional ravelins and covert-way that are already almost completed by Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, an enemy would have it in his power not only to advance his approaches rapidly to the counterscarp of the ditch without material risk or impediment, but also might enjoy the means of protecting the whole of his trenches on this side with little trouble or inconvenience from the cocoanut grove and the heights of the adjacent burying ground. When Lieutenant-Colonel Keating's intentions are accomplished on this side, an enemy will not only have a numerous artillery to combat, but also an extensive and very embarrassing fire to overcome. The north front C. D. is by much the smallest in capacity and weakest in point of defence of any of the former fronts, notwithstanding the nature and situation of the ground before it renders this part of the fortifications the most exposed to an enemy's attack. For from the north-east quarter the hill of Dongri is scarcely distant four hundred yards from the body of the place and is not less than thirty-four feet above the terreplein of the rampart. And as this hill is open and very accessible towards the country, the consequence of its being possessed by an enemy in this state, must inevitably turn to the immediate loss and certain destruction of the garrison. The front D. E. although it is embraced by the sea is very imprudently left open towards the docks for two hundred yards and to the northward of the castle for 350 yards. And as the east face of the north-east bastion is flanked by no kind of fire, there can be no manner of doubt that either of those places are perfectly exposed to the assault of an enemy after cloud of night, a time the most fit and probable for the execution of such an enterprise. If to those inconveniences in the state and disposition of the fortifications of Bombay and the nature of the ground about them, we add an entire want of bomb-proof casemates for the lodgment and security of the troops, the only possible means of giving rest to a brave and active garrison so as to support the fatiguing operations of a siege. At the same time recollecting that the present confined state of the ramparts, occasioned by the encroachment of the town buildings, deprives the garrison of that space so essential and necessary for the construction of counter batteries, and the manœuvring of such troops and artillery as are absolutely indispensable in a siege, it can scarcely be denied that at this instant the fortifications of Bombay labour under the greatest disadvantages that ever attended a fortification. Can Bombay therefore under such circumstances withstand a tolerable siege against a brisk

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Lt. Col Campbell's
Survey of
Fortifications,
1768.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Lt-Col Campbell's
Survey of
Fortifications,
1768.

and enterprising enemy acquainted with the operations of war, the nature of the works, and directed by the knowledge of their defects? No. So far am I from that idea that I declare it my opinion and should think myself highly unworthy that trust the Honourable the Directors are pleased to repose in me, did I not embrace the earliest opportunity of acquainting you Sir and this Honourable Board that at this instant Bombay is in itself so open and so insecure that it is capable of being assaulted at any hour in the night with the loss of a very few lives to an enemy. Having thus pointed out the disadvantages arising as well from the defects of the fortifications of Bombay as from the nature of the ground about them, I can now with more propriety express such sentiments as occurred to me relative to the most effectual and reasonable means of removing those inconveniences, and of strengthening and improving their defence.

As it seemed at one time to be the resolution of the Honourable Comt of Directors to destroy the hill of Dongri in preference to its being fortified, on account of the great expense that might attend the building a fort thereon and keeping it in repair beside the circumstance of drawing off part of the troops from the town and the fatal consequences of its falling into the hands of an enemy, it became a duty very incumbent on me upon this occasion to examine in the most strict and accurate manner how far it might be for the interest of the Honourable East India Company to have their first resolution put in execution. I flatter myself the measures I have taken for that purpose are the most effectual that could have been pursued. In the first place in respect to the expense that might attend removing the hill of Dongri, I found from the several sections I took along and across its ridge that the quantity of ground necessary to be taken away to make the situation of an enemy upon a level with the crest of the glacis and distant from the body of the place for eight hundred yards (which is absolutely the least that can possibly be taken away to make the town in a situation to withstand a tolerable siege) amounted to 5,262,490 cubic feet. As it is almost entirely rock the expense of removing it at the common rate of one quarter of a penny the cubic foot, would amount nearly to £161,152 16s sterling. It is true that when the hill is removed the north front of the fortifications will then wear a better aspect. But from the insignificance of its extent, the bad disposition of its works, the weakness of its flanks, and the injudicious manner it occupies the ground on this side, an enemy will always have it in his power to present a front double to what the fortifications can oppose which is directly contrary to every principle in war relative to the defence of works. The north front must therefore be strengthened by fortifications proportionable to the superiority an enemy enjoys over it in point of extent, to effect which the whole of this front must be new modelled, and so formed as to afford the collateral fronts perfect security in flanks and be supported reciprocally by them. This circumstance alone would be attended with an additional expense to the Company of between ninety and a hundred thousand pounds sterling, besides the constant expense of keeping those works in repair. It is from a thorough knowledge of these facts that my opinion is

entirely guided with respect to fortifying Dongri hill. I hope they will be satisfactory to you Sir and the Honourable gentlemen of this Board, when I inform you that by dropping the former resolution of the Honourable the Court of Directors, and fortifying Dongri, an expense of at least one hundred and thirty thousand pounds sterling will not only be saved to the Company, but also the preservation of the place secured in a more ample and certain degree. It was with those views that I have executed a design for occupying the height of Dongri, the objects of which work are not only to cover and secure the whole of the north front of the fortifications but also to throw a galling and plunging fire into the flank of any approaches that an enemy may attempt to carry upon the capitals of such works as are constructed between the old Mándvi bastion and the Church gate ravelin. This with the addition of the redoubt Z advanced upon the capital of Granby's ravelin, will immediately put the garrison of Bombay in a state of enjoying a front superior in height and equal in extent to anything that an enemy can possibly oppose—two of the most considerable advantages that can be attained in the defence of fortifications. It is necessary to remark that the whole ridge of Dongri lies between Dongri road and the sea, that the highest part of the said hill is that end next the town on which the proposed work is to be constructed, and that from thence the ridge drops gradually for a thousand yards along the coast to the level of ten feet above high water mark. It is also proper to observe that the front of Dongri fort by construction consists of twenty-five pieces of cannon disposed in two tiers of batteries well covered to the cordon, and of such extent as to occupy double the front an enemy can oppose upon the ridge without an immense expense of labour time and materials. In front of its ditch I have constructed a casemated redoubt with a palsaded communication to secure it against an assault. As this redoubt is in itself bomb-proof and cannot be seen or broken by cannon from the field, it will perform its service in this respect very completely against the most daring attempts of an enemy. There are casemates in the fort for three hundred men with their officers, the proper garrison for its defence, that is to say one hundred Europeans and two hundred sepoys; and as the whole side of the fort next the town is open to the artillery of the place, but perfectly secure against musquetry or any sudden assault that may be offered, the town will always have it in its power (lest at any time by treachery or any other unreasonable unforeseen events an enemy should get the fort in his possession) to pour all the artillery of the north front into the very heart of the casemates and scour the body of the fort from one end to the other, a circumstance that will make his situation extremely uneasy to him and render the establishment of his lodgment in that fort almost beyond the power of being accomplished. So long as the gorge of Dongri fort is open to the town, the troops of the garrison will have it in their power to storm it again with little or no risk. And, when the body of the fort is regained, an enemy can scarcely exist in its outworks as they are so confined commanded and looked into in reverse. As I found myself confined to a particular point in respect to the situation of Dongri fort, which removed this

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Lt.-Col. Campbell's
Survey of
Fortifications,
1768.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Lt - Col. Campbell's
Survey of
Fortifications, -
1768.

work at too great a distance from the body of the place to receive from thence that protection which is so essentially necessary for its preservation, I was obliged to advance a redoubt half way between the town and Dongri fort containing twelve pieces of cannon secured against an enfilade. Six of these will bear directly in flank of any lodgment that an enemy may attempt to form upon the ridge of Dongri, and the other six in flank of such approaches as may be carrying on against the works to the westward. I would also propose for the more effectual security of the north front, to convert the covert way into a simple envelope with a casemated redoubt in each place of arms. As this work is in a manner already formed, it will be attended with a very inconsiderable expense to the Company in proportion to the advantages acquired thereby. For this work in style of an envelope can then be converted into batteries that will dispose a very formidable rayonnant fire upon the ground before it, and not only flank the left of the advanced redoubt in a very complete manner, but also present a very numerous artillery upon the ridge of Dongri, part in direct fire and part in ricochet.

From the advanced redoubt to Dongri fort on one side and to the envelope of the north front on the other, I propose that a simple line of entrenchment should be extended to support the communication of the redoubt in case of assault. By the particular construction of this work the garrison may be supplied with the most active means possible of sallying out upon an enemy a whole battalion in front, ready dressed and formed for action. As this is the great object wished for in all this, and upon which then success almost totally depends, its utility may with propriety recommend the invention, although it is the first instance of its application. This line of entrenchment on other occasions may also be converted into counter batteries, and in this respect can afford very material support to Dongri on the right or the fortifications of the west front upon the left. It is absolutely necessary likewise for the more effectual preservation of this garrison that the ramparts be cleared of every incumbrance that may impede the manœuvring of troops or artillery, and that no building whatsoever shall be permitted to stand on any part of the esplanade from the Apollo gate round the ridge of Dongri hill, and that part of Dongri town itself shall be removed and the cocoanut grove taken away as far as I have expressed it upon the plan No 2, that the extent of the fortifications may be perfectly freed from the very imprudent and dangerous covert that is at present in the power of an enemy, and the ground itself be cleared and properly adapted for action. To the eastward of the old Mándra bastion I would propose to advance a lunette one side of which to flank the east face of the old Mándra bastion and the other to dispose its fire along the south parts of the east front, and be flanked reciprocally by them. I would also propose to shut up that part of the town which is open to the northward of the castle by a crenelated work containing a space sufficient to admit of barracks for a battalion of men with their officers complete. Under the rampart of these works casemates are designed for the same number of men, which at present will answer the purpose of kitchens and cellars to the barracks, and

consequently save to the Honourable Company the erecting other office houses for that purpose. This in time of a siege will also serve the original intention of bomb-proofs for the necessary rest and security of the garrison.

The castle should also be cleared of the rubbish that is at present contiguous to the rampart on the south side, where the Governor's late house stood. And as Lieut-Colonel Keating has already received the Governor and Council's order for turning such parts of it as might answer into casemates for the lodgment of troops and stores, and as he was pleased to consult my opinion upon the same, I examined the state of those ruins, and find from their rotten shattered condition that no part of them are adapted to support bomb-proof arches. As the situation of those ruins is preferable to any other, their space ought to be occupied with casemates for the above purposes.

I would also propose that the dock and bandar piers should be carried out into the sea, agreeable to their present directions so that the head of the former pier shall be in a direct line with the outside of the latter, and distant from it one hundred and fifty feet. This will confine the entry of the bason not only to a proper extent for the egress and regress of shipping, but also for making a secure and very respectable defence on this side of the town against an enemy, by the means of a boom and the designed casemated towers for cannon and musketry that will protect it. It is also to be observed that by the piers overlapping each other in this manner, the swell of the sea, which at present rolls in a very considerable degree into the bason and often occasions much damage to the docks and such vessels as are stationed there, will be effectually guarded against and prevented.

Having thus stated the principal improvements I have to offer to you, Sir, and this Honourable Board, towards placing the fortifications of Bombay in the best posture of defence that their situation would admit of, I will proceed to examine the nature of such a defence as this fortress will then be capable of performing against our natural and inveterate enemies the French, the only power in Europe at present we have most reason to apprehend a visit from in this quarter of the globe. Let it be supposed therefore that a French army is safely landed in the island of Bombay and that the town is invested in form. Their parallel in that case will embrace the exterior circuit of the esplanade, along the front of Dongri town, as far as the burying ground to the westward. It is evident therefore that the front of the fortifications opposed to him, exclusive of its superior height and situation, is fully as extensive as the front of the ground he must occupy. And as his works can be only temporary works, forced under the warm fire of the garrison, and the fortification of the place by construction, durable, solid and well covered to the field, it will require very little knowledge in the art of war to foresee the difficulties he will naturally labour under in carrying on his approaches. The situation, command, and galling fire of Dongri fort will early and too sufficiently engage the attention of a skillful enemy not to aim him with proper caution against the fatal consequences of its fire existing any length of time upon his flank. Nor has he any other alternative left him but a

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Lt.-Col. Campbell's
Survey of
Fortifications,
1768.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
 Lt.-Col. Campbell's
 Survey of
 Fortifications,
 1768.

serious and spirited attack upon the fort itself. It is therefore most reasonable to imagine he will endeavour to carry on his approaches against Dongri fort in that manner which is most easy to himself and least exposed to the cannon of the place. This can be effected only along the ridge in front of Dongri fort. If it is considered therefore that an enemy must carry his earth along with him on this occasion, and force every foot of his approach upon a bare hard rock, which deprives him of the means of sapping or mining, and exposes his attack to twenty-five pieces of cannon that plunge upon him directly in front and that completely sweep the whole of the confined ridge from one end to the other; I say if, with those embarrassing circumstances in his front, it is considered that the garrison of Bombay will have it in their power at the same time to play from the several parts of the north front about forty pieces of cannon upon the flank of his approach by direct and ricochet fire, there will be no impropriety in asserting that Dongri fort thus constructed, thus strengthened and protected, may in itself withstand a siege of six months by the exertion of brave troops well acquainted with the nature of their duty that have the Company's service and the honour of the British arms at heart.

If an enemy should be stubborn and still persist in this point without forming an attack upon the fortifications to the westward, he may sacrifice his whole army in the attempt without considerable risk or even very material harassment to the garrison of Bombay. For as Dongri fort will draw only three hundred men out of the garrison, the advanced redoubt and communication one hundred more and the point of attack be confined to a mere narrow space it is evident that the demand of troops for duty will be insignificant, that the relief for the necessary services will be easily supplied and supported, and that the town of Bombay itself in this case will become a most noble magazine in the rear of Dongri, to furnish its fort with troops, provisions, ammunition, and every necessary material for defence, circumstances of very weighty consideration, indeed all that can be wished for in a siege. As therefore it is not probable that an experienced and judicious enemy, after a thorough knowledge of the state of the works, will content himself with the attack of Dongri alone, his next effort in all human probability will be at the right of the parallel from the sand hills near the burying ground, upon the capitals of some of the works to the west side of the town. In an attempt of this nature it will become absolutely necessary for an enemy to make himself master of the advanced redoubt Z which without this precaution would always bear upon the flank of his approach, and as he advanced to the town, view it perfectly in reverse. As this redoubt by construction is rendered above the power of an assault, there is no method left him of obtaining this post without carrying on an approach against it. Here it may be observed that the retired position of the redoubt will draw him along the front of the most considerable parts of the fortifications on this side of the town, and consequently will expose the flank of his approach, not only to the fire of about eighty pieces of cannon, exclusive of other natures of artillery, but will also hazard the whole of his trenches to be swept by a vigorous sally from the town, as often as

this manœuvre may be practised against him. For the oblique position of his parallels, and the small extent of his places of arms, will absolutely put it out of his power to support so long an approach with any degree of certainty, and he cannot possibly give them a more direct position or greater extent without exposing them to the enfilade of the town. Under these circumstances an enemy will find the progress of his approaches to the westward almost as embarrassing and difficult of success as that of Dongri to the eastward. I am perfectly of opinion that unless he can amuse the garrison of Bombay with an additional attack upon the centre of his extensive front, all his attempts to reduce it will prove exceedingly vain, and abortive, if there are only 1200 infantry 300 artillery 1000 lascars and 5000 sepoys in the place, its necessary garrison in time of war. But before an enemy can have it in his power to carry on three several attacks against Bombay, in this very respectable state of defence, and support his communication between each attack in a proper and secure manner, he must be supplied with at least twelve thousand men for this service, the transporting of which army to this part of the world, is in all human probability a thing next to impossible. It is therefore evident that the improvements above specified are quite sufficient, and yet no more than what are absolutely necessary, to place the fortifications of Bombay in such a respectable state of defence as will secure this valuable Presidency to the Company, against even the most vigorous attempts of an European force. For those reasons alone I declare it my fixed and determined opinion that not only the fortifying of Dongri is in every respect preferable to its being removed, but also that the work ought to be carried into immediate execution to prevent consequences of too fatal and too extensive a nature to be estimated. Can it be supposed that so vigilant and political a power as France is still ignorant of the Company's defenceless state in this part of the world, and have not discernment to place a just valuation upon the importance of such a conquest to them, or its irreparable loss to the British Company? Or can it be expected with propriety that although we are now at peace with that nation we can assure ourselves of its continuance when we see them daily increasing and indefatigable in disciplining a numerous army and marine? But I am transgressing the limits of my profession. You Sir and the Honourable gentlemen of this Board, are better judges how far it may be consistent with the present state of politics in Europe, the situation of the Company's affairs in this part of the world, and the powers you enjoy, to delay the execution of those plans I have the honour of laying before you. It only becomes my particular duty to point out the present imminent danger, and to suggest every reasonable circumstance in my power that may possibly tend to the preservation of the Honourable Company's property, and the success of the British arms. I have only to add with extreme satisfaction that Lieutenant-Colonel Keating's sentiments relative to the improvements above specified are perfectly corresponding.¹

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

Lt Col. Campbell's
Survey of
Fortifications,
1768.

¹ Lt.-Col. Archibald Campbell Principal Engineer, Bengal, to the Bombay Government, 18th Oct 1768, Pub. Diary 52 of 1768, 376-387.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Lt.-Col. Keating's
Survey,
1765.

In the above survey Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell was joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Keating the principal engineer. On the 18th October 1768 Colonel Keating writes: Agreeable to your orders of the 1st of August I have in conjunction with Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, taken another survey of Dongri hill, also a general one of the fortifications. In regard to the former I am still of opinion that the fortifying it, is in every respect absolutely necessary, and on no account to be delayed. I do not hesitate a moment to declare that I for many reasons prefer the design now laid before the Honourable Board to that I had the honour of presenting them in November 1766. One great point I had then in view was the dismising as little as was possible, well knowing the Honourable Company's affairs on this side of India would admit of no other than the strictest frugality, and thus was their constant and warm recommendation. Since this the face of affairs are much changed and the Honourable Company appear determined to put everything tending to the safety of this settlement on the most secure and stable foundation. For the above reasons I most readily agree and give it as my fixed opinion that the above mentioned design for fortifying Dongri hill, as also for strengthening the body of the place and securing the communication between it and Dongri, should be carried into execution without loss of time. The great necessity for additional barracks and bomb-proofs for the security of that part of our garrison off duty in time of a siege, together with the weak state of our sea-line as at present, makes the new works intended for that side truly necessary. The docks (an affair of very great consequence) I have often observed though never till very lately put any way under my inspection, are badly secured, either against an enemy or the turbulence of the monsoons. The amendment proposed in Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell's design I think will fully answer both purposes.

I received orders some time ago to pull down the upper story of the Governor's late house, in the Castle, and throw bomb-proof arches over such parts of it as would answer for lodging part of the garrison and holding laboratory and other stores. On removing the upper story I found the lower parts so much ruined by length of time and considerable alterations that I judged it unfit for the purposes above mentioned. This opinion I reported to the Honourable Governor, but knowing a joint judgment on those matters is preferable to a single one, I desired the favour of Colonel Campbell to look over it, and who, I am pleased to find, has the same sentiments. In short it only now remains with me to assure this Honourable Board that I am well convinced the plan now before them, when executed, will in every respect answer for the security of this valuable settlement against any attack whatever provided it has a tolerable garrison and is well stored.

Permit me here to make use of the earliest opportunity to return my most sincere and grateful thanks to the Honourable Court of Directors for the great mark of their favour they have been pleased to honour me with, by appointing me to the command of their battalion of artillery with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and also continuing me at the head of their corps of engineers. I beg leave to assure them (through the channel of this Honourable Board) that while I have the honour to

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Lt-Col Keating's
Survey,
1768.

serve them it shall be the greatest pleasure of my life by every act and means to convince them that their honour and interest shall always rule my actions according to the best of my knowledge. I at the same time beg leave to observe my humble apprehension of a mistake in the date of my Lieutenant-Colonel's commission by which I am junior on the establishment, notwithstanding I have had the honour of serving the Honourable Company upwards of four years in India, and none of the other Lieutenant-Colonels ever served them before their present appointments. The affair appears to be a mistake in some of the offices at home, as no copy of my commission is come out, or any notice taken in the general letter how or to whom I rank next which is different in respect to the other Lieutenant-Colonels. These matters added to the assurances of my friends in England that things were otherwise, induce me humbly to represent the affair to the Honourable Court of Directors' consideration, assuring them I shall in the most cheerful manner submit to whatever they are pleased to determine on the matter.¹

Improvements,
1768.

On receipt of these letters from these two engineers the Board observe on the 18th of October 1768: Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell having, in consequence of our Honourable Masters' commands signified to him by us, taken a survey of the fortifications of Bombay in conjunction with Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, now delivers in a letter containing his sentiments thereon in a very clear full and ample manner accompanied by plans to illustrate the same. This letter being now read is ordered to follow this Consultation in preference to being entered upon the public diary, as the most fatal consequences to the settlement might be apprehended from its falling into improper hands. Read also a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Keating signifying that he has been made fully acquainted with Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell's sentiments upon and designs for improving the fortifications of this settlement, and entirely concurring therein. As both those gentlemen are firmly of opinion that the erecting a fort upon Dongra hill is in every respect preferable to its demolition; And as, in the 132nd paragraph of their commands of the 18th March last 1768, our Honourable Masters have been pleased expressly to order us to abide by the determination of those gentlemen in this respect, and to carry the same into immediate execution; We direct that the work projected by Colonel Campbell for fortifying the hill (which Colonel Keating expressly says he prefers to that formerly given in by himself) and strengthening the north front of the fortifications, also the several other works pointed out in his letter as absolutely and indispensably necessary for the security of the settlement, be accordingly set about without loss of time. We observe also that fortifying the hill in the manner those gentlemen recommend, will not only in their opinion better answer every purpose, but will also cost £130,000 less than its demolition, though this must be understood exclusive of the value of such an additional number of trees and houses as by a demolition must unavoidably be pulled down. At the same time as they

¹ Lt-Col. Keating Principal Engineer, Bombay, to the Bombay Government, 18th Oct 1768, Pub. Diary 52 of 1768, 337-339.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Improvements,
1768.

have omitted to deliver in an estimate of the expense which will be incurred by the other new works. Colonel Campbell recommends, he and Colonel Keating must be called upon for such estimate. At the same time they must be desired to give us their opinion as to the garrison which should be kept up in time of peace. They must likewise be required to survey the present hospital, and report to us whether in their opinion, it is a proper one in point of situation, size, and accommodations for the sick. If not how its defects can best be remedied.¹

As called for in this Consultation Colonels Campbell and Keating, in their letter of 31st October following, report the expenditure that will be required.² They write. Agreeable to your order of the 19th instant we beg leave to lay before you the following estimate of the expense which will be incurred by the additional works recommended for placing the fortifications of Bombay on a respectable state of defence:

Estimate for fortifying Dongri Hill and strengthening the north front of the fortifications of Bombay

	£
To complete Dongri fort casemates	75,500
To two advanced redoubts with their communications ...	12,400
To the envelops and improvements in the body of the place	30,600
Total	118,500

Estimate for fortifying the east front, repairing the Castle, and securing the Dockyard and Basin.

	£
To a lunette to scour the east face of the north east bastion	1,100
To a cremaille work with casemates and barracks for 500 men	26,220
To repairs of the Castle	6100
To carrying on the dock and bandar piers and fortifying the same	16,200
Total	53,220
Grand Total	171,720

Dongri Fort
Blown Up,
1769.

On the 8th March 1769 the Principal Engineer reports that the Dongri fort will be ready to be blown up and requests orders. The Bombay Diary of the same date has the following entry. The President acquaints the Board that the principal engineer has informed him that in a very few days Dongri fort will be ready to be blown up. The Board ordered that the inhabitants whose houses lay contiguous thereto have ten days notice of the same to give them time to remove their effects. As several houses will be damaged by the explosion and as in order to carry into execution Colonel Campbell's plan, many other houses must be pulled down and several oaks near the hill cleared, Mr. Jervis as new fortification paymaster, Mr Fletcher as Collector with the Principal Engineer are appointed a committee to value the houses and trees. They will take to their assistance the clerk of the works with such other proper persons as they may deem necessary, and report

¹ Dom Gov. Consultation 18th Oct 1768, Pub Diary 52 of 1768, 374 - 375

² Colonels Campbell and Keating to Government, 31st Oct. 1768, Pub. Diary 52 of 1768, 401

the valuation of the whole to the Board.¹ Six months later (28th October 1769) this committee reported their valuation on which Government passed the following orders: Read a report from the committee appointed to value the houses necessary to be pulled down on account of the new works enclosing a valuation of one hundred and fifty (houses) immediately wanted to be removed, amounting to Rs 9556-0-23. Ordered that the same be made good to the proprietors and other ground allotted to them for rebuilding their houses.²

During the same year (8th April 1769) the committee of accounts made the following recommendation to Government regarding the rocks at Dongri to be blown up: As the charge attending the blowing up of the rocks is considerable and as Dongri hill is most contiguous to the works now carrying on, we would recommend that no more be for the present blown up but at that place. On this the Board observe: The committee's recommendation for having rocks blown up only at Dongri seems very proper and must be complied with accordingly.³

On the 19th April 1769 Colonel Keating the principal engineer submits the following progress report of the fortifications: I now lay before the Honourable Board the progress made in the Honourable Company's new fortifications since the 18th December 1767. The reason of my not giving an account thereof about this time last year was my having been employed on service away from the Presidency (for most part of the time from November 1767 to May 1768). During the time up to the end of May the sand hill was being removed, nearly 300,000 solid feet were filled into the adjacent batty grounds. The glacis has been filled from the Church gate to the southward about 750 feet in length representing about 270,500 solid feet of earth. The south-west ravelin has the terrace platforms, the banquettes, the floorings of the magazine and store room and the passage of communication all finished. The west ravelin has its terrace platforms advanced, and the floorings of the magazine and store room and the passage of communication finished. Hodges' ravelin is finished except making terrace platforms, laying the woodwork of the bridge of communication and building the passage; the additions thereto, since my last, represent 138,776 feet of solid masonry. Opposite Hodges' last ravelin, the retaining wall of the glacis containing 10,500 solid feet of masonry has been completed and most of the glacis in front thereof filled in. The Duke of Cumberland's ravelin to the north of Hodges' ravelin was begun on the 31d July 1768. It is now raised as high as the cordon stone containing 203,808 feet of solid masonry, the parapet will be finished by the 10th of June next. The removal of Dongri hill was begun on the 23rd October 1768. The rock and hill removed equals about 205,000 solid feet including the fortifications of Dongri which were destroyed by mines on the 18th March 1769. The object of these changes is to clear the ground plot for the new works. I beg leave to

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Dongri Fort
Blown Up,
1769.

Principal
Engineer's
Progress Report,
1769.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 8th March 1769, Pub. Diary 53 of 1769, 373.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 28th Oct. 1769, Pub. Diary 51 of 1769, 722.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 8th April 1769, Pub. Diary 53 of 1769, 430 and 446.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Principal
Engineer's
Progress Report,
1769.

Fortification
Labourers and
their Wages,
1769

observe to the Honourable Board it is a very heavy work, and that for the proper and more speedy removal of the same, it will be very necessary to fall upon some effectual means of collecting a much greater number of labourers. I have tried every method but with less success than I could wish. In March 1768 a grand magazine was begun at Mázgaon to contain the 4300 barrels of powder belonging to this island. The masonry of this work will be finished about the 20th of next June. This is the principal part of the works finished and in hand since the date of my letter in December 1767. As I have taken every method to forward the real interest of my Honourable Employers, I flatter myself the result will meet with their approbation, and likewise that of the Honourable Board to whom I beg leave to refer on this occasion¹.

The following letter from the Principal Engineer to Government shows the difficulties in the way of procuring labourers. On the 3d June 1769 Colonel Keating writes. On the 1st instant I received sixty labourers at Rs 7½ each and one *mukádam* at Rs 10 a month. These men it appears have been entered at Surat for the service of the Honourable Company's new fortifications. I am to observe to your Honour, that the above is much greater wages than have ever been given to labourers since my arrival in India, more in fact than they can bring nothing more than common *bigáris*² possibly earn. These rates will add greatly to the estimated expense of the works. They will also occasion a general uneasiness to the labourers already employed, and prevent us in future from getting others except by complying with the same extravagant demands. The above reasons induce me to apply for your orders to discharge those men already arrived, and give your orders for preventing any more being entered on the above terms. I am very well assured on my representing to the Honourable Board the difficulty of getting men, had you given me orders to grant an advance of nine *res* (4½ *pies*) a day, that is an addition of two quarters and twenty *res* in the month of 30 days, and that only to good and strong men, I believe on those terms I should be able in a short time to get as many as I should choose to employ. This would be a saving of Re 1-1-70 a man, a very considerable item in our monthly expense. It would also be a fully sufficient not to say a large payment for their labour. I would suggest the entertainment of labourers on the following terms³:

1 That any man who will on or before the 1st of October 1769 raise and bring to Bombay for the services of the fortifications twenty-five able-bodied and strong working *bigáris*, shall be appointed officer of the same with the pay of ninety *res* (= 3 as 7 *pies*) a day or upwards should his diligence merit it.

2 That every *bigáris* so entered shall be paid from the day of his arrival at the rate of eighty *res* a day, or ten *res* an hour. This pay he shall be entitled to receive during his being ill of any hurt he may receive in the actual execution of his duty.

¹ Principal Engineer Colonel Keating to Government 19th April 1769, Pub. Diary 53 of 1769, 470-471.

² *Bigáris*, strictly unpaid or forced, has the sense of unskilled labourer.

³ Pub. Diary 54 of 1769, 544-546.

3 That every *bigam* so entered shall be entitled to two days' full pay to meet his expense of travelling to Bombay. In lieu of this and all other benefits he receives he is to engage to serve the Honourable Company in the above station for the space of three years, during which time he is on no account to attempt leaving the island without a passport from the engineer, and furthermore is to subject himself to all manner of customs and forms of checks made use of for the better regulation of the Honourable Company's new fortifications.

On these proposals from the Principal Engineer the Bombay Diary of the 13th June 1769 has the following entry: The President lays before the Board a letter he has received from the principal engineer representing that the terms on which the Surat labourers are engaged are much too high, and enclosing proposals for engaging here as many as may be necessary. We could have wished the engineer, when he set forth the want of labourers, had made these proposals which would have prevented our applying to Surat, and consequently saved the expense of bringing down those which have been engaged there. However, as a very material saving will arise by engaging men on the terms proposed by the engineer in preference to bringing them from Surat, he must be empowered to engage as many as may be necessary and to discharge those arrived from Surat unless they will serve upon the same terms. The travelling charges of such as may choose to return in consequence must be defrayed.¹

On the 15th November 1769 the principal engineer submits the following progress report: Agreeable to your orders of the 7th instant I now lay before you the present state of the works, also what has been done since my address of the 20th April 1769. The west ravelin has had additional terrace platforms and banquettes containing 7956 solid feet of masonry, the rampart is filled in where wanting in all about 2500 solid feet of earth. Thus and the south-west ravelin are ready to receive their guns as soon as necessary. Hodges' ravelin has additional terrace platforms and banquettes containing 17,212 solid feet of masonry; the magazines floored with plank, and the store room with terrace. This work is ready to receive its guns as soon as it may be thought necessary. Duke of Cumberland's ravelin has had a parapet added containing 34,518 solid feet of masonry; one hundred and ten feet of the retaining wall containing 5280 solid feet of masonry has been built; the magazines store rooms and guard room containing 20,756 solid feet of masonry, have been arched and terraced except the last coat. Of the rampart 120 feet containing 51,840 solid feet of earth have also been filled. Except platforms, banquettes, and flooring the magazines and store rooms this work is finished. The removal of Dongri has been continued with as much spirit as our numbers admit. Nearly 400,000 solid feet of the hill have been taken away for forming ditches. For some months' past the whole area under removal has been little other than one entire table of rock. I may safely venture to affirm it is one of the most obstinate works ever undertaken. However I hope to be able to begin the masonry of the envelope of Dongri next new year's day and have not the least doubt of rendering it a very strong post

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings

Fortification
Wages,
1769.

Principal
Engineer's
Progress Report,
1769.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 13th June 1769, Pub. Diary 54 of 1769, 542.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Principal
Engineer's
Private Report,
1769.

before the close of the ensuing year. I began the foundation of the line of communication from the *kazsi* ravelin to Dongri on the 1st instant, which I hope to complete in the gross with its detached redoubt in the time above specified. The work in the castle, which, on account of the scarcity of workmen had been laid aside for some months, was set about the 1st instant. Thus I hope to be able to continue until bomb-proofs for lodging laboratory and other stores are completed.

As some months ago it appeared to me that I should be much distressed for carts to carry from Dongri to Mody bay the stones and earth wanted for the *cremaillere* work with the Honorable Governor's permission, instead of carts I set about making *gondalla* (gondola) boats. Two of these boats are finished and one has been at work about seven weeks. They answer fully even to my wishes. They will cost upon a medium Rs. 1200 each. Their expenses, one fundal at Rs 7, fourteen *lascars* at Rs 6-0-30 each, and contingent expenses Rs 18-3-80 a month. This, interest included, brings the monthly expense of each boat to Rs 120. Each boat makes two trips in the twenty-four hours and at each trip carries one hundred cartloads or upwards. The common hire paid for each cartload was eight *single pice*, and with this the cartmen were discontented. By this it plainly appears each boat earns Rs. 600 a month; so that she clears herself in seventy-five days, and then makes a monthly saving to the Honorable Company of Rs. 180. As four boats will be wanted, and are in hand, the annual saving will be £2880 sterling.

In compliance with your orders of the 11th June 1769 (and agreeable to my proposals made to the Honorable Governor) I sent officers to different parts of the continent on recruiting service. ^{the} ~~advance~~ hitherto succeeded very well as 992 labourers have been ~~engaged~~ and that time I have engaged a great many of these men at ~~strong~~ ^{less} than the proposed terms and in the course of the season hope to ~~engage~~ ^{engage} as many as is necessary. On 2000 men the yearly difference between the *Smat* plan and mine will be upwards of Rs. 51,000. As it has ever been my endeavour to carry on the Honorable Company's works with the greatest despatch and on the most frugal plan, I hope this arrangement has and will meet with your Honours' approbation. If so, I humbly request you will signify the same to my Honorable Masters.¹

On the 15th November 1769 Government order copy of this letter to be transmitted to the Court of Directors.

Dongri Fort to
be Fort George,
1770

On the forenoon of the 1st January 1770 Colonel Keating the principal engineer laid the foundation stone of the new fort at Dongri, and by order of the Governor named it Fort George in honour of His Majesty George III.²

Assistant
Engineer,
1770

On the Principal Engineer reporting the great want of assistant engineers for the new works in progress the Board pass the

¹ Principal Engineer to Government 15th Nov 1769, Pub. Diary 51 of 1769, 787-789.

² Bom Gov Diary 1st Jan 1770, Pub. Diary 55 of 1770, 2.

following orders on the 2nd January 1770: Read a letter from the principal engineer representing the great want of assistant engineers for carrying on the present new works and recommending six gentlemen to be employed in that capacity. The same is agreed to during the carrying on of the present works. But as five of those recommended by the engineer to the President belong to the artillery corps which already furnishes six officers to this duty, it is resolved that only two artillery officers be employed on this occasion and that Ensign Robert Lambert with any other three gentlemen properly qualified make up the number. Captain Lockart Russel must also be ordered up from Tellicherry by the first opportunity.¹

It has been noted above that the Court were in doubt whether to demolish or fortify Dongri hill and they put off a final decision until the hill was surveyed by Colonel Campbell. On receipt of his report, on the 6th April 1770, the Court approve of the action taken by the Bombay Government. The Court write: We have very attentively considered your advices respecting Dongri hill, also the plan proposed by Colonel Campbell for fortifying it. If that gentleman's estimate is correct that the demolition of the hill would cost £130,000 more than its fortification, we cannot hesitate a moment to approve the orders you have given for the execution of that work in the manner recommended by Colonel Campbell. We therefore direct that you cause Dongri fort to be completed with all possible expedition.²

On the 23rd April 1770 Colonel Keating submits his progress report of the fortification works. He writes: Agreeable to your orders of yesterday I now lay before you the progress made in the Honorable Company's fortifications since my last under 15th November 1769. begin Duke of Cumberland ravelin has had the last coat of terrace given. to platform over the magazines and proof store and guard rooms. receive the Dongri hill, to clear a site for the fort about 570,000 solid feet of earth and rock have been removed. On the 1st January (1770) I laid the foundation stone of the new fort and by order of the Honorable Governor Mr. T. Hodges, named it Fort George. Since then the envelope has been carried on as fast as possible. It is at present nearly 10 feet high and contains about 72,000 solid feet of the very best masonry; the rampart being filled with the most solid materials containing about 128,000 solid feet. The retaining wall of the counterscarp is carried on from south to north about 300 feet in length and 10 high containing about 17,000 solid feet of masonry and stones and earth filled therein in quantity about 300,000 solid feet. The gallery for countermining the counterscarp is carried on in length 246 feet containing 4700 solid feet of masonry. The line of communication and its redoubt were begun the 1st of November 1769. The whole of the masonry is carried nearly the level of the cordon. The parapet of the first branch containing about 160,720 solid feet of masonry is begun and about 75,000 solid feet filled in to the rampart. The work in

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Assistant
Engineers,
1770.

Dongri Hill,
1770.

Fortification
Progress Report,
1770.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 2nd Jan 1770, Pub. Diary 55 of 1770, 2.

² Court to Bombay 6th April 1770 para 43, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 8 of 1769 - 1771, 150.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Fortification
Progress Report,
1770.

the castle has been continued. Every objectionable part of the old house has been removed and most part of the foundation from the bomb-proof lodgments are laid containing about 24,500 solid feet of masonry.

I have the satisfaction to be able to assure the Honourable Board that by the close of this year, Dongri will be above the power of an assault from the most vigorous enemy.¹

Seven months later, the 27th November 1770, Colonel Keating submits a further progress report. According to your order of the 13th instant I now lay before you an account of the progress of the works made in the Honourable Company's fortifications since the 23rd of last April. The Duke of Cumberland's ravelin has had the store rooms and bomb-proof terraced and the platforms and banquettes nearly finished. The removal of Dongri hill to make room for the casemates and ditches has been continued. About 450,000 solid feet most part of it solid rock have been removed and filled into the glacis. The envelope of Fort George has its masonry finished except terrace platforms banquettes and arch over the esplanade. The masonry added to this work since my last is about 128,010 solid feet. As the situation of this work makes it of the greatest consequence, I have been in every respect as attentive as possible to its strength and may venture to say it will be as secure and serviceable a work as any whatever. The counterscarp of Fort George from the line of communication to the west-north-west salient angle of the envelope is finished in length 435 feet. From thence it is carrying on (and is at different levels) to the termination at the water side. The masonry added to this part since my last is about 52,010 solid feet. The filling behind the masonry the counterscarp for forming the glacis is well advanced. The mining the counterscarp has also been continued. 439 feet and gallery and the chambers are completed, and the remainder raised as high as the spring of the arches. Platforms and banquettes excepted, the whole masonry of the line of communication and its redoubt is finished. The masonry added since my last is about 72,400 solid feet, and the earth filled into the rampart 170,000 solid feet. The bomb-proof laboratory and lodgments in the castle are nine feet above the level of the flooring, representing since last April an addition of nearly 44,500 solid feet. On the 21st July last I began the envelope of the north front of Bombay. Since then the counterscarp of the body has been raised $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet for 945 feet in length that is about 11,340 solid feet of masonry, and the earth filled in order to form the rampart of the envelope. On the ditch and the scarp and counterscarp of the envelope about 20,000 solid feet of masonry have been expended.²

Compensation
for Trees,
1771.

The Collector and Chief of M^ohim delivering in a report valuation of the Honourable Company's and private oaks cut down,

¹ Principal Engineer to Government, 23rd April 1770, Pub. Diary 55 of 1770, 290-291.

² Principal Engineer to Govt. 27th Nov. 1770, Pub. Diary 56 of 1770, 719-721.

on account of the new works, the Board, on the 13th February 1771, ordered that, as before directed, the Company's oarts must be immediately sold and after satisfying the owners of the private oarts cut down, the balance must be paid into the Honourable Company's treasury. Further as allowing credit will much benefit the sale, it is ordered that on furnishing ample security purchasers be allowed two months to pay.¹

The Collector and Chief of Máhim lay before the Board valuation of the Honourable Company's oarts at Máhim and of the private oarts cut down on account of the new works. As the proprietors of the private oarts have agreed to take the Company's Máhim oarts in exchange at prices stipulated and the prices named being reasonable and the arrangement more satisfactory than selling the Honourable Company's oarts, the proposal is directed (26th March 1771) to be carried into execution.²

On the 20th April 1771 the Clerk of the Peace writes to the President: At the last Sessions in their representation to His Majesty's Justices the Grand Jury urged the great necessity for cleaning the town ditch. If not removed, the filth therein might prove very prejudicial to the health of the inhabitants and requested an order might be issued for that purpose.³ On the above representation the Board, on the 23rd April 1771, direct that the town ditch be cleaned so soon as the proper season arrives.⁴

Abuses in the contracts for Dongri hill and other mines having come to their notice Government appointed a committee of inquiry. On the 25th May 1771 the committee submitted the following report: On reference to the fortification paymaster's books since the beginning of the works in 1753 we find that in Mr. DeFunck's time the mining work was done by European soldiers who had a daily pay for this service exclusive of their garrison pay. From the time Mr. Mace had charge of the works until January 1759 the mining work was performed by garrison sepoy who exclusive of their pay as sepoy received one-quarter of a rupee per foot mined. From January 1759 to March 1763 mining was performed by different persons at Re. 0-1-50 (as. 6) the foot. From 1763 to the present it has been at one quarter of a rupee and forty *res* (Re. 0-1-40 that is as. $5\frac{7}{15}$) as now paid to Vishvanáth Náráyanji. We called on Vishvanáth Náráyanji the contractor and asked him what and how he paid the miners. He told us from 16 to 22 pice the foot according to the nature of the stone, the lowest being for soft stones and the highest for hard. We also examined on oath several of the miners who confirmed the same, particularly acquainting us that at the north front of the town they receive 22 pice the foot and at the south side of Dongri hill 20 pice, on the east by the sea side 18 pice, and to the north in the ditch which was the softest

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Compensation
for Trees,
1771.

Town Ditch,
1771.

Miners' Wages,
1771.

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 13th Feb 1771, Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 92.

² Bom Gov. Consultation 26th March 1771, Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 226.

³ Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 345-346.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 23rd April 1771, Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 331-335.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Miners' Wages,
1771.

16. We then asked Vishvanáth Náráyanji how the profit arising between the contract price and the prices paid to the miners was disposed of. He replied he had one piee the foot for looking after this work and paying the people, and that he paid the difference to his master the principal engineer. We then called upon him for his monthly payment rolls. But he on oath acquainted us that they were not in his possession but in Colonel Keating's. By the measurement account for April which he produced, it plainly appears to us that it is impossible to distinguish thereby what mines were blown up at Dongri hill and what at the bazár gate; and he prevaricated so much that we could get from him no satisfactory accounts whatever. The miners who work at Mázgaoon dock under Mr Watson were then interrogated on oath. They declared that they receive no more than 16 piee the foot, whether the stone be hard or soft, that they have stone at Mázgaoon equally hard as at the bazár gate, that they had before worked both on Dongri hill and at the Apollo and bazár gates, for which they received 16 piee, that they never received any more, nor ever heard that more was given. Nor, as Mr Watson acquaints the committee, have they ever asked for any increase in their pay, or ever expressed the least dissatisfaction at what is now allowed them.¹

After debate on the above report at their Consultation, the 28th May 1771, the Board resolved that as a punishment for his contempt of their orders to produce his accounts, Vishvanáth be immediately committed into close confinement in the castle without permission to speak to any person whatever until he is ready to produce the accounts demanded of him which the Board are convinced he must have in his possession.²

Notice to Cut
Trees,
1771.

About the middle of 1771 (June 26th) Government ordered that in future the new fortification paymaster must suffer no cocoanut trees to be cut down without giving the Collector previous and sufficient notice.³

The Cumberland
Redoubt,
1771.

The same year (August 13th 1771) Colonel Keating proposed the following change in a portion of Colonel Campbell's plan: Upon my having minutely examined into the nature of the ground within the limits of the esplanade I find that the redoubt and line of communication intended to be erected on the capital of the small west ravelin will be of very little (or indeed no) service towards retarding an enemy in their approach from the north of the town, as it is 1491 yards from the nearest part of the line of esplanade and is consequently much too far off for its fire to be of material service. For the above reason I beg leave to recommend to this Honourable Board in lieu of the above mentioned works a redoubt and line off the Duke of Cumberland's ravelin as laid down in the outlines of the fortifications now in the possession of the Honourable Governor. A redoubt in front of the Duke of Cumberland's ravelin will

¹ Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 423-424

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 28th May 1771, Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 421-422.

³ Bom. Gov. Diary 26th June 1771, Pub. Diary 58 of 1771, 512.

severely check an enemy much earlier in their approach than a redoubt off the small west ravelin. It will also be full as easily supported, being well secured by a heavy fire on every part. Besides the above a great advantage arising therefrom is that it will take in a great deal of high ground, which otherwise must be removed. The Honourable Governor and General Wedderburn walked over the ground and from what they declared it appeared to me they coincided with what I have here observed. As I do esteem the above work of much utility and very necessary to be set about without the least loss of time, I beg to have the Honourable Board's orders relating thereto as soon as may be pleasing.¹

On perusal of the above letter representing that the redoubt and line of communication intended by Colonel Campbell's plan to be erected on the capital of the small west ravelin will be of very little use, and proposing that one be erected a little to the northward of the Duke of Cumberland's ravelin, the Board at a Consultation on the 13th August 1771 ordered that the engineer lay before them at their next meeting Colonel Campbell's plan of the works and a plan of that which he proposes should be erected. The Board will then take the same into consideration.²

A week later the principal engineer submits the plans as directed. He writes, 20th August 1771: Agreeable to your orders I now lay before you the plan of the fortifications of Bombay, showing the situation of the redoubt intended to be erected in lieu of that laid down on the capital of the small west ravelin, also the elevations and sections of the Apollo ravelin, the south-west ravelin, the west ravelin, Hodges' ravelin, the bandar pier, and the new building and ten-gun curtain in the castle. Those of the remaining works carried on in my time are in hand and shall be laid before your Honour as soon as finished. I likewise lay before this Honourable Board lists showing the sums paid for working the mines from November 1766 to July 1769. The rest of those lists shall be laid before you as soon as I have got correct copies made of them.³

On perusal of the above letter from the principal engineer enclosing a plan of the fortifications, showing the situation of the work he proposes should be erected in lieu of that intended by Colonel Campbell, and at the same time giving cover to the elevations and sections of sundry parts of the works and his accounts of the sums paid for working the mines to July 1769, Government direct that the consideration of the engineer's proposal be referred to the committee of surveys who must examine the same and report their opinion thereon.⁴

Probably in consequence of the abuses discovered in the mines' contracts Government appointed a committee to frame rules in respect

¹ Principal Engineer to Govt. 13th Aug. 1771, Pub. Diary 58 of 1771, 783-781.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 13th Aug. 1771, Pub. Diary 58 of 1771, 767.

³ Principal Engineer 20th Aug. 1771, Pub. Diary 58 of 1771, 817. None of these plans and lists have been traced.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 20th Aug. 1771, Pub. Diary 58 of 1771, 807.

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

**Rules for
Fortification
Works,
1771.**

to the new works. On the 20th August 1771 Government received the following report from this committee: We now enclose your Honour such rules and directions as appear to us necessary for the guidance of the committee of surveys respecting the fortifications. Also some further regulations for the new fortification paymaster and principal engineer's offices. The following regulations are necessary for the committee of surveys respecting the fortifications:

1. That no member of this committee shall be directly or indirectly concerned in any contracts, purchase, or providing materials, or in paying any of the people.

2. That the committee report to the Board what contracts may appear to them necessary to be made in order that the Board may give the necessary directions regarding it.

3. That a Board shall be held once a week or oftener if necessary.

4. That a store-keeper be appointed who shall have the charge and be accountable for all stores, to be independent of the paymaster or engineer further than as hereinafter mentioned. The principal engineer to indent on occasion may require for all stores to the paymaster. Such indents if approved to be countersigned by the committee, then by the paymaster, and then delivered to the store-keeper of the works who is to issue no stores whatever but by indents from the principal engineer's assistants countersigned by the principal engineer. This store-keeper to deliver his monthly receipts and issues to the paymaster who is to check the same with the principal engineer.

5. That two gentlemen of reputation and capacity be appointed as surveyors under the committee, who are to visit all the works yards and stores as often as they may think proper or are directed. That the store-keeper's assistants, engineer's assistants, practitioners engineers, inspectors, muster masters, Purvooes, and artificers any way employed on the works in the yards or stores, shall be directed to give the surveyors the most satisfactory information in their power in all their inquiries regarding the materials, for what uses they are intended and every other information necessary for executing this office.

6. That all materials shall be examined by the committee or their surveyors. When the surveyors conduct the examination they shall make immediately a report of their quality to the committee before the same are purchased. As soon as the contractors for furnishing timber report to the committee that they have imported a parcel of timber, the principal engineer is to inspect the same and whatever of it will answer for the Honourable Company's works and is absolutely wanted, must be ordered by him to have a mark put thereon. When the mark is cut the principal engineer is to make an indent for the said timbers. Should the same be approved by the committee the following persons must be ordered to take an exact account of the measurement, namely one of the two surveyors, one assistant of each office, the store-keeper, and the overseer of the timber yard. They shall see the same measured examined and marked with the Honourable Company's mark and number and the quantity it contains marked on each piece. When the whole of their accounts are delivered in separately and are found to truly check with each other, the bill is to be certified by the committee and paid, but not otherwise.

7. That four young gentlemen, or more if they shall be found necessary, shall be appointed as sub-surveyors who must attend constantly and inspect the quantity and expenditure of all stores. They must see what work is done by the miners of different places, see the mines exactly measured, the quantity of powder used, examine when they are blown up, and see that they are all fired and that an exact account is taken of all the constant stones and measurements.

8 That the sub-surveyors shall visit all the stores and yards and works and that the store-keeper's assistants, engineer's assistants, practitioner engineers, Purvoes, muster masters, inspectors, and artificers employed, shall satisfy them in their inquiries regarding materials, then uses, and workmen how employed as far as in their power. Thus they are to report to the committee weekly or oftener if necessary.

9. The sub-surveyors to make daily reports to the head surveyors and then to the committee once a week or oftener if required, noticing any abuses that may come under their observation.

10. A weekly or daily report of the number of workmen employed, the measurement of the work done, the receipt and expense of stores and materials should be given by the officer in charge of each work to the principal engineer who will refer the same to the sub-engineer to be formed into one general report to be laid before the committee directly.

11. That a book-keeper be appointed for entering the reports of stores and to state the accounts for the examination and control of the committee.

12. That all office books and accounts relative to the fortifications shall be open and free to the examination of any of the members.

13. That the monthly accounts of every department be laid before the committee by the 20th of the succeeding month.

The Committee continue: As we esteem it necessary that the principal engineer should deliver monthly a particular account specifying how the stores issued to him have been expended in order that the paymaster or his assistants may examine and check the same (which has hitherto never yet been ordered), we are of opinion he should be allowed the European assistant and Purvoes he has applied for in order to enable him to have such accounts duly and regularly kept. As there is great reason to suppose that, according to the present mode of paying the workmen, the Honourable Company lose a great deal by the tricks of the Purvoes who do not bring to the Company's credit the sums arising by desertion and the deaths of many people who have no real heirs or any others properly authorized to receive their wages, it is in future positively ordered that an assistant from each office is to be present when the different companies of artificers or labourers are paid. These assistants are to be furnished with a copy of all payment rolls, and, as they see the people paid, they are to postmark them, nor shall the Purvoes' accounts be allowed of further than they check with those of the assistants. To prevent the said assistants being imposed upon by persons assuming false names, the sabbis of the company and officer of the division that are receiving their pay, must be present and vouch for the identity of every person. If any sabbis or officer or any person is detected in endeavouring to pass one man for another, he must receive the most exemplary punishment. The better to enable the above gentlemen to do their duty and avoid imposition, they are to do no other business than seeing the payments made, and taking check musters upon the different works in hand. When employed upon the last mentioned duty, by frequently viewing with attention every person they muster, they will in a little time become very well acquainted with their faces. It is here necessary to observe and it is well known that when any person is inclined to desert the service and has no other impediments in the way than wages being due to him, he can very readily find those in the bazar who make a practice of buying such

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Rules for
Fortification
Works,
1771.

Paymaster's
Regulations,
1771.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Paymaster's
Regulations,
1771.

wages for a trifle. By this means the Honourable Company lose their workmen and pay money to men who never give half value for it. A man who is noted for those practices and has been detected in them, is one Saiah (Shankar) a Baman. To remedy this last abuse, as much as may be without proof on oath checked by the engineer's pay sheets, no wage is to be paid to any person on pretence that he or she to whom such wage is due, is dead. As it frequently happens that among so large a number of people as are employed on the works, numbers are disabled by sickness from attending at the proper times for receiving their pay, it is therefore necessary that four days in each month should be appointed for calling over such people's names. As it is very proper that those four days should be known to the whole of the working people, the 2nd 4th 6th and 8th days of each month are appointed for that purpose. In order to prevent desertion even for a time, or workmen going from the Honourable Company's to private works, any persons who shall stand more than two months unpaid without being able to prove that their not attending before was entirely owing to their want of health, shall not be entitled to receive any sums which might have been due unto them. All such sums undemanded for the space of four months, shall then be carried to the Honourable Company's credit. Of these regulations all persons now employed upon the works must receive due notice; and every one who shall in future enter into the service must be made acquainted with them at the time of being registered. As to have a fixed price for each article of petty stores will save an infinite deal of trouble in adjusting accounts, such standard price must be settled upon the following plan. Agreeable to the returns given in annually by the principal engineer the following articles shall be laid in during the month of December. The price of each article shall then be ascertained by the Honourable Board, and shall not be altered for one year after, namely Middle baskets of Bombay, ditto of Thana, large baskets, large Bluwandi rafters, ditto of small sort, ditto smaller, Duka (half-dressed?) rafters, Chowkas squared rafters, Daskattys perhaps *tezhath* or large poles, large Furkils (?), small Furkils (?), Vizally sottas or batons of *icáli* wood (?), charcoal in bundles, large wooden handles for tools, Gool Gull (*gugul*) balsam, hemp, red earth, Bombay con, large or small bricks, chalk, cajans, Rajapur firewood, twine. As the following articles vary in price, two statements should be made, one in the month of December the other in the month of July, namely Bamboos large, ditto small, tattas, jaggelly oil, dammar, jaggir, and Calcut con.¹

On the above report the Bombay Diary of the 20th August 1771 has the following entry. The committee appointed to frame rules and regulations for the committee of surveys in their superintendence of the new works, now lays before the Board a letter enclosing the regulations they have drawn up for that purpose, and for the better government of the engineer and paymaster's offices. All these are now read and being maturely debated, it is resolved that they be ear-

¹New Works Rules and Regulations Committee's Report, 19th Aug 1771 Pub. Diary 55 of 1771, 510-517.

ried into execution. In order thereto the following appointments are now made: Mr. Benjamin Hollamby, storekeeper to the fortifications with a monthly allowance of Rs. 100 and Mr. Henry Alleyn, a cadet, clerk of the receipts and issues under the storekeeper with a monthly allowance of Rs. 30. Majors Dagon and Burr, surveyors under the committee with a monthly allowance of Rs. 60 for a carriage and palanquin to enable them to discharge their duty. Lieutenants Turner, Torriano, Hollamby, and Black, sub-surveyors under the committee with a monthly allowance of Rs. 30. Mr. Francis William Pemberton, accountant to the committee, with a monthly allowance of Rs. 30. Ordered that the engineer retain an European assistant and the additional Purvoes recommended by the committee that the accounts of his office may be more duly and regularly kept.¹

With a view to reduce the current expenditure in connection with the new works, on the 22nd October 1771 the Board pass the following orders: The Board taking into consideration the very low state of the treasury with the necessity of reducing the current expenses as much as possible, and as the monthly expense of the new works is very great and such as we are not able to continue until we may have a flowing cash, it is ordered that the Committee of Surveys report to the Board as soon as possible the works in their opinion immediately necessary to be carried on, with the number of men wanted for them, and a calculate of their expense that we may discharge as many of the men at present employed as can possibly be spared.²

Two weeks later Government further resolved and ordered at their Consultation, the 9th November 1771, that no new works, machines, or implements that will amount to more, on making, than the sum of Rs 500, be constructed on the new fortification office or any other office whatever without the sanction of the Board signified in writing.³

At a Consultation, the 25th February 1772, the Board debated whether any individual member of the committee of surveys established by the Honorable Company's commands, dated 12th May 1758, has a right to question and interrogate whomsoever he pleases whether artificers or others belonging to the several offices to which that committee relates. After mature deliberation it was resolved that every member of Council has a right to make such inquiry as to them may appear proper of whomsoever they think necessary. Similarly any member of the committee of surveys may inquire in those offices to which that committee relates. At the same time neither the members of Council nor the committee of surveys have any powers in consequence of inquiries to give orders without previous reference to the head of the office.⁴

As regards the daily wages of the artificers and labourers the committee appointed in 1772 made the following report to the Board on the 24th February 1772: In obedience to your order of the 18th

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Paymaster's
Regulations,
1771.

Expenses
Reduced,
1771.

Committee's
Powers,
1772.

Wages,
1772.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 20th Aug 1771, Pub. Diary 58 of 1771, 806.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 22nd Oct 1771, Pub. Diary 58 of 1771, 1038.

³ Pub. Diary 59 of 1771, 1324-1325.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 25th Feb, 1772, Pub. Diary 60 of 1772, 207.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Wages,
1772.

instant we now lay before your Honour a statement of the daily wages allowed the different artificers and labourers employed on the Honourable Company's works in 1740, 1750, 1760, 1767, and the present time (1772) with an account of the prices paid for batty at each of those different periods¹.

Daily Wages to Craftsmen and Labourers, 1740 - 1772

Workers.	1740	1750	1760.	1767	1772
Carpenters, able	Price 20	Price 27	Price 27	Price 27	Price 27
Do. indifferent	20 to 21	22 to 24	22 to 24	22 to 24	22 to 21
Smiths, able	.	18	18	21	21
Do. indifferent	.	15	15	15	16
Labourers, able	9 to 10	10	11, 15 to 18	17 to 12	10
Do. middling	7 to 8	8	10, 11 to 12	8 to 10	8
Bricklayers, able	11, 15 to 10	22 to 24	24 to 26	24 to 20	24 to 27
Do. indifferent	12 to 13	20 to 18	20 to 22	20 to 23	20 to 23

During the above years the prices of batty shown in the general books were :

Year	<i>Rice, 1740 - 1772.</i>			<i>Prices the Mowla</i>
1740	20
1750	25
1760	16
1767	25
1772	18

On enquiry into the cause of the gradual increase of pay to the artificers and still more to the labourers, we were informed by the head overseers in the different departments that it has been chiefly occasioned by not having sufficient numbers of those people inhabitants of Bombay. This rendered it necessary at different times to send for and engage large numbers on the other side, who, in consideration thereof had an advanced pay allowed them. In October 1767 we find the committee of accounts remarked on the high price of labour and recommended reduction. In consequence Messrs Boddam, Jervis, and Mostyn were appointed a committee for regulating wages, to whose report we beg leave to refer your Honour. It appears that this committee proposed 12 pice a day for an able-bodied labourer and less in proportion agreeable to strength and age. At this rate the Honourable the President and Council fixed the same by publication. In April or May 1769, orders having been given to the principal engineer to increase the number of workmen on the fortifications, he on the 13th June addressed a letter to the Honourable the President and Council which was laid before the Board and in consequence the daily pay of labourers was increased to 80 and 72 *res*. These rates we find have been continued from the above period until the beginning of this month when the Honourable the President proposed to the different paymasters to lower them. They have accordingly been again reduced to the daily rate of 63 *res* to an able-bodied man. Though from the best information we can procure we are of opinion the rate cannot be at present further reduced, it is to be observed that the above ought

¹ Committee's Report to Government 21th Feb 1772, Pub. Diary 60 of 1772, 214 - 216.

to be considered the pay of the most stout able man and should be proportionably less to those who are advanced in years or are in any respect deficient in strength. The pay of artificers is not greatly increased and we are assured, will not admit of much if any reduction. We submit to your Honour's consideration the rates hereafter entered which we are informed will be most just and equitable, considered both with respect to the workmen and our Honourable Employers:

Craftsmen and Labourers' Wages, 1772.

Class.	Rate, Piece the Day.	
Carpenters, good	...	27
Do. middling	...	20 to 21
Bricklayers and Stone-cutters, good	...	21 to 27
Do. middling	...	20 to 22
Smiths, good	...	16
Do. middling	...	13
Workmen, able-bodied	...	10
Do. inferior	...	8½

On receipt of this report the Board passed the following orders, the 25th February 1772: The committee appointed in our last (18th February) Consultation to examine the rates paid to artificers and labourers, to ascertain the prices of provisions at certain stated periods, and to suggest the present proper rate of wages, now lay the same before the Board. It is therefore resolved that the several paymasters be directed to pay the rates herein mentioned in their respective offices. At the same time if it can be done without prejudice to the public service they are recommended to use their utmost endeavours to reduce wages even lower and the Secretary is directed to issue a publication strictly enjoining all private persons on no account to pay more than the rates herein specified or on conviction of the contrary before a magistrate by the oath of two credible witnesses they shall be fined in the sum of Rs. 100 for such offence, one-half of which to go to the informer and the other to the Company. Any labourer or artificer refusing to work at the rate mentioned therein shall be put to hard labour on the works for one month for the first offence and for every subsequent offence shall receive corporal punishment at the discretion of two Justices of the Peace.¹

On the 10th March 1772 the committee of surveys inform the Board that the prices of labourers' wages have been reduced from thirteen pice per day to ten pice for the best labourers and the others in proportion.²

On the 17th March 1772 Captain Nilson the acting principal engineer submits the following progress report to Government: Before the departure of the *Hampshire* for Europe I take the liberty to lay before your Honour and Council a report of the progress of the fortifications from the time I took charge and had the direction of them. The quantity of cubic feet of masonry completed on the several works is as follows:

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Wages,
1772.

Fortification
Progress Report,
1772.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultations 18th and 25th Feb. 1772, Pub. Diary 60 of 1772, 167, 205.

² Pub. Diary 60 of 1772, 318.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Fortification
Progress Report,
1772.

Fort George	...	...	41,198
Arch-work	..	..	2799
The Castle	..	...	1135
Arch-work	...	...	8400
Hodges' Ravelin Sallyport	.	..	3906
Retaining wall of the Town Ramparts	.	..	29,921
Cumberland Ravelin Sallyport	...	...	1710
North Envelope	...	...	52,216

Total ... 141,375

The galleries of the countermining casemate gateway and magazine of the envelope of Fort George are all plastered, amounting to superficial feet 12,500. The greatest part of the glaers of Fort George is also filled up containing above 130,000 solid feet of earth and stone. The casemate on the side of Fort George is more than half completed, the supporting arches for those on the east side are two-thirds completed, the mount for the west curtain is entirely finished, and the pillars for the casemates on the north side two-thirds finished. I have completed three faces of the redan at the north front and built a parapet 14 feet thick and 245 feet in length behind the rampart which can mount 12 pieces of cannon. The foundation for another redan of the north front is now being laid and the retaining wall of the ramparts is finished as far as the bazin gate. The two sallyports of the Hodges' and Cumberland ravelins are almost completed as also the retaining wall of the cavalier of Prince's bastion; two arches of the castle casemates, 105 feet long and 20 feet broad, are completed to a few keystones of one of them; and five paved platforms are finished at the dock bastions. The number of mines sprung is 25,614. The number of Warb cut arch stones fixed in the arches is 1588 and those of the Mázgaon stone amount to 7806. I have begun to dig the ditches of Hodges' ravelin and shall shortly begin the ditch of the Cumberland ravelin, both which I hope to complete before the rains. Every possible diligence and despatch will be used to effect the so-much-wished-for completion of the work of this fortification. I humbly hope that my attention hitherto has merited your Honour's approbation. If so, I shall esteem myself very happy and take the liberty to request the favour of your Honour and Council being pleased to recommend me to the Honourable Company for succeeding to the post of principal engineer if it should so fall out that Lieutenant-Colonel Keating does not return hither in that station.¹

On the 17th March 1772, on reading the above letter from the acting principal engineer, the Board ordered that it be entered at the foot of this Consultation and add As we are convinced Captain Nilson is very attentive to this branch his request is complied with in recommending him to the Honourable Company to succeed to the post of principal engineer.²

Land required
for Houses,
1772.

On the same day, 17th March 1772, the Collector acquainting the Board that on account of the objections made by the proprietors of

¹ Pub. Diary 60 of 1772, 316-317

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 17th Mar. 1772, Public Diary 60 of 1772, 310-311.

parts on which houses are to be built, he finds great difficulty in allotting ground for the persons whose houses are pulled down, and, at the same time, laying before the Board the draft of a publication for their approval which he believes will in a great measure obviate the difficulty, it is accordingly now read and being approved the Secretary is directed to issue a publication to that effect.¹

In reference to the orders directing the town ditch to be cleaned the merchants submitted a petition on which, on the 30th June 1772, the Bombay Council issued the following orders: Read a petition from the principal Gentles Moormen and other inhabitants of the island desiring to be excused from paying any proportion of the charge of cleaning the town ditch, and instead suggesting that each caste furnish a proportionable number of people for that service. As we find this method will be attended with delay and as on account of the advanced season it is necessary that the ditch should be cleaned with all expedition, the land paymaster is therefore directed immediately to engage a sufficient number of persons to clean the ditch. He is to keep a distinct account of the charge in order that it may be made good by an assessment on each caste excepting those merchants who have paid Rs. 100 annually by the custom house books for customs as they therein pay one per cent towards the fortifications, and also such persons who for particular reasons have been usually excepted.²

The Bombay Diary of the 14th July 1772 has the following entry. The land paymaster acquaints us that the greatest part of the ditch before the north front has been well cleaned but the great want of baskets prevented his going on with this work and he therefore discharged the labourers on the 9th instant.³

In February 1773, Mr. Lawrence Nilson, the acting principal engineer, submits the following progress report: Before the departure of the ship *Speaker* I now agreeable to your Honour's commands report the progress of the fortifications since my last letter of March 17th. At Fort George the excavation for the level plain of the inside of the fort is entirely finished, the excavation for the water cisterns is also completed, the arch work of which I will begin this month; the casemates to the east and west sides are entirely finished, that on the east side consists of five bomb-proofs fifty-two feet in length and ten feet in breadth, and those on the west side of two arches fifty-four feet long and twelve feet broad; on the north side two magazines for powder and stores are about half completed, and the arches of those casemates on that side more than half finished, the gateways begun, the excavation for the redoubts on the east side is almost half done. On the envelope of Fort George eleven stone platforms have been laid, a terrace thrown over a magazine to prevent its being damp in the rainy season and for want of which it was before entirely useless, the slope for bringing up the cannon

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Town Ditch,
1772

Want of Baskets,
1772.

Fortification
Progress Report,
1773.

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 17th March 1772, Pub. Diary 60 of 1772, 312.

² Bom Gov. Consultation 30th June 1772, Pub. Diary 61 of 1772, 618.

³ Bom Gov. Diary 14th July 1772, Pub. Diary 61 of 1772, 678-679.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Fortification
Report,
1773

has been made, all the banquettes also made and plastered, the whole is entirely finished and eleven pieces of cannon mounted on it. On the redoubt of the line of communication fifteen stone platforms have been laid, the banquettes and the retaining wall of the rampart raised, and the redoubt made in all ways ready for mounting cannon. The revetment of the envelope of the north front has been entirely completed to the left of the Bazar Gate as far as the Cumberland ravelin, the foundation for all the platforms laid, almost all the banquettes made, and a parapet with thirty-eight embrasures finished; the ditch before this envelope has been dug before three faces of the redans, and a temporary bridge made at the gate. The ditch before the Cumberland ravelin was dug before the last rains as deep as it was then possible. The counterscarp before the north-east face of that ravelin has been completed, and I shall do my utmost endeavours to get that ditch and covered way completed as soon as possible. The ditch before the Hodges' ravelin has been dug and the earth removed, and the glacis before the south-west ravelin and the counterscarp of the ditch have been entirely completed. The retaining wall of the ramparts has been finished from the Bazar Gate to the Mandra bastion. The esplanade I have been forced to defer levelling as the greater part of my labourers belonging to the new fortifications have for long been employed on the third dry dock, nor can I undertake to level the esplanade until I can get my full complement of labourers as ordered by your Honour as they have lately greatly diminished for the reasons I had the honour to represent in a letter under the 2nd instant. In the castle one bomb-proof of 105 feet in length and 20 feet in breadth has been begun and finished, and two others of the same bigness whose centric stones were not closed have also been completed. This work has also been stopped some time past owing to the great scarcity of labourers, but I am in hopes shortly to recruit as many as may enable me to continue it, and commence levelling the esplanade. The third Dry Dock is so far finished that ships may be received into it, and wants only some few additions which will shortly be completed. The cubic feet of masonry used on the different works

Work,	Cubic feet.
Fort George	69,410
Archwork	21,342
North Front	158,902
Contractor's Masonry	69,051
Cumberland's Ravelin Counterscarp	16,622
Hodges' Ravelin Counterscarp	11,771
Retaining wall and Guard-room at Bazar Gate	6390
Total	356,131

The number of mines blown up is 48,313 amounting to 78,101 feet. Wall stones laid 2300, Magazine arch stones 20,500, and 35 stone platforms completed. My principal object is the finishing those works which are already begun. Nor can I with any propriety propose to begin any others that are laid down in Colonel Campbell's plan, unless the number of labourers is increased, as the present number ordered by your Honour to be employed is no more than sufficient for completing those works which were begun by Lieute-

nant-Colonel Keating. My care and attention to the works in general, I flatter myself, meets with your Honour's approbation. I shall ever use my utmost endeavours to carry on the same with every possible despatch and diligence, and I hope my assiduity hitherto may merit your Honour's favourable mention of me to the Honourable the Court of Directors.¹

On the 28th May 1773 Government ordered the new fortification paymaster to pay the contractor for arched masonry at the rate of Rs 4½ the brass, agreeable to the acting engineer's valuation.²

The Bombay Diary of the 1st June 1773 has the following entry regarding the cleaning of the town ditch: It being now the most proper season for the much-wanted cleaning of the ditch, and as because the rainy season was far advanced only a small part could be finished last year, it is resolved that the work be immediately set about, and that such a number of people be employed as will do it effectually and in a short time. As was determined last year the charge must be kept separate in the land paymaster's books and reimbursed to the Company by an assessment on the inhabitants.³

Regarding the want of money to meet the expenses in raising fortifications the Bombay Diary of the 26th November 1773 has the following entry: On reading advices from the President and Council at Fort William it is with the utmost concern we observe that there is great probability we may be disappointed at least in part of the sum we have applied to that Presidency to furnish us with. A statement of the treasury now laid before us shows we are still considerably in arrears to all our offices. From all this we are unanimously of opinion that it is highly necessary to put a stop to every public work now carrying on that can possibly be stopped and to discharge all the workmen till such time as we may have sufficient to defray our necessary charges. It is therefore resolved and ordered that at the end of this month a stop be put to all works buildings repairs and alterations carrying on under the new fortification, land, and dock and pier paymasters, and that with the following exceptions all the artificers and labourers employed in those offices be then discharged.

As completing the levelling of the esplanade and laying the platforms in Fort George are works very requisite to be speedily finished, under the new fortification paymaster 500 labourers and artificers and no more must be retained without our express orders. Whenever either of these works is completed the workmen now employed thereon must be also discharged. One hundred artificers and labourers and no more must be retained under the land paymaster for executing the repairs immediately requisite to the Company's

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Fortification
Report,
1773

Town Ditch,
1773.

Want of Money,
1773.

¹ Principal Engineer to Government Feb. 1773, Pub. Diary 63 of 1773, 82-85. The total given in the record is 379,731 but the details entered give a total of 356,131 which is shown in the text.

² Bom. Gov. Diary 28th May 1773, Pub. Diary 63 of 1773, 409.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 1st June 1773, Pub. Diary 63 of 1773, 423.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Want of Money,
1773.

buildings. Further, as it is highly necessary that the repairs of the middle dock should be speedily finished, one hundred artificers and labourers and no more must be retained under the dock and pier paymaster for that purpose. A proportional number of practitioner engineers overseers and all other officers of artificers and labourers must be struck off. As this will be a favourable time for reducing the pay of the people it is resolved that henceforward no more than 50 *rs* (2 *as*) be allowed for the daily pay of an able-bodied labourer instead of 60 *rs* (2½ *as*.) the present pay, and that in all the offices a proportional reduction be made in the pay of every kind of officers. As we are in immediate want of money to pay the arrears to all our offices and for some months have no prospect of a speedy or considerable supply from Bengal, directions must be sent immediately to the Chief and Council at Surat to renew their endeavours for procuring on the best terms money for bills on the Presidency of Bengal or even on that of Madras if any money can be procured by that means. It is resolved also that we write to the President and Council at Madras advising them of the great distress the Company's affairs here are in for want of specie, and earnestly requesting them to assist us, or any of our settlements on the coast, so far as may be in their power either by remittances of bills or in specie of any kind whatever. We flatter ourselves, by their late successes against Tanjor their situation must be so opulent as to enable them without difficulty to comply with our request.¹

Fortification
Progress Report,
1774.

On the 8th January 1774 Mr. Lawrence Nilson the acting principal engineer submits the following progress report. In obedience to your Honour's commands I now lay before your Honour a report of the progress of the fortification works since my last letter on that subject. At Fort George all the bomb-proof casemates are entirely finished together with the gateway and two magazines of powder and stores. A cistern for rain-water has been completed, containing 66,400 gallons, which on a supposition that each man be allowed 1½ gallons a day for drinking and cooking, and that the garrison consists of 400 men and 200 lascars and labourers, would represent a daily expense of 900 gallons, and consequently a supply of water enough for ten weeks. The ditch of Fort George fronting the town has been excavated. All the parapets on the north and west sides are completed, and part of those on the east side. Three platforms are finished and the foundation for thirteen more has been laid, the greatest part of the revetment to the north curtain has been raised together with the slope for bringing up the cannon, the entire retaining wall of the north curtain has been raised and the ramparts on the west and north sides filled to their intended height, and that on the east side is very near completed. The square redoubt of Fort George near the sea side is completed as far as the spring of the arches, the entire ditch of the same has been excavated. The magazine in the envelope of Fort George has been floored and the casemates in the same rough-terraced. On the envelope before the north front of the town seventeen platforms have been laid; all the

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 26th Nov. 1773, Pub. Diary 64 of 1773, 801-506

parapets of the said envelope as far as the redan by the Mándvi bastion are finished; a revetment 300 feet in length has been raised and completed before the Mándvi bastion, together with the counterscarp before the envelope of the north front, which has been raised extending itself by the different turnings 1350 feet in length; also the counterscarp before the Mándvi bastion. The ditch before the said envelope has been dug to the offset of the foundation being 11 feet 10 inches deep, and has been excavated before three different faces since my last report, but the whole of this ditch is now dug as far as the offset. A ditch has been excavated before the face of the curtain of the envelope before the Mándvi bastion and a sluice made at the end of the said ditch by the sea side. The Cumberland ravelin ditch is dug to the offset of the foundation, and the entire counterscarp of the said ravelin is now completed. In the Hodges' ravelin the retaining wall to the ramparts has been raised two feet and earth filled up on the rampart in proportion. A terrace has been laid over the guard room of the Bazair Gate and the said guard room is now finished. On the esplanade the houses that contained the old powder works have been removed, and all that part of the esplanade is levelled to the extent of 162,000 square yards. On this ground great holes have been filled and rising grounds removed. Before the Stanhope bastion and without the covered way a considerable tank has been filled and upon it a glacis of the sand covered way completed. This glacis, together with that before Granby's ravelin, extends 637 feet in length. I have the satisfaction to inform your Honour that the nine-foot high sand hill, only 220 yards from the salient angle of the Cumberland ravelin, has been entirely removed; and its 67,606 cubical feet have been used to fill a large extent of hollow ground resulting in the levelling of 97,650 square yards. Owing to the great scarcity of bricks I have not been able to carry on the building of the castle bomb-proof laboratory, but have taken care to lay up materials to carry on the said building when I again receive your Honour's commands. The cubic feet of masonry completed on the several works at Fort George are:

Works			
Revetment, retaining walls and foundation for Platforms	...	...	97,751
Casemates and Magazines	...	...	57,778
Masonry made by the Contractor	...	...	32,574
The Square Redoubt	...	...	53,457
The Cistern Wall	...	...	9926
North Front			
Masonry made by the Contractor	...	...	133,421
Counterscarp of the Cumberland Ravelin	..	...	13,310
Retaining wall of the Hodges' Ravelin	..	..	2124
Terrace and parapet by the guard-room of the Bazair Gate	.	.	1172
Total			401,813

The number of mines sprung is 11,281, amounting to feet 18,377 and 7 inches. The number of cubical feet excavated of the ditch of the north front amounts to 414,058; also of that on the face before the Mándvi bastion, and the redan adjoining 129,600. The excavation of the ditch of Fort George amounts to 160,425 cubical feet.

Having thus given your Honour a faithful account of the progress of the fortification since my last report I beg leave to describe what

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Fortification
Progress Report,
1771.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Fortification
Progress Report,
1774.

remains to be done to works already begun, as also what works are yet to be commenced before Colonel Campbell's plan can be said to be executed. Of works already in progress I shall begin with Fort George, where the following particulars remain unfinished. The square redoubt to be made bomb-proof, and two drawbridges provided for the same. The countescarp of the ditch fronting the town, part of the east curtain to be filled up, parapet to be made on the said curtain and a guard room for the commanding officer, as also a staircase on that side. A ditch to be excavated before the two north bastions of Fort George and a casemated redoubt in the ditch before the envelope. All the ditches of Fort George and the line of communication to be palisaded throughout and the glacis on the north side to be completed, the two magazines to be floored, gates and doors to be made, the arch over the drain to be turned and the covered way of Fort George to be palisaded. In the redoubt of the line of communication from the town to Fort George is a casemated redoubt to be begun and completed. The whole space within the line of communication to be levelled. In the envelope of the north front of the town the following particulars remain undone. Three small casemated redoubts on the re-entering angles and forty-five platforms to be laid, the banquettes to be rough plastered and the ditch before the whole to be dug. The covered way and glacis before the Cumberland ravelin as far as the Hodges' ravelin remain unfinished. The bridge to the Cumberland ravelin is made, but not yet laid. One bridge is wanted to be made to the envelope by the Bazar Gate and another from the envelope to the line of communication. The ditches before the Hodges' and Cumberland ravelins require to be dug three feet deeper. The rampart and parapet of the face of the Dock bastion remain yet to be made. The two towers at the entrance of the basin to be made at the ends of the bandar and Dock pier and those two piers completed. The far greatest part of the esplanade remains to be levelled. These are the principal heads of what remains to be done to those works already in progress. I now take the liberty to point out those works laid down by Colonel Campbell's plan that have not yet been begun. The alteration of the Mándvi bastion, and the ramparts to be raised by the wall that leads from the Mándvi bastion to the Five-Gun Battery by Moody's Bay. The lunettes by the Mándvi bastion by the sea side. The flanking work before the Bazar Gate designed for the defence of the ditches before the Mándvi and Pinner's bastion. The esplanade work starting near the castle and joining the town wall by Moody's bay. The Moor and Banian bastions to be altered. The detached redoubt to be advanced on the capital of the Granby's ravelin. I beg leave to remark that the very few workmen at present allowed for levelling the esplanade and laying the platforms of Fort George will cause those works to be carried on very slowly, particularly as great part of the esplanade has many large and deep holes, for filling which earth must be brought from some distance.¹

¹ Principal Engineer to Government 8th Jan 1774, Pub. Drury 65 of 1774, 21-25. The total of cubic feet is given in the record at 424,559. The details give a total of 401,843 as shown in the text.

The following further report to Government was made by the Principal Engineer on the 21st February 1774: Having agreeable to the orders received from the Honourable Board completed as many platforms at Fort George as was possible since that order was received, there remain at present seven more to be finished on the north-west bastion of the fort. Those on the north curtain and on the north-east bastion would not at present be safe to lay, because until next rains the earth will not be sufficiently settled to sustain their weight without sinking. In the meantime I have to request your Honour's orders and permission to complete the redoubt of Fort George already begun, together with the counterescarp, west curtains, or such other works as remain unfinished. This I will endeavour to do with the same number of men your Honour has already been pleased to order¹

On the 25th February 1774 the Board passed the following orders on the above report: On reading the above letter from the acting principal engineer wherein he represents that as many of the platforms at Fort George as can at present be laid, are completed, it is ordered that the artificers and labourers who have hitherto been employed thereon be set to finish the other works pointed out in this letter²

About 1775 the merchant Parsons wrote the following account of the fortifications of Bombay: Between the two marine gates is the castle properly called Bombay Castle, a very large and strong fortification which commands the bay. The works round the town are so many and the bastions so very strong and judiciously situated and the whole so defended with a broad and deep ditch as to make a strong fortress, which, while it has a sufficient garrison and provisions, may bid defiance to any force which may be brought against it. Here also he adds, is a spacious Green capable of containing several regiments exercising at the same time.³

In consequence of the Maráthás landing at Thána, and proving troublesome to the neighbouring villages, on the 27th January 1775 the Bombay Council observe: It appears that the most effectual means for preventing the Maráthas from making any such attempts in future will be by establishing a fortified post at Dhárávi, the northernmost part of the island of Sálsette and almost opposite to Bassein. Resolved therefore that it be done accordingly at the least expense that the service required will admit of. The principal engineer must therefore proceed thither to examine and report the work that may be requisite and the expenses that will attend erecting the same⁴

On the 7th February 1775 the President lays before the Board the chief engineer's estimate of the expense of repairing Dhárávi battery, of making a stone staircase to the top of the hill, and of making a store-room and magazine there, amounting to Rs. 537½. As this

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Fortification
Progress Report,
1774

Fortifications,
1775.

Post
at Dhárávi,
1775.

¹ Principal Engineer 21st Feb. 1774, Pub Diary 65 of 1774, 117.

² Bom Gov Consultation 25th Feb 1774, Pub Diary 65 of 1774, 112.

³ Parsons' Travel in Asia and America (1808), 216.

⁴ Pub. Diary 67 of 1775, 118. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1783, 172

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings

Labourers'
Wages,
1775

Reduction in
Charges,
1775

Fortification
Tax,
1775.

is a post of much importance by the great command it has of the Bassin river, it is ordered that it be completed as soon as possible¹

Two months later the dearness of provisions compelled a rise in labourers' wages. The diary of the 14th April has the following entry. It has been represented to the Board that the pay of a *bigari*, which for some time past has been reduced to 50 *res* (2 *as*) a day is too little for his subsistence, and that for this reason, as well as on account of the dearness of provisions, it is necessary that the pay should be raised. As we are satisfied of the justice of this representation, it is agreed and ordered that the pay of an able-bodied *bigari* which is at present 50 be increased to 60 *res* (2½ *as*) a day and to other *bigaris* in proportion.²

Towards the close of 1775 a letter was received from the Court of Directors dated 12th April 1775 directing that no other works than what were required for the immediate defence of Bombay should be undertaken and that the expenditure on account of buildings and fortifications be limited to Rs 1,00,000 a year. The Court write: In regard to fortifications and buildings it is our express command that no more than one lakh of rupees be expended thereon in any one year and that in such expenditure particular regard be had to those public works which are calculated for the immediate defence of our settlement at Bombay. We have communicated your last advices on this subject to Colonel Campbell, our late chief engineer, and requested him to point out what works would come under the above description. That gentleman is of opinion that Fort George should be first completed, that a redoubt of communication should be begun and completed, that the lunette east of the Mándvi bastion should be finished, that the crenelle work from the castle to the east front of the Mándvi bastion should be likewise finished, and that the redoubt advanced on the capital of Cumberland's ravelin should also be completed. That the alteration in the Mándvi bastion and the flanking work for the defence of the ditch before the Mándvi and Prince's bastions may be postponed and that clearing the space within the line of communication is not immediately necessary. We transmit the above for your observation and direct that you call upon our chief engineer to lay before you a plan of such works as he shall deem necessary to be first completed, an estimate of the charge to be incurred thereby, and also the specific sum to be expended upon each particular in the appropriation whereof due care must be taken to keep the gross amount within the yearly sum of one lakh of rupees.³

In the same letter, paragraph 39, the Court direct. As our fortifications at Bombay are far from being completed, we cannot consent to relinquish the tax laid upon landed estates in 1758 which was designed as an aid to the Company in the erecting of those fortifications.⁴

¹ Bom Gov Consultation 7th Feb 1775, Pub Diary 67 of 1775, 163

² Bom Gov. Consultation 14th April 1775, Pub Diary 67 of 1775, 321

³ Court to Bombay 12th April 1775 paras 31-36, Pub Dep Court's Letters Vol 9 of 1772-1777, 225-226

⁴ Court to Bombay 12th April 1775 para 39, Pub Dep Court's Letters Vol. 9 of 1772-1777, 227.

In pursuance of these orders at a Consultation on the 23rd January 1776 the Bombay Government direct: The engineer must lay before us a plan and his sentiments of such works as he may deem necessary to be first completed with the proper estimates thereof, as directed by the Honourable Company in the 36th paragraph. And the land and new fortification paymasters must be enjoined to confine the expense of all works and buildings within the yearly allowance of one hundred thousand rupees.¹

On the 30th January 1776 the land paymaster lays before the Board estimates of some repairs necessary to the Warli Mun and Sion dams or vellads, and to the salt pan sluices between Sion and Rewa, the former amounting to Rs. 536-0-38 and the latter to Rs. 552-3-87. These being repairs not to be dispensed with the Board ordered them to be completed forthwith.²

On the 22nd December 1776 Government write to the Court regarding the progress of the fortifications: No great progress has for some time been made in our new works on account of the small number of workmen that have been employed and the sum you have been pleased to limit for our annual expense in buildings and fortifications which will not admit of anything considerable being effected. The workmen have been principally employed in the Castle and in finishing the inside of Fort George under the direction of Major Lawrence Nilson who has had the superintendence of our fortifications during the absence and trial of Lieut.-Colonel Keating.³

At their Consultation, the 31st December 1776, Government read the following letter from Mr. Nilson the acting principal engineer, dated 21st December 1776: Before the departure of the ship *Latham* I have the honour to lay before you the progress of the works under my direction since my last report on that subject. The laboratory in the castle is now entirely completed, consisting of three long casemates 34 feet in length and 20 in breadth, four separate rooms of 20 feet by 15 feet, one of 20 by 14 feet, one of 23 by 14 feet, one of 21 by 12 feet, and one of 51 by 14 feet, all bomb proof, also one long casemate of 102 feet in length and 20 feet broad and two rooms on each wing 20 feet in square each, all bomb-proof, the whole building so far completed as to want only a coat of plastering on its external surface of the north and east fronts, a terrace in the square below, and some doors and windows. The two magazines under the rampart of the south curtain in the castle, each 34 by 18 feet, are made bomb-proof agreeable to orders but the passage leading to them is not yet completed. A new bridge has been laid leading to the Cumberland ravelin. At Fort George the bomb-proofs of the casemated redoubt on the east side have been finished. The commanding officers' apartments have been completed and a veranda 269 feet long and 12 feet broad made in front of the casemate below to screen the troops there from the inclemency of the monsoon. The scarps of the redan on

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Reduction in
Charges,
1775.

Repairs to Dams,
1776.

Fortification
Progress,
1776

Fortification
Progress Report,
1776

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 23rd Jan 1776, Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 21.

² Bom Gov. Consultation 30th Jan 1776, Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 35.

³ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 23 of 1776, 125 - 126.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Fortification
Progress Report,
1776

the south side are finished, also the counter-scarp before each face brought up to its proper height and a great part of the excavation of this ditch has been made. The present scarcity and dearth of timber has prevented me laying before your Honours the estimate ordered for the several works that remain still to be put in execution. As soon as any determined price has been fixed I shall deliver in the same with all possible despatch.

Referring to this progress report Government remark: Read a report from the acting principal engineer of the progress of the works, copy of which has been transmitted to the Company by the *Lathau* and is ordered to be entered after this Consultation.¹

Fortification
Report,
1777

On the 23rd July 1777 Mr. J. Nelson, the acting principal engineer, submits the following report showing what works are necessary to be completed: Having maturely considered the several paragraphs of Colonel Egerton's letter to your Honourable Board, setting forth the necessity of completing the works therein proposed I perfectly agree with the Colonel in his opinion respecting the same. I shall therefore endeavour to explain the necessity of putting these works into immediate execution.

In fortifying a place the first consideration obviously is to leave no one part more exposed than another. It follows that the line between the Moody's bry and the castle, which is at present open, should be secured by the crenaille work proposed and projected in Colonel Campbell's plan. The 170 yards between the castle and the bandar is much exposed. True it is defended by a low battery of heavy cannon pointing towards the harbour. Still, as the revetment of this battery is so very low that it is only a long step from some part of the rocks below it, it cannot be said to be secure against the attempt of an enterprising enemy who would not fail to risk a great deal to get into the place so easily. This part therefore demands our most serious attention. The space between the bandar and the dock is equally open and exposed. And as finishing the piers, agreeable to Colonel Campbell's plan, will take much time, it being a laborious and difficult work, I agree with Colonel Egerton that some suitable work should be raised along this line so as to effectually secure this part of the town. A magazine in the north part of the town is indispensably necessary. For want of a magazine, during an attack, the powder must be transported from a great distance, undoubtedly a very dangerous proceeding.

¹ File Diary 70 of 1776, 922, 930-932. The following is the quantity of arch and rough masonry and other work made since the last report on this subject: (1) The bomb-proof laboratory and the crenate in the Castle. Arch masonry made with magazine and Warli stones, cubic feet 13,815, Arch masonry made with bricks, 8966, Rough masonry, 63,477; Terrace wall, 5878, Plastering, 33,618 square feet, Pavement laid, 4157, Large moulting stones from Warli quarry, 676. All the large shelves completed in the third crenate and the end rooms. (2) The two magazines in the Castle. Arch masonry made of magazine and Warli stone, 3672 cubic feet, Arch masonry with bricks, 2244, Rough masonry, 9178, Plastering, 1124 square feet. (3) At Fort George. Arch masonry made with magazine and Warli stone, 5078 cubic feet, Arch masonry made with bricks, 7010, Rough masonry, 30,878, Excavated from the ditch before the ruin in the solid rock, 20,810, Plastering, 13,576 square feet, Pavement laid, 1100.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Fortification
Report,
1777.

which might occasion serious hindrance in the defence of that part of the fortifications. The covered way and glacis of the Cumberland ravelin remain unfinished. It is my duty to point out that it is highly necessary this part should be completed. Any attack from the land side on the capital of this ravelin and its covered way might greatly shorten a siege. In the present condition of the Cumberland ravelin the enemy would not fail with little delay to make their lodgments on this part. If the covered way and glacis were finished, the enemy could not effect a lodgment except at the risk of very great loss. The laying of platforms on the north front is plainly equally necessary with any of the other works proposed. During a siege this outwork without platforms would become almost useless. The total want of bomb-proofs, one of the chief defects of this fortification, points to the necessity of completing the east face of the Dock bastion where bomb-proofs may be made for a considerable number of men. Besides in supplying bomb-proofs, the face of the Dock bastion when mounted with eight pieces of heavy cannon would be of great service in harassing the entrance of an enemy's fleet into the harbour. I need scarcely dwell on the importance of levelling our esplanade. If the esplanade is not levelled the garrison will find the enemy advance towards our works with greater rapidity than he would even under cover of hollow ways.¹ The barracks round the Mahmed Davey (Mumba Devi) Tank to the north-west of Fort George, are so large as to enable a large body of men to be perfectly secure from the fire of the place. The glacis of Fort George is also far from complete. In its present condition an enemy might in a very short time and without any material loss advance and make his batteries on the crest of the glacis. As the great point during a siege is for the garrison as much as possible to retard the progress of the enemy towards their works, it follows that everything which can possibly contribute to this great purpose is of the highest importance. The perfect levelling the esplanade, I declare to be one of the most effective means of retarding the enemy. Across a perfectly level esplanade the enemy would have to advance every step with much labour and caution. He will be forced to open his trenches at the greatest distance possible, an operation which in this climate will greatly fatigue and harass an European army and retard their progress.

The continuing the Rope Walk in its present direction by making a bomb-proof under the rampart is another object well deserving of attention. By this means an additional urgently wanted bomb-proof will be added to the garrison and the communication on the ramparts be laid open, the inconvenience of any obstruction to which is too well known. The total want of bomb-proofs within this fortification would during a siege subject this garrison to the greatest disadvantage. During a siege at least two-thirds of the sepoys ought to be at rest. The want of any place that would afford security to that number would in a short time make the garrison so harassed and fatigued as to be almost unfit for common duties. This want of bomb-proofs is a

¹ The apparent sense of the original is given.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Fortification
Report,
1777.

defect of such consequence that strict attention is required to secure a sufficient number to contain at least two thirds of this garrison. A bomb-proof hospital and bakehouse are also required together with bomb-proofs for grain and other provisions necessary for sustaining a long siege. As no place seems better calculated for such buildings than under the ramparts which are intended to be added to the long wall by Moody's Bay. I would propose to have them built there. I am well convinced that when finished such a work would prove of the highest importance and advantage for the security of this place. Having maturely considered the situation of the open space between the castle and the upper dock, which extends no less than 570 yards in length, the inconvenience in fortifying the whole of this line would be that any work that would be constructed there would very much encroach on the buildings of the town and on the marine yard. It would impede the building of ships and make the mud dock less convenient than it is at present. To obviate any objection I have projected a short polygon shown by the yellow in the accompanying plan. This will effectually secure that side of the town and by making two openings one on each side of the bandar pier, neither the launching of ships nor their ordinary ingress and egress will be in the least impeded. I also propose to make a gate under the ramparts which will be placed at the end of the bandar pier. The flight of steps before the front of this gate will make landing very commodious even at low water. The fire of the cannon planted on this work, between the Castle and the bandar, will also be more direct on the harbour than it is from the present battery which may remain as it now is until the new proposed work is raised so high as to impede its fire. Having thus particularized the several above mentioned works all and each as indispensably necessary to be completed, and without the completion of which this fortification cannot be said to be in a state of common defence, how far it may be prudent to defer the execution of them your Honourable Board are the best judges.

Agreeable to the orders of your Honour I shall now proceed to point out such works as claim our preference to be carried into immediate execution in consequence of the limitations to one lakh of rupees a year. This allowance will not admit of more than 800 men being employed, whose pay together with the cost of materials will nearly amount to that sum. I propose these 800 men be employed in the following manner:

	Men
1 For the crenalliere work	350
2 For a magazine in the gorge of the Mandvi bastion	100
3 For the new work between the Castle and dock	300
4 For laying the platform of the north front	50
Total	800

I have thus disposed of the 800 men and have been necessitated to allow 50 men less for the crenalliere work than I proposed in my estimate which I gave to Colonel Egerton without being able to provide for the covert way and glacis by the Cumberland ravelin nor for any of the other works beforementioned. As completing the Cumberland glacis and covered way is of very great consequence and as it is a work

not expensive and with 300 men will most probably be finished in about four months time, I cannot help interesting myself in its completion by proposing that 300 men more be employed on this work, which as soon as finished may be immediately after discharged if your Honour shall think proper. I must not omit mentioning Fort George which is already so far completed as not to demand an attention in equal proportion to the beforementioned works. Although I am well convinced that from the beginning it has been a great mistake to make the fortifications so extensive, still, as the greatest expense has already been incurred, it seems proper those which are already nearly finished should be entirely completed, even should it be hereafter found more convenient to reduce our fortification within a smaller compass, that, in case of an attack, nothing may be wanted for those works that may prove conducive towards a vigorous defence. To prevent Fort George falling easily into an enemy's hands, the danger and inconvenience of which must be too obvious to your Honour, also since I have laid in materials which are already charged to this work on the paymaster's books and which cannot be removed without an additional expense, I leave it to the consideration of your Honourable Board whether before an entire stop is put to this work the materials already laid in should not be expended. This may be done by employing 100 men more for about one year. While I have the honour to communicate my sentiments to your Honourable Board on this subject, I beg leave at the same time to offer my opinion on what works should be completed in succession, after those works mentioned in the foregoing parts of this letter have been entirely finished. On the supposition that we should still continue to follow Colonel Campbell's plan after all the above recommended works have been completed, my opinion is that the interior parts of Fort George together with the casemated redoubt within the line of communication, and every part of the said line, be the first taken in hand and finished; then the alteration of the Moor and Banian bastions proposed to procure a flanking fire to the Church, Hodges, and Cumberland ravelins, in which they are at present deficient; then the advanced redoubt on the capital of Granby's ravelin; then the completion of the alteration to the Mándvi bastion and its cavalier; then the casemated redoubts in the re-entering angles of the envelope of the north front; then the lunette by the Mándvi bastion; and lastly the completion of the dock pier. As the platforms which are lately ordered to be laid with stone, as also the new plastering and repairing the parapets and banquettes of the works all round the town, come properly under the article of repairs, I beg leave to propose that an order be given that all repairs be put on a separate head and not mixed with the outlay on new fortifications. I also beg leave to inform your Honour that the sea does continually so much encroach by the Queen's lunette before the Royal bastion that, if some precaution is not soon taken, it will very shortly wash part of the glacis away. A line of rough wall well made without mortar will be sufficient. I therefore request your Honour's orders accordingly.¹

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Fortification
Report,
1777.

¹ Acting Principal Engineer Mr. Lawrence Nilson to Government 23rd July 1777, Pub. Diary 71 of 1777, 305-312.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Fortification
Report,
1777.

On the 23rd July 1777, the same day the above letter was read, the Board passed the following orders. A letter from the principal engineer in consequence of one order and resolution on the last Council day was read, in which he describes the very imperfect state of our fortifications and the additions which he judges necessary to be made thereto. The presence of the engineer being deemed necessary while this subject is under consideration he attends and answers sundry interrogatories put to him by the several members. After weighing this matter thoroughly the result of our deliberations that, circumscribed as we are by the Honourable Company's orders, nothing is left to us but to apply in the most beneficial manner we can the lakh of rupees allowed for our annual fortification expenses. As the engineer represents that under that limitation not above 500 men can be employed, it is resolved that he be directed to complete the workmen to that number and to confine them entirely to those works towards the sea pointed out in his letter as entailing a preference to be carried into immediate execution. The works under this description are the crenelliers work in Moody's lay, the magazine in the gorge of the Mandra bastion, and the new proposed work between the Castle and the dock, which the engineer must complete as fast as the number of men allowed him will permit. The engineer was particularly interrogated whether the work between the Castle and the dock might not be attended with injury and inconvenience to the docks by preventing the return of the mud and dirt brought in with the tide. To this he answers that he had particularly provided against that objection by constructing the work on such large arches as freely to permit of the return of whatever is brought in by the tide. It must be recommended to the Honourable Company in the manner the importance of the subject requires to permit us to proceed in finishing our fortifications, especially those towards the sea with more expedition than the restriction laid upon us in our expenses will allow. The expense of repairs to the works and of new-laying the platforms must be kept on a separate head, and not blended with the charge of new fortifications to which we shall devote the whole sum allowed by the Honourable Company. The wall of rough stones to prevent the encroachment of the sea on the Queen's lunette must be carried into execution forthwith.¹

Bombay Magazine,
1777.

On the 28th March 1777 Mr. L. Nixon the principal engineer wrote to Government. As the town ditch is now become so very foul as to require to be thoroughly cleaned, I take the liberty to represent to your Honon^y the necessity of entertaining about fifteen hundred labourers for that purpose. As such a number cannot always be had, I beg leave to propose that they should be entertained immediately and employed in the interim on the fortifications from whence they will be discharged as soon as the cleaning of the ditch is begun. I therefore request your Honon^y would be pleased to give an order for this purpose, as the militia is entirely insufficient for this extensive work which requires despatch, and cannot be done effectually with a less number of men than what I propose. I further beg leave to represent that the foulness of the ditch will ever be very great and the water thereof very offensive to the inhabitants, while the common sewers of the town are suffered

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 23rd July 1777, Pub. Diary 71 of 1777, 300-302.

to discharge themselves into it. I would therefore propose that sewers be made to discharge themselves into the sea as it will be a means of preserving the water of the town ditch pure, and consequently prove more salutary to the inhabitants than at present.¹

On the 1st April on reading the above letter the Board observe: Read a letter from the acting principal engineer setting forth the necessity of cleaning the town ditch and proposing that a further number of labourers should be entertained for that purpose. Resolved that orders be given for cleaning the town ditch in the most effectual manner and that 1500 men be immediately raised for this service who must be employed upon the fortifications until the proper season arrives for setting about the other work. And as the common sewers which are discharged into the ditch make the water very offensive and we are inclined to think must affect the health of the inhabitants, it is further ordered that estimates be prepared of the expense of making sewers to discharge themselves into the sea which in every respect must be preferable to the present ones.²

On the 16th April the Engineer writes: Agreeable to the commands of your Honourable Board I have given the necessary directions for entering 1500 labourers for cleaning the town ditch. I have not yet been able to get any on this island, owing as I am informed to the great scarcity of labouring people. I fear likewise that I shall not have the number ordered nor probably half that number at the time they are wanted. As in this case so necessary a work cannot be carried into effectual execution I take the liberty to propose to your Honour's consideration whether, as they are now so very difficult to be had, it would not be proper to restore the former pay of the labourers sixty-three *res* (2½ *as*) a day. If this encouragement were offered it is probable I shall not find it so hard to get the number of people ordered for this important service. I also beg leave to represent to your Honour that there are now on the old works of this garrison sixty rotten wooden platforms which should be removed and replaced with stone platforms. I therefore wait your Honour's orders for that purpose.³

On receipt of the above letter at a Consultation the 16th April 1777 the Bombay Council observe: Read a letter from the acting principal engineer representing that it is out of his power to raise the number of labourers wanted for cleaning the ditch upon the present reduced pay, and proposing that the pay of these people be increased to the former standard. As this is a measure we wish to avoid from the bad consequences such a precedent will produce, though at the same time we are sensible that it is absolutely necessary the ditch should be cleaned, it is agreed as the better expedient to employ the sepoys off duty on this work and to allow such as choose to be employed therein the same pay as the other labourers exclusive of their pay as sepoys. The unserviceable wooden platforms mentioned in the engineer's letter must be taken up and replaced with stone ones.⁴

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Bombay Sewage,
1777.

Scarcity of
Labour,
1777.

¹ Principal Engineer to Government 26th March 1777, Pub. Diary 71 of 1777, 181.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 1st April 1777, Pub. Diary 71 of 1777, 171.

³ Principal Engineer to Govt. 16th April 1777, Pub. Diary 71 of 1777, 226-227.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 16th April 1777, Pub. Diary 71 of 1777, 223-224.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Scarcity of
Labour,
1777.

The following entry in the Bombay Diary of April 30th shows that in spite of the above order the engineer could not procure a sufficient number of sepoys. Read a letter from the acting principal engineer acquainting us that he cannot procure a sufficient number of sepoys for the purpose of cleaning the ditch and proposing as the only expedient for getting workmen for this service that they be allowed the same pay as the people employed in the docks, the work being equally laborious. The necessity of the case obliges us to agree to this proposal and their pay must be augmented accordingly. But as it seems to us that the ditch may be more effectually cleaned by letting the sea into it than by any other method, a report must be made whether the tides rise to a sufficient height for this purpose.¹

Town Ditch,
1777.

In pursuance of the above order the engineer on the 2nd May writes regarding the rise of the tides: Having carefully examined how high the spring tides rise above the sills of the sluices of the town ditch, I find that upon a medium it rises about three feet, and at very high springs something more. But as the quantity of water that would be received through the sluices during the highest part of the tide would not much exceed a foot in height above the sills of the sluices throughout the whole surface, the benefit arising from letting the sea water into the town ditch would therefore in my opinion be very small. And were it possible entirely to fill the ditch the slowness of its discharge through the sluices would occasion so great a quantity of mud to be left behind as would greatly incommode us.²

On reading the above report from the principal engineer of the height of the tides the Board ordered on the 7th May that by way of experiment the sea be let into that part of the ditch next to the Bazir Gate.³

In October 1777 the engineer proposed a plan of having flat-bottomed boats to clean the ditch. This plan did not meet with the approval of the Board. On the 22nd October they remark: An estimate of the expense of building twelve flat-bottomed boats for the purpose of cleaning the ditch is now laid before us, amounting to Rs. 3600. This appearing too considerable an expense for the object the engineer is now called before us and asked if proper boats cannot be hired from time to time, or stages made to answer the same purpose as the flat-bottomed boats. As he seems to think this may be done, and as this last method will be attended with a much smaller expense, the project of building these boats is given up.⁴

Fortification
Progress Report,
1778.

On the 21st January 1778 the principal engineer submits the following progress report. In obedience to the commands of your Honourable Board I have now the honour to report the progress of the new fortifications since the 21st of December 1776. At Fort George a great part of the glacis has been filled up, the covert way completed, two small ditches before the faces of the two north bastions have

¹ Dom. Gov. Consultation 30th April 1777, Pub. Diary 71 of 1777, 234.

² Principal Engineer to Government 2nd May 1777, Pub. Diary 71 of 1777, 217.

³ Dom. Gov. Consultation 7th May 1777, Pub. Diary 71 of 1777, 246.

⁴ Dom. Gov. Consultation 22nd Oct. 1777, Pub. Diary 72 of 1777, 46b.

been excavated, one of which is completed and palisaded, the extremity of the ditch before the envelope has been palisaded, and the parapets and embrasures on the east side finished. A terrace has been laid over the north-west bastion to secure the magazine under the said bastion from damp. The slope of the south-west bastion has been terraced and the cistern terraced and plastered. The casemated redoubt has been completed except its drawbridges, the counterescarp completed, all the breaches in the line of communication stopped up, and the new line of communication finished. The south extremity of the ditch of Fort George and the ditch before the north side of the line of communication have been palisaded. A magazine under the north-west bastion has been floored with plank and completed.

In the castle all the plastering and terracing which remained undone has been finished, two working rooms in the laboratory have been floored with plank, and a compound wall with palisading has been erected round the building of the laboratory. The passage to the bomb-proof magazine has been completed and one of those magazines floored with plank. A new doorway has been made to the old ground magazine.

On the crenellated work the revetment of two new faces has been entirely completed and the ramparts of three faces filled up with earth. Half the revetment of a third face has been erected and the parapets and embrasures for seven pieces of cannon have been brought up and eight new stone platforms have been laid.

On the town wall repairs have been completed to the banquettes and parapets of four bastions and three emplacements, namely from the Dock bastion to the Stanhope bastion. Thirty-three old unserviceable platforms have been removed and the ramparts of the whole repaired.

The new work which has been ordered to be carried into execution on the open space between the castle and the dock will be started the beginning of next month. The want of a sufficient quantity of materials has prevented the magazine in the gorge of the Maudvi bastion from being begun which I shall be able to start some time next month. I beg leave to take this opportunity of expressing my grateful thanks for the appointment of major and chief engineer, the duty of which I shall ever make my particular aim to carry into execution with all possible attention¹.

In communicating the above report to the Court the Bombay Government in their letter of 25th January 1778, para 53, add. The sum limited by you will admit of our employing only 800 men with which no great expedition can be made in completing those works though all the others are in the meantime at an entire stand. Notwithstanding the large sums expended on our fortifications the town is still very open towards the sea and so long as that is the case we cannot derive much security from our other works. It gives us pain to urge you on this

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Fortification
Progress Report,
1778.

¹ Principal Engineer Mr Nilson to Government 21st Jan 1778, Pub Diary 73 of 1778, 48-53. Bombay to Court 25th Jan. 1778 para 52, Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 24 of 1777-1778, 13. For the quantity of masonry erected see pages 49-52 of Pub. Diary 73 of 1778.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Court's Orders,
1778.

head after the great expenses you have already incurred. But we think it our duty to recommend to your most serious consideration the necessity of permitting us to proceed with the utmost expedition in finishing our fortifications especially towards the sea. In the meantime we have resolved to devote to the new fortifications the whole sum you have allowed and to keep a separate account of all necessary repairs to our works and buildings.¹

On the 19th March 1778 the Court write to Bombay. Having taken into our most serious consideration the representation contained in your secret letter of the 29th July last, we proceed to make such observations thereon and to give such further instructions concerning the fortifications at Bombay as appear to us necessary at this juncture. The 10th January 1776 you received the orders which restricted you to the yearly expenditure of one lakh of rupees on public works and buildings and likewise the opinion of Colonel Campbell respecting works calculated for the immediate defence of Bombay. As this opinion was transmitted for your observation, only, you were directed to call upon your chief engineer for a plan of such works as he might think necessary to be first completed, together with an estimate of the gross charge and of the specific sum to be expended on each particular part. Two months afterwards, namely the 21st March 1776, you advise us that our orders had been communicated to the chief engineer, that he had not then given his opinion of the works proper to be completed, that you will however take care that the annual expense shall not exceed our orders, and it was with pleasure you informed us that the whole amount of the new fortification paymaster's disbursement had been no greater than Rs 55,357 for the year preceding. With these materials before us we were led to hope that Rs 1,00,000 a year would be more than sufficient for such public works as were immediately necessary for the defence of Bombay. We find no general plan prepared of works to be completed, accompanied by the estimate required from your chief engineer in consequence of our orders on the subject. But in your Consultation of the 30th January a letter is entered from Major Nilson containing an estimate for repairing magazines in the castle amounting to Rs 8035. In December 1776 the Major reports several works done in the castle and at Fort George and informs you that the scarcity and dearthness of timber have prevented him from laying before you the estimate ordered for the several works that remain to be put in execution; that so soon as any determined price shall be fixed, he will deliver it unto the Board. Of this very unsatisfactory report you transmit us a copy without an observation of your own for our further information. In the same letter you acquaint us that little progress had for some time been made in the works not indeed on account of the dearthness of timber as notified by Major Nilson but owing to the small number of workmen employed and to our limitation of the sum to be expended. The 29th of July 1777 you inform us that the town towards the sea is almost entirely open and think you should be permitted to proceed with more expedition

¹ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 24 of 1777 - 1778, 14.

in completing the fortifications. We are really at a loss how to answer these extraordinary advices and particularly your requisition for leave to proceed with greater expedition. In the first place we were given to understand that our orders had been communicated to the chief engineer, and consequently we had a right to expect that plans and estimates would be soon transmitted to us. In the same letter you signify to us with much pleasure that the sum expended in the year preceeding our orders had been little more than half the amount authorized by us for the succeeding year, and shortly afterwards that no great progress has been made in the works, because we have restricted the expense. The next information on the subject is that estimates are postponed, because timber is dear. And now we are told that the town is almost entirely open to the sea and that we ought to permit you to proceed with greater expedition. It is not sufficient that we recite the above circumstances to prove your inconsistency, because your letter implies that you have not been permitted to proceed with the necessary expedition. But allowing that in 1775 the Court of Directors were of opinion that it was necessary to limit the expense to be incurred in fortification and buildings, in which opinion we most heartily concur, it was nevertheless their pleasure that plans and estimates of the necessary works should be prepared. Their positive orders left you no discretionary latitude on these points. Have you then taken these preparatory measures? Have we been thereby enabled to judge of the propriety of extending the sum to be expended on fortifications, and have we on proper information refused to have such necessary works completed? Were not our orders of 1775 explicit? Have you neglected or fulfilled them? Did you remonstrate or at all acquaint us when you received those orders that the town was in danger and the sum allotted by us inadequate to put it in a state of defence? Did not your answer rather imply that a less sum would have been sufficient, because little more than half the amount had been expended in the preceeding year? Are we now to admit that, because timber bears a high price no estimate could be formed? If timber be dear, it is no doubt an unfavourable circumstance and will enlarge the amount of an estimate. It cannot render an estimate impracticable or improper. The usual price of timber might have been estimated, the excess might also have been estimated, and it was worthy your consideration at least whether a temporary advance of the price of timber could be considered by us as a sufficient excuse for a breach of our most positive orders. You now alarm us by reporting the town open towards the sea, but with this report you give us no estimate of the expense to be incurred in making it safe. In short, after sustaining heavy losses and experiencing great abuse in conducting the public works at Bombay, after finding the person who had the immediate and principal direction of those works appealing to members of the Council for a proof of his having enjoyed great emoluments arising from overcharges and consequently from impositions on the Company for several years together, and affirming that such emoluments were received with the knowledge and without the disapprobation of the Council, unless we will nevertheless continue to invest you with an unlimited authority for the disposing of our property at your discretion, we are to have our commands disregarded, and by direct implication

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Court's Orders,
1778.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Court's Orders,
1778

be given to understand that we are ourselves responsible for orders which may eventually hazard the safety of the settlement. Your last letter which conveys to us a general idea that the works towards the sea are open was received by us the 9th ultimo. We embrace the earliest opportunity of replying thereto, and, unprovided as we are with any estimate concerning the expense of the proposed works on the latitude you may think necessary for your future proceedings, we have thought proper to consult your late engineer respecting the sum requisite and the time necessary for putting the fortifications of Bombay in a proper state of defence. Before we descend to particulars on these two points we must observe that Colonel Keating, on being made acquainted with the representation contained in your last letter, has given it as his opinion that although from the dock pier to Moody bay flank a space of nearly 800 yards is for the most part open, yet that it is secured and rendered very formidable by 55 pieces of cannon from Pier bastion, Bandar pier, Fowls's battery, three fronts of the Castle cremaillere work, and Moody bay flank. And that, as capital ships cannot anchor nearer to the works than 150 yards, he thinks that distance too great to admit of their top-fire galling the artillerymen while working the guns, and finally that no great danger is to be apprehended from the French, should they attempt a marine attack on the island of Bombay. We transmit these particulars merely for your observation without being able to affirm or deny that you ought to adopt the ideas therein contained. We must necessarily depend upon your vigilance to prevent surprise and trust to your wisdom courage and fidelity to repel an invasion by every means in your power should it take place from any quarter whatever. And as we find it possible that under all circumstances landing on the island may be effected, especially from Mahim or Salsette, you will, we doubt not in case of such event, pay a particular regard to our secret instructions of the 30th January for opposing the landing of an enemy and for obstructing their approach by disputing every step of the ground between the sea and the town of Bombay. In regard to the time necessary for completing the fortifications Colonel Keating is of opinion that in one fair season or in about eight months time the defences on the land side may be rendered impregnable, and that, in two seasons at the most, the whole of the fortifications in the island of Bombay including the works towards the sea may be entirely finished. He assures us that more work than that which remains to be done has been accomplished by him in the course of two fair seasons. Respecting the sum to be allowed for the above purposes, the Colonel has declared that no engineer can superintend more work than is done for the sum of Rs 35,000 a month provided due care be taken to see it frugally and properly applied. Having no doubt of his being able from experience to ascertain as nearly as may be the above facts we hereby authorise you to expend, if necessary, to the amount of Rs 2,80,000 in the ensuing year and the like sum the year following on the fortifications of Bombay. We absolutely direct that the whole be appropriated to those works alone which are calculated for the immediate defence of the place and that no part thereof be expended on other buildings or repairs on any account or pretence whatever.

We once more direct that plans and estimates be forthwith prepared as specified in our orders of 1775 and transmitted by the first opportunity for our information. We again enjoin the strictest frugality in the execution of the works and have only to add that if we find you deficient in your attention to these our orders and instructions we shall consider you as unworthy of our confidence and as improper persons to fill the stations which you hold in our service.¹

Regarding the cleaning of the town ditch on the 10th June 1778 the principal engineer reports. As the time draws near for cleaning the town ditches I take the liberty to address your Honour on that subject and to request an order for entertaining for the purpose 500 labourers at the same rate of pay they were allowed last year which was 70 *res* a day. In carrying out the present laborious works towards the harbour, I am obliged to lay the foundation for the revetments in places where the mud is very deep. This makes the labour so great that many labourers have left the works thinking their pay inadequate to the service they perform. As all labourers at present employed on laborious work at this place earn 70 *res* a day, I beg leave to propose that I be allowed to entertain 200 labourers at the rate of 70 *res* a day for laying the foundations of the revetments.

Having lately examined the state of the artillery barracks in the castle, I think it my duty to acquaint your Honour that being situated immediately under the south curtain it is entirely unsafe to transport any cannon or stores over them as they must inevitably in so doing fall in, the timber work being entirely rotten and in many places the planks which supported the terraces are fallen down or mouldered away. In the very same condition is the pavement over the gateway leading into the castle; the wood-work which supports the terrace that covers the cistern is also decayed. I therefore beg leave to propose as we have very few bombproofs, that these barracks together with the gateway and cistern be made bombproof, this being the most economical as well as the most useful method of repairing them. Had they been made so at first, any future repairs would have been unnecessary. Should your Honour judge proper to have these repairs made in the manner I propose, I will deliver in a plan and estimate for that purpose as soon as possible.²

On reading the above letter the Board direct. 500 labourers must be entertained for the purpose of cleaning the ditch at the same pay as last year. For the reasons assigned by the engineer we permit of the advanced pay being allowed to 200 labourers employed in laying the foundation of the new work towards the sea. He must be directed with all expedition to deliver in a plan and estimate of the proposed repairs to the castle.³

On the 1st July 1778, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring labourers, the Bombay Council direct: As there is a very great

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Town Ditch,
1778.

Barracks,
: 1778
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Labourers,
1778.

¹ Court to Bombay 19th March 1778 paras 21-38, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 10 of 1778-1782, 22-29.

² Principal Engineer to Govt. 10th June 1778, Pub. Diary 73 of 1778, 430-432.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 10th June 1778, Pub. Diary 73 of 1778, 401-405.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Timber,
1778.

Fortification
Report,
1779.

difficulty in procuring labourers and materials for Company's works, it is resolved that a publication be issued prohibiting any new private buildings to be undertaken or chunam burnt till permission is again given for that purpose.¹

The new fortification paymaster reporting that 60 coige of Bassen timber is wanted for the new works and that he can purchase the same at Rs 215 the coige, Government ordered (1st July 1778) that the timber after being first duly surveyed by the engineer be purchased accordingly.²

The Comt's protest of the 19th March 1778 led to the submission of the following detailed report by the principal engineer, dated the 28th April 1779: Having maturely considered the present state of the fortifications, together with their defects and the best method to remedy the same, I now, agreeable to the Honorable Company's commands of the 19th March 1778, lay before you Honour my thoughts and proposals relative to this subject. I shall point out the different works necessary to be undertaken in order to render these fortifications as complete as their original construction will admit in order to put the same in the best possible state of defence. The present extent of our esplanade is only 600 yards from the salient angle of the Prince's bastion and 400 yards from Fort George. So far from this distance being sufficient it is barely half the distance required. In his letter to the Honourable Board in 1768 Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell expressly recommends that to the distance of 800 yards the esplanade be cleared of all buildings and rising grounds. This distance is undoubtedly the least which ought to be cleared. Supposing an enemy fairly landed and lodged in the suburbs at the distance the buildings now stand, he will have the advantage of being able to open his trenches on the salient angle of the Prince's bastion 200 yards nearer the place than he could if the esplanade was of a proper extent. Again, opposite Fort George, an enemy has it in his power to erect batteries under cover of the buildings at the distance of 400 yards, a very convenient distance for his first batteries. He will have the advantage of forming small parks of artillery for the supply of the attacks close to the opening of the trenches which could not be done if the esplanade extended to 1000 yards from the fortifications. Thus nearness would greatly facilitate his works, particularly the encircumstance of his being able to supply his batteries with stores from that short distance. For when the esplanade is cleared to the distance which it ought to be, the enemy will then have to bring his stores to the salient angle of the Prince's bastion at least 400 yards further than he has at present and 600 yards further to his attack on Fort George, a circumstance which cannot fail greatly to add to the fatigue of an European enemy in this climate during a siege. In short the present small esplanade would enable an enemy to save both time and men in his attacks. It is almost needless to mention the great advantage an enemy would reap from being able to keep the best part of his army under cover of the houses at so short a distance ready to

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 1st July 1778, Pub. Diary 74 of 1778, 510.

² Bom. Gov. Diary 1st July 1778, Pub. Diary 74 of 1778, 510-511.

support the trenches whenever any considerable sally is made from the garrison upon any of his works. As the great object during a siege is as long as possible to keep the enemy at a distance and to throw every obstacle in his way in order to obstruct or retard his works, the having an esplanade of a proper extent is one of the great means for effecting this purpose. After what I have advanced I believe there can remain no doubt that our esplanade is by much too small and that it consequently ought to be enlarged. I therefore give it as my opinion that as soon as possible the whole esplanade should be cleared of all buildings to the distance of 1000 yards from every part of the fortifications, that is 400 yards further than at present from the salient angle of the Prince's bastion and 600 yards further on the ridge of Dongri hill. Strictly speaking the distance of 1000 yards is less than is generally allowed, but the making it of greater extent would bring on an enormous expense. Nothing but the most absolute necessity could make me propose to extend the esplanade to the distance of 1000 yards. But as the enemy will then have all his materials and stores to bring upwards of 400 yards to the place of his first batteries, I judge in such a climate this 400 yards will prove sufficiently fatiguing. Upon this esplanade there should afterwards on no account be permitted to remain any buildings trees or hedges, or in general any thing whatever that may in the least intercept the view, and the high sand-bank by Back Bay ought to be entirely levelled in such a manner that the cannon of the place may scour every part of the sandy beach.

While the esplanade is clearing away to the abovementioned distance, the following works should be carried into execution. The casemated redoubt in front of the envelope of Fort George should be completed; all the ditches of this fort palisaded, the drawbridges completed, and, in general, everything done to put Fort George in a most thorough state of defence. The casemated redoubt within the advanced redoubt of the line of communication should be made along the whole of the said line and completed on the east side and palisaded; the Mándvi bastion and its interior cavalier, the lunette by the Mándvi bastion, casemates for the garrison and a bomb-proof hospital in Moody bay should be completed; the east curtain of the castle requires to be somewhat raised; the dock pier should be carried out a little further to take off the great swell which at present during the monsoon incommodes the dock gates, and a battery be placed on the dock pier. Throughout the covert way traverses should be made and places of arms in the re-entering angles. The Banian and Moor bastions should be altered agreeable to Colonel Campbell's plan and proposals in order to bring a flanking fire on the faces of the Cumberland, Hodges, and Church ravelins, of which they are at present deficient. Small bridges of communication should be thrown from all the ravelins to the covert way, and steps cut in the countescarp near the re-entering and salient angles for the free passing and repassing of troops to and from the covert way during a siege. In general wherever any drawbridges are wanted they should be completed as soon as possible. The ditches of the Hodges' and Cumberland ravelins and those before the envelope of the north front should be dug at least four feet deeper. The three

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Fortification
Report,
1779.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Fortification
Report,
1779

casemated redoubts in the re-entering angles of the envelope of the north front should be completed. As laid down in Colonel Campbell's plan and proposed by that gentleman the forward redoubt should be advanced on the capital of Granby's ravelin. This is a work I think highly necessary as it will greatly disturb and annoy an enemy during his attack upon the capital of any of the outworks between the Church and Bazar gates. At the same time I am of opinion that Granby's ravelin is so much retired that the distance between it and the salient angle of Hodges' ravelin is 700 yards and from the Cumberland ravelin 900 yards, and from the salient angle of the envelope on the capital of the Prince's bastion upwards of 1100 yards. This position has the disadvantage that besides the redoubt's fire being very oblique the several distances are such as would make its execution very inconsiderable. I would therefore propose that as before suggested a redoubt of the same construction be advanced on the Church Gate ravelin. A redoubt thus situated would have all the advantages of the proposed Granby redoubt to a much greater degree. It would be viewed more in reverse from any of the salient angles of the outworks that might be attacked and consequently prove more obstructive to the enemy's works. It would be 375 yards nearer those outworks than the Granby redoubt. Consequently its fire would do more execution and would give a smarter and more direct fire on the hurying ground and the breach which is much wanted, and it will be better flanked and supported from the collateral fronts. I therefore give it as my opinion that a redoubt advanced on the Church Gate ravelin is essentially necessary and of the greatest utility during a siege by very effectually obstructing the enemy's works and retarding his progress towards any of the outworks of the west front. Nor can an enemy carry on his attack with any probability of success till he is in possession of the said redoubt which will serve greatly to lengthen the defence. For the same reasons I am farther of opinion that the redoubt ought to be placed at the distance of 50 toises or about 100 yards from the said capital of the Church ravelin. I have taken the liberty to point out these works as essential and if your Honour shall be pleased to give me order for that purpose I will endeavour to carry them into execution as speedily as possible.

I have never yet been able to complete the 3000 men ordered. At present the want of near 500 men has prevented me going on with the levelling of the remaining part of the esplanade and building the magazine in the Mandra bastion. When complete the 3000 workmen are sufficient only for carrying on the works last ordered. There is then not a man for carrying into execution any one of the essential works mentioned in this letter. It will therefore be necessary to state what number of workmen would be required to complete the fortifications in every part at once.

	Men.
Completing Fort George	200
Line of Communication	500
Completing the alteration of the Mandra Bastion and building a magazine in its gorge together with a lunette by the sea side	500
Making the casemated bomb-proofs in Moody Bay and raising the curtain in the Castle	670

	Men
Completing the Dock Pier	300
Altering the Banian Bastion	500
Do Mon do.	500
Completing the Envelope of the North front ...	300
Building the advanced Redoubt on the Capital of the Church Gate Ravelin	500
Total ...	3950
To be employed on the works now under orders ..	3000
Grand Total	6950

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Fortification
Report,
1779.

The total number required to work on every part of the fortifications would be 6950. Even then none are allowed for deepening the ditches of the Hodges and Cumberland ravelins or those of the envelope of the north front. But, as I greatly fear, and from experience am very certain, that we shall not be able to get together so great a body of workmen, I beg leave to propose that the total workmen to be employed in future be fixed at 5000. This would represent a monthly expense of Rs. 30,000 exclusive of stores and materials which would amount to about Rs. 20,000 a month more. As my accompanying estimate computes the expense of completing the whole of the fortifications to amount to Rs. 1,22,080, the time for completing the whole if 5000 men were employed would be about 24 months and this only provided no interruption happens. The necessity for securing the open space between the Castle and the dock was absolute. Part of the line between the bandar and the Castle was entirely open. By the battery now building between the Castle and the bandar pier, the opening towards the dry dock and mud dock is powerfully flanked and secured, and as the plan of securing the docks by overlapping the two piers, as proposed by Colonel Campbell, would have greatly injured our dock, it is unadvisable to put it in practice. The reason why our dry as well as our mud docks would become useless, should that part of the plan be carried into execution, is that every tide a certain quantity of mud would settle within the basin and before the entrance of the dock. This would either choke up the entrance or involve heavy clearing charges. By putting my scheme into execution, which has already been approved by your Honourable Board, this inconvenience will be prevented as I propose the pier being built on arches by which means as the water will still continue in motion no mud can settle behind the battery so as to prejudice the mud dock. I have also proposed by lengthening the south pier to secure the dock gates from the violence of the swell which during the monsoons greatly incommodes them, and as it is conveniently situated for flanking the Castle I have proposed to place a battery thereon. The end of the bandar pier becomes a very complete battery both for flanking and annoying any ships that may attempt an attack opposite to the Castle, and the frontage between the bandar pier and the dock is secured by a battery forming a re-entering angle which is to be built on arches in order that the motion of the water may continue as before. By proposing this alteration in the former plan I do not mean to lessen its merits, the construction of which could if be carried into execution is altogether excellent. But the objections already mentioned could be well known only to a person

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Fortification
Report,
1779.

who constantly resides in the spot and whose observations on the tide, and the manner the mud is thrown up in that part can warrant my differing from the former plan. In building the cremaillere work I was necessitated to make an opening in the re-entering angle fronting the custom house for the convenience of boats bringing their merchandize close up to the landing place. It would have been very proper to have begun the alterations of the Moor and Bannan bastions during the fair season while the water in the ditches is yet very low and consequently the foundations might be dug and laid with greater ease. But this is totally out of my power as a sufficient number of workmen cannot be got at present to carry on so many works at once. Unless your Honour shall think proper to increase their number, I am therefore under the disagreeable necessity of deferring the essential works as well as the redoubt on the capital of the Church Gate ravelin till next dry season when the works by the seaside will be so far completed as to admit of the men being taken from them and put to other works. In the estimate which accompanies this letter the expense of removing the houses for enlarging the esplanade is not included, neither is the expense of the removal of the houses within the town where the casemates for the garrison are to be built. I have estimated each work at as low a rate as possible. Allowances must be made should the result not exactly answer as the prices of materials very often increase in a way which cannot be foreseen.

Progress Report.
1779.

I shall now proceed to report to your Honourable Board the progress of the fortifications since my last letter. At the cremaillere work three new faces have been more than three-quarters completed, more than half of the parapets of other three faces have been raised, and 17 new stone platforms have been laid. This cremaillere work has an extent of 1300 feet and upwards faced with equal cut stones and rampart behind, 32 feet in breadth along the whole extent, every atom of the materials for which extensive work has been brought from great distances. I flatter myself that, provided no impediment of any sort intervenes, I shall be able totally to complete this work by the end of next September. At the battery between the Castle and the bandar pier a curtain 450 feet in length has been brought up, the rampart half filled, and its retaining wall (raised) to one-third of its intended height. Part of the foundation for the Bandar pier battery has been laid, but this battery together with the dock pier battery and the battery between the Bandar pier and the dock are works which will necessarily go on very slowly as the foundation can be laid only during spring tide, unless it be done by working with caissons which would make those works extremely expensive. All the piers of the casemates under the Dock bastions are brought up and the wooden centies for building the arches are fixed. The covert way and the glacis all round the Cumberland ravelin and place of arms by the Hodges' ravelin have been entirely new built and completed and palisaded all round; this covert way and glacis extend upwards of 1200 feet. A new battery of eight pieces of cannon has been made before the Bandar pier which secures the Bandar pier itself as also the opening between the Bandar pier and the dock. Twelve new wooden platforms have been laid on

the old battery which was (removed) last rains and the whole of the said battery repaired to make the same serviceable in case of any attempt by an enemy before the other work could be finished. On the envelope of the north front 38 new wooden platforms have been laid which has put that work in a most respectable state of defence. The parapets of Prince's bastion have been repaired all round and twelve new platforms have been laid in the said bastion. The cavalier of Prince's bastion has been repaired and ten new platforms laid on the said cavalier. The cavalier of the Banian bastion has been repaired and six new platforms laid on the said cavalier. Ten new embrasures have been opened in the curtains for the defence of the salient angles opposite the several ravelins and seven new platforms have been laid on the said curtains. On the Royal bastion twenty new platforms have been laid in the room of twenty which were unserviceable. At Fort George the small well ditch in front of the north-west bastion and the palisade in the ditch before the line of communication have been completed.

Work was in progress at the following places: Fort George, line of communication, north front, Dock bastion, covert way, and between the Castle and Dock. Two plans accompany this, the one No. 1 representing the fortifications of Bombay as they now stand together with such works as are proposed to be made but have not yet been begun. The other plan No. 2 represents the state of the fortifications when I first took charge of the office. Your Honour will perceive what works have been completed since the beginning of the year 1772. Permit me to assure your Honourable Board that I should long ere this have delivered in the plans and estimates; but when I first received the order, Lieutenant-Colonel Keating was then chief engineer and was daily expected from the north. I was therefore in hopes that on his arrival Colonel Keating would have done it himself as notwithstanding the order it was a difficult point for me to form an estimate of works which in all probability Colonel Keating was himself to have executed. After his arrival the situation of his affairs prevented him from forming an estimate. As I was then ordered to sit on a general Court-martial which lasted the whole of that season it was not possible for me to do anything besides carrying on the works then in hand. And as about that time the Marátha war had made timber much dearer than usual, I was apprehensive that an estimate then formed would have proved inaccurate. Since that time I have not till very lately had any tolerable assistance for drawing the plans. As those gentlemen who could have assisted me have necessarily been otherwise employed, my own continued attention in seeing the works carried into execution having (hitherto) afforded me but little time to stay at home in order to delineate those designs. Still as no time has been lost in carrying on the works, I hope your Honour will excuse it. In the Honourable Company's commands dated 19th March 1778, Lieutenant-Colonel Keating appears to have given it as his opinion that no engineer could superintend more works than may be done for Rs. 35,000 a month. I cannot otherwise than believe that his real meaning must be the charges of artificers and labourers only and that the amount of

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

Fortification
Progress Report,
1779.

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

Fortification
Progress Report,
1779

the cost of materials must be exclusive of that sum, particularly as the expenses during the year 1770-71 amounted one month with another to Rs. 5,00,000. I humbly beg leave to express my thanks for the appointment of Lieutenant-Colonel and chief engineer of this Presidency. The high sense I justly entertain of this favour is such as must necessarily prompt me on every occasion to perform my duty with all imaginable zeal for the service of my Honourable Employers.¹

On the 28th April the Board ordered that copies of this letter together with the estimates and plans be transmitted to the Court of Directors and that the engineer be permitted to entertain as many workmen as he can procure.²

Bombay Ditch,
1770

Regarding cleaning the ditch the Bombay Diary of the 12th May 1779 has the following: This being the season for cleaning the ditch and the principal engineer requesting by letter that 1000 men be employed for that service, it is resolved that the necessary orders be given accordingly.³

Europeans not
to inspect the
Fortifications,
1779

In 1779 the Court ordered that no European should inspect the fortifications. On the 27th May they write: It is our express command that no European, covenant servant of the Company excepted, be henceforth permitted either in time of peace or war to view or inspect any of the fortifications, defences, docks, or arsenals at your settlement on any account or pretence whatever. Nor shall any person be suffered to make any drawing or take any plan of any public work, fortification, or dockyard, without license in writing from the Governor for the time being, first obtained for that purpose.

Money Wanted,
1779

Referring to Major Spaeth's proposal to do more work to the dam at Casey creek the Bombay Diary has the following notice: In our present distress for money we cannot afford to lay out so considerable a sum on a project the success of which must be uncertain. It is therefore resolved for the present to entirely suspend the execution of the work proposed by Major Spaeth at Casey (Káshi) creek.⁴

Bombay Ditch,
1780.

Regarding the cleaning the ditch the principal engineer Lieutenant-Colonel Nilson makes the following proposal on the 25th January 1780: Finding that, besides removing the mud which has been mostly done by the new fortification carts, the cleaning the ditch has for these three years past cost about Rs 6000 a year, I have been led to consider whether such expense might not be lessened. Towards the end of 1777 I did myself the honour to propose to your Honourable Board to have twelve boats built which by being employed in cleaning the ditch would more effectually perform this service than at present, as ten men in each boat would be sufficient and being employed for three

¹ Principal Engineer to Government, April 1779, Secret and Pol. Diary 20 of 1779, 455-460.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 28th April 1779, Pub. Diary 75 of 1779, 274.

³ Bombay Diary 12th May 1779, Pub. Diary 75 of 1779, 287.

⁴ Court to Bombay 27th May 1779 para 38. Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 10 of 1779-1782, 162-163. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 200.

⁵ Bom. Gov. Consultation 13th Oct. 1779, Pub. Diary, 76 of 1779, 583. For details regarding this dam see Bombay Town Materials, Vol. I 111-116.

months would amount to no more than Rs. 2100, all materials included, which would be a yearly saving of at least Rs. 3600. The estimate of these boats to be built in the maine yard was Rs. 300 each; the whole twelve will then amount to Rs. 3600, which by this method of cleaning the town ditch is paid by the savings in one year. I therefore beg leave to request that your Honour will be pleased to give orders for the abovementioned boats to be built in the maine yard as soon as possible.¹

On receipt of the above letter from the principal engineer, the Board, on the 26th January 1780, observe: On consideration of his proposal for building flat-bottom boats for the purpose of cleaning the ditch recourse is had to our proceedings under the 22nd of October 1777, when this project was before discussed and then given up. As the expedients then proposed would have been attended with constant expense and considerable trouble, as the cost of the boats now recommended will by the engineer's statement be saved in one year, and as in the present situation of affairs flat-bottomed boats may be required for other services, it is resolved to accept the engineer's proposal and to give orders for the boats being immediately constructed.²

On the 23rd April 1780 Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence Nilson, principal engineer, submits the following progress report: In obedience to the commands of your Honourable Board I have now the honour to lay before you a report of the progress of the works since my last, as also the present state of the fortifications. The cremailleire work has been completed and wants only a few traverses and a barrier gate. The new battery to the south of the Castle has been completed. The Bandar pier battery has been carried on as much as the springtides would admit; two faces of this battery and five of its embrasures are almost completed; the tedious manner of working at low water mark at springtides makes it uncertain when this battery can be finished. The Dock bastion has been entirely completed; the magazine under it has been new floored and repaired, all the casemates under the said bastion perfectly finished, and a large drain made to carry the water of the maine yard during the rains, which prevents it falling into the dock; fifteen embrasures have been opened in the old works where they were most wanted. The lunette by the Mándvi bastion is more than half completed. I make no doubt this work will be finished by the 31st of August. The Mándvi bastion is carrying on as fast as possible; the revetment of its new face is now brought up five feet above its foundation. A large quantity of stone and materials has been laid up in readiness to carry on the casemates in Moody's bay; the foundation of the piers for a sallyport leading to the lunette has been laid. A battardeau or stop-water by the lunette is almost completed. The countescarp of the new ditch before the east face of the Mándvi bastion and envelope of the north front has been nearly completed. The rough wall near the sea before the line of communication to Fort George is about half completed and a range of barracks are built for the soldiers towards the land side. A terrace has been laid on the east bastion of Fort George

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Bombay Ditch,
1780.

Fortification
Progress Report,
1780.

¹ Principal Engineer to Government 26th Jan. 1780, Pub. Diary 77 of 1780, 26-27.
² Bom. Gov. Consultation 26th Jan 1780, Pub. Diary 77 of 1780, 21.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Fortification
Progress Report,
1780.

to cover the magazine under the said bastion to prevent it being dany. A set of cook rooms and necessaries for the soldiers have been completed and the space between the envelope and the fort paved, an excavation has also been made in the outward ditch for the intended well belund the coronet.

On the esplanade a large bank of sand has been removed, and . . . superficial square feet of ground in front of Fort George have been levelled. A large quantity of materials has been laid up for carrying on the alterations of the Banian and Mooi bastions. The foundation of the counterscarp of the former is now begun and the revetment of the same will shortly be started. Three large dams have been made near the Banian bastion for keeping out the water in order to carry on that work.

The present state of this fortification may be thus summarised. A good part of the esplanade has still to be levelled, as the present buying ground cannot be removed, and as part of the sand banks near the sea yet remain as the people lately employed thereon have been moved to carry on the alterations of the Banian and Mooi bastions. The following works remain to be begun. The advanced redoubt on the capital of the Church Gate ravchu. The casemates near the Stanhope bastion. Two battardeaus or stop-waters. The Doek pier battery. The battery between the Bandar pier and the dock. The casemated redoubt within the advanced redoubt of the line of communication to Fort George. The small bridges of communication to the different out-works. The places of arms and traverses in the covert way. Three small casemated redoubts in the re-entering angles of the envelope of the north front. The repairs of the glacis by the Apollo gate. The alterations by the Bazai Gate ravehn. The drawbridges to the north front.

The following works are being carried on, but are not finished: The coronet at Fort George, the palisades, the ditches, the glacis and its drawbridges; the line of communication to the sea side; the Mándvi bastion; the lunette near the Mándvi bastion, the magazine in the gorge of the Mándvi bastion, the casemates in Moody's bay, the Bandar pier battery; the alterations of the Banian bastion just begun; the alterations of the Mooi bastion just begun. A space remains open between the Bandar pier and the Doek pier which I before proposed to secure by building a battery with a re-entering angle as represented in the plan by the letter . . . in such a manner that the sea washing through the arches (on which the said battery was to be built) would have prevented any mud settling behind it. On further consideration I find that by putting this plan into execution the said battery will take up so much room that there will not be sufficient left for the ships to lay on the hard behind it and it will be rather inconvenient to bring them round from the opening at the setter (centre?). As my constant endeavour is to regulate the means of the defence of this place in such a manner as not to prejudice it materially in a point of so much consideration, instead of my former proposal, I do now propose a floating battery in such a manner as to be placed or removed to the space R between the Bandar pier battery and the Doek pier

This will effectually secure the opening and at the same time cover the docks and remove every objection which any other mode of defending this spot might occasion, by rendering its present great utility to the shipping less complete. I therefore request your Honour's orders for commencing the said floating battery as soon as possible. Having had charge of carrying on the works for some years I have ever found by experience that chunam is never to be had in sufficient quantities till the end of December or the beginning of January. As the chunam laid in store before the rains is generally expended by the end of September, little work can be done during October November and December. As the people employed in burning the chunam have not hitherto begun to burn any till the end of November, and even then in small quantities I have to request your Honourable Board will issue an order that the burning the chunam wanted for the use of the new fortifications do commence by the beginning of October every year. By this means a much greater quantity of work will be completed each season.

With this accompanies a duplicate of my plan and estimate delivered last year. I have now corrected the estimate in some places and excluded the works then reported to be finished. The quantity of sand and earth to be removed on the esplanade being much more than was then calculated, the expense of removing the same must unavoidably be more than what had been mentioned therein.

The following are the different places where masonry and other work has been executed: Fort George; the line of communication; Mándri Bastion; lunette by the Mándri bastion; casemates in Moody's bay; ciemallere work; Hornby's battery; Bandar pier battery; Dock bastion; Town walls; Stanhope bastion; North front; the Esplanade.

The workmen have lately decreased so much that it is at present with the greatest difficulty I can carry on all the works now in hand, but am in great hopes the men will shortly return.

I humbly request your Honourable Board will be pleased to take into consideration my application made last year in favour of the Captains of the Engineer Corps and hope your Honour will recommend to the Honourable the Court of Directors that their request may be complied with.¹

Copy of this report was ordered to be sent to the Court by the *Hawke*.²

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Fortification
Progress Report,
1780.

¹ Principal Engineer to Government 23rd April 1780, Pub. Diary 77 of 1780, 204 - 214.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 26th April 1780, Pub. Diary 77 of 1780, 197.

Section II.—Military Artificers.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Want of Military
Artificers,
1776.

The frequent references to ill-built and unserviceable platforms gun-carriages and other appliances, to failures of construction, to defects in material, the surprising miscalculations as to time and cost in fortifying Bombay, the difficulties found in conducting the siege of Thána, the delays even before Vesáva, leave an impression of slackness and inefficiency, if not of corruptness, on the part of the responsible authorities. On one leading cause of these failures, the difficulty of procuring skilled craftsmen, the records are generally silent. Like the climate the character of the workman seems to have been considered an unavoidable evil, complaint regarding which was unavailing. How crippling was this want of efficient carpenters sawyers blacksmiths and other artisans is shown in detail in a report addressed to the President in 1776 by Ensign Henry Witman. Mr Witman's report has two further elements of interest, one general the other special. The point of general interest is the light its details throw on the conditions which gave rise to and which explain the slave or helot position of the Hindu craftsman, suggesting slavery not intermarriage as the root of the degradation of the artisan or so-called mixed castes of Manu. The point of special interest in the report is that it is apparently the origin of the formation of the distinguished corps, whose value has so often been proved, the Bombay Regiment of Sappers and Miners.

On the 11th February 1776 Ensign Henry Witman writes to the President. From the different services I have been employed upon since my arrival in this country I have observed a very great want of proper artificers which might be attended with the worst of consequences, especially in case of distant service. To remedy this a plan has occurred to me, which I now beg leave to submit to your consideration. Should it meet with your approbation I flatter myself you will lay the same before the Board, and afford me your support for carrying it into execution.¹

Bombay Sappers,
1776

It is the custom in Germany with every Prince who maintains a body of troops to have a company of artisans to every battalion of artillery. In time of peace or whilst the army is in garrison these artisans are employed in the arsenals laboratories and foundries, making and preparing every kind of stores that may be necessary in time of war. In time of war they accompany the army and are employed in the repair of arms and carriages, in short in all the various occasions which daily arise in an army for artificers of every different occupation. Besides this the artisans are kept in constant discipline, and in action or in sieges such as are not immediately wanted on works, become an addition to the strength of the army by acting with the artillery. From my observations in the different employments and services I have been engaged in, there seems to me no improvement that could be adopted in the military system of the Honourable Company at once so beneficial and important as the establishment of such a company, which would go far

¹ Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 69.

towards remedying several disadvantages the service now labours under both in garrison and in the field. To a person who has had opportunities of observing the different branches of service, the utility of such a company must be at once so striking that there would be no occasion to point it out. But as you, Sir, may not have had all these necessary opportunities I will endeavour to make you sensible of the several advantages that would arise and the defects that might be remedied by the establishment in question

To give you a more precise idea of the need of a company of artisans I shall begin with the defects I have observed in the field which it might remedy and shall then show the several advantages such a corps would secure during the time of service. Every person must allow it to be a great disadvantage burthening an army with a number of followers that are wholly useless in time of action. This must ever be the case when Indian artificers are to be employed. The little work they are capable of doing renders it necessary to have a great number of them. Add to this that almost every carpenter must have his man or *bighin* to move, carry, and turn the piece of timber he is at work upon. In short from what I have observed of the difference between an Indian and an able European artificer, I am confident I may advance with safety that with Europeans, where there are six persons at present, there need be only one. Besides their inability, the timidity of the Indian artificers is the cause of great delay in work. I have seen them when they heard the whizz of a shot or saw the dust of one, though at twenty yards distance, down goes their tools and away they run. And it is only by force, threats, promises, and persuasion that after much time lost you can bring them back to the work. We have never yet had any opportunity of observing it, as all our operations have been short sieges where the artificers were unmolested by the enemy. But should it happen that in a campaign where the army would have to march, it should be harassed and a few of them killed, or were they to be exposed to any great inconveniences, the Indian artificers who have no predilection to any party, no point of honour to lose, no consequences to fear from desertion, and have always a mortal aversion to going on service, I am much inclined to think would take every opportunity of quitting us, and thus exceedingly distress the army. If you oppose to this the having men of courage who would work at a battery in the thickest fire of an enemy, men bound to you being of the same nation and manners by the point of honour and the fear of death, the security and advantage arising by having such men with an army in the field would almost of itself be a sufficient recommendation, without considering that in case of action these men are of real addition to our strength by engaging, whereas the others only weaken us by their number and the confusion and delays which their fears are ever liable to create. After all when you have the native artificers, their work of every kind is so miserably executed that it is almost useless. The smiths so burn their iron in working it that it is quite weak in comparison with well wrought iron; so that a person who knows native smiths is obliged to order every thing of larger dimensions than would be necessary, if it was well wrought, which makes their work heavy and unwieldy besides occasioning a greater consumption of mate-

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Defects of
Indian Artisans,
1776.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Defects of Indian
Artificers,
1776.

rules. The carpenters' work is if possible worse than the smiths' owing partly to their carelessness and partly to their want of skill. I have had many opportunities of seeing this both on the works and in service. At the late siege of Thána the platforms were so badly constructed that it was a great hindrance to the service. The carpenters were ever repairing some of them. After five or six discharges they became useless again, and this entirely owing to the want of skill as the materials were very good. As the whole of these carpenters are mere cutters of wood and totally unacquainted with the construction of military machines, there arises another very great hindrance to the officer who may have the direction of works. He is not only obliged to plan the works but must direct the carpenters step by step even to the very lining of their works. Again he cannot quit them with safety. If he is in a hurry to complete a work he must absolutely stand constantly by the workmen not only to keep them to it, but to see that they do not spoil the materials and stop the work. I have often seen that notwithstanding the most repeated directions and even marking the lines, the workmen either from carelessness or design have spoiled a piece of timber in cutting it. Imagine the delays this must occasion should there be necessity for erecting several works at once. Oppose to these delays the great advantage that would accrue on service and especially in sieges if the engineers had workmen they could depend upon, to whom they need only give a verbal direction, or a drawing of what they mean to have done. Reflect also how few of those who on occasion act as engineers have any pretensions to be acquainted with the minutiae of carpenters' works. For, though every man who wishes to excel in this profession would endeavour to make himself so, I beg leave to remark the few opportunities that a young man who enters the Company's service and is to gain his knowledge in India, has of making himself proficient in mechanics.

Besides the badness of their work another great objection to Indian artificers is that there are many necessary works which they cannot do at all. For example, at Thána the bed of a 13-inch mortar was broken and for want of proper carpenters to repair it, it was quite useless. In all the services hitherto every kind of military store that was necessary has been directly sent from Bombay. These services were but short and our communication was open with the sea. But suppose the army should ever undertake a real campaign and have to besiege a place far inland. Should it be necessary to repair a broken gun-carriage, the bed of a mortar, to make and erect chevaux-de-frizes, repair the locks, stocks, bayonets, or ramrods of the soldiers' arms, make scaling ladders, fuses for shells, and petards with many other articles that might be mentioned, I fancy there would not be found any Indian artificers equal to these works. On the other hand to carry spare articles of every kind in any considerable quantity would be very cumbersome and expensive exclusive of the fact that it is not possible to ascertain precisely how many you may want. Admitting this there are other works that may be necessary which I will be bold to say the operations of the army must be at a stand for if they have only the Indian artificers to depend on.

Without entering into minutiae the above will be sufficient to point out the disadvantages an army labours under with only Indian artificers, all which a company of European artisans would remedy. I shall once again remark that to have your workmen soldiers also in case of need is no small advantage considering of how few men our Indian armies are composed. Add to this that on the terms I could procure them the pay of the artificers an expedition would not amount to more than a third of what it does at present and I believe there will be no occasion to insist further on the preference that is to be given to European artificers in the field. In garrison I apprehend this company would not be less useful for many occasions than in the field. At present who have the Company to repair the soldiers' arms? None of the natives are equal to it. The Company are glad to catch at every common blacksmith that comes out among the recruits and put him in the stores. Few good artists I believe need quit such a country as England, and the repairs that I have seen given to the musquets convince me that the English artisans now employed never worked as gunsmiths. Besides the officers are often in the greatest distress when the one or two in the stores get in liquor, stay away or are sick, which is very frequently the case; and the want of hands obliges them to instruct some of the natives in some part of the repairs. On an expedition what European workmen there are are generally sent away. I leave you to judge whether for want of being immediately repaired many of the arms must not rust and spoil. All this would be remedied by having a number of good gunsmiths who so long as the barrel lasted could keep every part in as good condition as it comes from Europe. Every other part of a soldier's accoutrements might be made in a much lighter and neater manner than they are at present. In short I apprehend that with these artificers every store that belongs to an arsenal might be as well made, and the arms kept in as good order and repair as in any service in Europe. The Company might have a good foundry in Bombay not only for the casting of cannon, but of every kind of brazier's work that may be wanted in the different stores. This would be much superior to the heavy clumsy work done by the country braziers, who, from their ignorance in this art, are also exceedingly tedious in the execution of works of any size sometimes on account of their moulds requiring three weeks or a month to do what a European founder can do in three or four days. The foundry which the Company have at present does not deserve the name. They have only one European in it, the only turner they had is lately dead; and the director of the laboratory under whose charge the foundry is, being absent, all works I believe are at a stand; whereas if there was a good foreman to depend on with different workmen under him, this would not be the case. In the department of the foundry is the repair of fire engines which the natives cannot perform as they do not know enough of turning to make the brass screws. I could point out many advantages that a good foundry would be of both to the service and the place in general.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

European
Artisans,
1776.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Country
Carpenters,
1776.

There seems to me very great room for improvement in the carpenters' work of all military machines. The gun carriages are most exceedingly clumsy and much heavier than they need to be if they were well constructed. Besides there is a propotion to be observed in the size of every part of a gun carriage according to the calibre they are designed for, which the natives seem to be most perfectly ignorant of. The eighteen-pounder carriages which were sent to Dhárávi were so narrow they would not receive the guns. The first were sent back again. From those which are there now I was obliged to cut a little of the wood, and they are still so narrow that I apprehend they would soon break if fired from. I leave you to judge of the distress this circumstance might have occasioned had these carriages been sent on an expedition. Nor is it the fault of any gentleman who may have the direction of the carpenters. I know by experience that you may give them every proportion and either from ignorance or carelessness they will still do the work wrong. The platforms which should be well joined, level, and compact, when you come to put them together, are loose and uneven, at least those I have seen sent on service have been such; and at Thana the carpenters were obliged to even the cross timbers again before they could nail the planks on. I am sensible that it would exceed the bounds of this plan to have workmen enough for all the military stores business. Still I imagine a few capable artists to join and finish the works would remedy all these defects.

Country Smiths,
1776

It would tire your patience was I to enter into all the particulars wherein the country smiths are deficient. In general they burn the iron, but in large works it is shocking to see them. When they have got a heat, they begin looking at the iron and consulting where they are to strike till it is half cool and then they have not strength to play a large hammer, few exceeding 12 or 14 pounds but in general from 8 to 10. By this means they are obliged to take a number of heats which burns the work and consumes infinitely more iron and coals than is necessary. Besides there are few large works they undertake but they fail the first, and very often the second attempt, which is just so much labour and materials lost to the Company by their want of skill. Exclusive of the service the European artisan corps could be of in the military stores, foundry, and laboratory, there are other branches in which they might be usefully employed. When the fortifications are going forward they might be employed as overseers of the carpenters masons and bricklayers, and being artists themselves they would be a check on the labourers, both to prevent their idleness and as to the manner of executing their work. Three or four millwrights might be engaged who could finish the Company's saw mill at Waili if requisite, and also serve to keep the powder mills in constant repair. For want of some such person I learn there is at present a great impediment in making powder.

All the defects above pointed out both in the garrison and the field for want of good artists might, I apprehend, be remedied by

the establishment in question, without rendering the company less fit to act as artillery in case of the place being besieged or on any other occasion as they might easily be kept in constant discipline; and such part as were not wanted on works might also do garrison duty.

In Germany the artisans are paid for the number of days they work in their professions besides the standing pay they receive as privates in the artillery. When they do not work they receive their common pay only. I could engage men on these conditions who would willingly work for the same pay the Company now give the native artificers in the stores, that is what are called the able smiths and carpenters who receive from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 and the *mistris* Rs. 16 the month. The company might consist of 100 privates or more if necessary all versed in some business. The non-commissioned officers should be masters or very able workmen in the different trades. I could also engage experienced officers well versed in every branch of the artillery, such as making powder, casting guns, and constructing every kind of military machines who would gladly serve as subalterns in this company for the same pay that is now given to the subalterns in the artillery. The company might be kept constantly complete by recruits from Europe which I could annually send to London by means of agents established in Germany. Exclusive of their utility to the Company, these artificers in their different branches would be of great convenience to the place, and as many of them would bring out their wives and children they might in time produce a race which being properly trained to their different professions and to arms would be at once useful inhabitants and considerably add to the strength of the place in case of a siege. There are many other advantages that could be pointed out that must occur to every one. As it is evidently our artillery which gives us the great superiority over the country Powers, every plan that tends to improve our advantage by it would doubtless be approved by the Company. That the establishment of such a corps would be an improvement I think there is no doubt from what I have above advanced; but I could point out many things that are made use of in Germany that I have not observed here nor indeed could they be practised for want of proper artificers.

As the late acquisition of territory may render an increase of artillery necessary, this would be a proper time for the establishment of this corps. The terms on which I would willingly raise this company would be to have the command of it with the usual emoluments of captain of artillery and the rank as youngest captain; the officers might be introduced as youngest in the different classes they are entered in. As this plan would occasion an addition of a company of artillery, the gentlemen whom I should supersede would not absolutely be wronged by it. But should this be an objection I would relinquish my rise in the artillery and then there would not be the least shadow of injustice. The officers who enter would continue their rise, and, as a company falls vacant, would have the preference of commanding this company when it comes to their

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Proposed
Company,
1776.

Of Engineers,
1776.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Proposed
Engineer's
Company,
1776

tom to have a company. Considering the trouble I shall have and the interest I must employ to get permission to bring these artificers from Germany, I hope my proposal will not be thought extravagant.¹

On receipt of these proposals, the 13th February 1776, the President lays them before the Board. The Bombay Government Consultation of that day records: The President lays before us a letter addressed to him by Ensign Witman, accompanying a plan for raising a company of artificers in Germany to be added to the battalion of infantry on this establishment. As we are sensible many good effects would attend its being carried into execution, it is agreed to afford Mr. Witman a passage to Europe at the Hon. Company's expense to give him an opportunity of submitting his plan to them, and a copy thereof must likewise be transmitted to them by us with a recommendation to adopt it. The Brigadier General gives it further as his opinion that some miners would be a very useful addition to this company which must be noticed to Mr. Witman.²

1779

Three years later, 27th May 1779, the Court write: Although Mr Witman has not been successful equal to his expectations in engaging a whole company of artificers he has succeeded so far as to entertain above 25 men under that description who take passage on the ships of this season.³

¹ Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 70-77.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 13th Feb 1776, Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 67.

³ Court to Bombay 27th May 1779 para 26, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 10 of 1778-1782, 157.

Section III.—Buildings.

The first despatch of the Honorable Company when Masters of the island (1668) contained orders for the building of a regular town. For weavers who had come from Choul to Bombay houses had to be erected. A street was therefore ordered to be built stretching from the custom house (north-west of the present Mint) to the fort (that is the Castle) the rents of which it was expected would soon defray the expenses. About this time (1668-69) when these houses were being built and the fortifications were pressing on, arrangements were made to get timber and chunam from Shivaji's ports.¹

At a Bombay Consultation, the 6th February 1670, the President perused several clauses in the Company's letter concerning the building of wharfs, docks and cranes, and taking in ground for a town. This being a work of time was reserved to future consideration. The entry in the *Diary* runs: Read the clause in the Company's letter touching the taking in ground for a town and propounded to the consideration of the Council whether it were a fitting time to enter upon it now. Whereupon after debate it was resolved to defer it till the island be fortified and secured with more men. It is a matter of great import and will certainly raise discontent in the inhabitants when their trees shall be cut down and destroyed.²

Referring to the Jesuits' claims on certain houses, and to the necessity of providing accommodation for the Company's servants, the President Mr. Amgier and Council write from Surat to Bombay in February 1671: Touching the Jesuits' demands of the warehouse by the custom house, we desire you give them notice that we cannot surrender any ground or house to them until further order from the Company. We are sensible of what straight the Company's servants are put to for want of room. We therefore would have you build a convenient house or two between the custom house and the fort (apparently near the site of the present Town Hall) equal with the custom house, to which end you may draw off workmen from the fort until the said houses are finished. We would have these houses built conveniently fair and large, and we pray take care that they stand the Company in as little as may be.³

In the next month, 1st March 1671, the Surat Council resume. What we wrote concerning the Jesuits' pretences we still confirm and cannot allow of the delivering to them of their houses until further orders from England. What was surrendered to other people, was on examination and due probation of their titles by the Commissioners authorized to that purpose. As the Jesuits refused to appear before the Commissioners, protesting and appealing home to the Honorable Company for justice, and as we have sent home all papers relating to that business, we cannot determine or make any end with them until we hear further from our Masters. Seeing the first Commission is

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Building a Town,
1668-69.

Taking in Ground
for a Town,
1670.

New Houses for
Company's
Servants,
1671.

Jesuits' Claims,
1671.

¹ Bruce's Annals, II. 226, 244

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 6th Feb 1670, Surat Fact. Diary I of 1660-1669.

³ Surat to Bombay Feb. 1671, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. I of 1630-1673, 232. Forrest's *Honour Series*, I. 57.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Jesuits' Claims,
1671.

fallen by reason of the death and departure of the Commissioners, we shall not trouble ourselves to erect any other Commission to honour the Padres' unreasonable and subtle designs. We do not mean that you should take all the workmen off the fort, only some few. If you want more you should entertain them as we suppose workmen are procurable. It is highly necessary that some houses be built to accommodate the Company's servants and such strangers as shall come.¹

Bricklayers,
1671.

Two weeks later, 13th March 1671, the Surat Council send bricklayers to Bombay to build the aforesaid houses. They write: The bearers hereof are four bricklayers and a *mistri* (mistri) to make lime. Their names are, Kalyan at Rs 10 a month, Mahmud, Somji, and Dhanji at Rs. 9, and Lahori at Rs. 4½. We have sent them down to begin and finish the houses formerly ordered to be built betwixt the custom house and the fort. Now you will have no occasion to keep any men off the fort, whose work we would by no means hinder. Let them not want materials to go on with their work and build the houses two storeys high, fronting to the sea. For their model we leave it wholly to you who being on the place can best contrive what will be most for convenience of air and health as likewise for the regular erecting of other buildings by them which may at present be needful. Give us credit for two months' pay paid the bricklayers and *mistri* aforesaid.²

1672

Next year, 6th April 1672, they write: Immediately go in hand with the houses for accommodating the Company's servants which we enquired to be built and to that effect sent you down the bricklayers.³

Jesuits' Claims,
1672.

In the same letter, 6th April 1672, they continue: As we did formerly so we now again approve of your delivery of those lands to the procurator for Japan. For the thorough ending of the Jesuits' and other pretenders' affairs, we have drawn up another Commission and appointed new Commissioners, some whereof are in Surat. They shall suddenly be dispatched towards you in order to the due administration of impartial justice between the Honorable Company and the several pretenders to the seized lands.⁴

Touching the said Commissioners ten days later, 16th April 1672, they intimate: On the *Phoenix* ketch and *Near* frigate take passage also Mr S Walker and Mr F Day, two of the Commissioners that are to examine the Jesuits' and other pretenders' titles. The Commission is drawn out and their instructions. These the President Mr Aungier intends to bring down along with him hoping to embark on the *George* within these four or five days at furthest.⁵

¹ Surat to Bombay 1st March 1671, Surat Fact Out L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 233.

² Surat to Bombay 13th March 1671, Surat Fact Out L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 242.

³ Surat to Bombay 6th April 1672, Surat Fact Out L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 248. Forrest's Home Series, I 59.

⁴ Surat to Bombay 6th April 1672, Surat Fact Out L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 248. Forrest's Home Series, I 59.

⁵ Surat to Bombay 16th April 1672, Surat Fact Out L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 252. Forrest's Home Series, I 60.

On the subject of building the houses a week later, 23rd April 1672, in reply to a Bombay letter the Surat Council write. We take due notice of what you say concerning the building the houses of accommodation we ordered and to that purpose sent you down bricklayers. In regard you make so great difficulties in the matter, and that there is present accommodation in the hospital for factors and also warehouse room, you may defer the building of the said houses until the President comes down, who doubts not but to contrive them fronting the sea without any irregularity or impediment to other buildings so that the north-east bastion shall command some streets and likewise the water side. We shall take care to supply you with your desired recruit of moneys.¹

The same year, 16th May 1672, on being satisfied there was enough accommodation for the Company's servants and no new houses were required, the Surat Council write to Bombay: In regard you have satisfied us that for the present there is accommodation enough in the hospital and other places for the Company's servants, we think good that you totally desist from building those houses formerly ordered this year, and go immediately in hand with the building of two large stone warehouses behind the custom house or in some place near it, such as may be capable of receiving into them three to four good ships' lading of goods. Let them for the present be covered with tiles and if possible finish them by September next. For effecting this let your utmost industry be employed and no pretence hinder it. There will be great occasion for these warehouses. See you do this with as little noise as possible.²

Three years later, 18th December 1675, referring to a request from the Deputy Governor of Bombay the Surat Council write. We take notice of the Deputy Governor's request for the taking up Rs. 1000 on the house and land he hath bought. This purchase he says he has made on his arrears of salary in pursuance of the Company's order. In this we have thought good to gratify him requiring the said Rs. 1000 be charged to his debt and that he give a writing wherein he is to bind the said house and land over to the Company for their security till he hath cleared account with them.³

Five months later, 27th May 1676, they write: As to the Deputy Governor and Mr. Petit's request to have Rs. 500 a piece advanced to them more than the amount already paid on their arrears of salary toward their building, we have thought good to deny our consent thereunto till we understand what is due to them by their arrears of salary and what their house hath stood them in. When we understand these points we shall give our directions accordingly.⁴

Five weeks later, 4th July 1676, the Surat Council write to Bombay. The President (Mr. Aungier) having a desire to build a street of

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
New Houses,
1672.

Warehouses,
1672.

House and Land
for the Deputy
Governor,
1675

Building a Street
1676.

¹ Surat to Bombay 23rd April 1672, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 256. Forrest's Home Series, I. 61.

² Surat to Bombay 16th May 1672, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 1 of 1630-1673, 262. Forrest's Home Series, I. 61.

³ Surat to Bombay 18th Dec. 1675, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 13. Forrest's Home Series, I. 74.

⁴ Surat to Bombay 27th May 1676, Surat Fact. Out. L. B. 2 of 1675-76, 130. . . .

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Building a Street,
1676

houses on Bombay reaching from Judge Niccoll's house to the water side and having caused the ground to be valued amounting to about 600 Xeraphins, doth desire you to buy the said ground of the owner on the Company's account and to let a lease of it to him (the President) for 61 years according to the Company's order. When you have delivered him the said lease, the President will then take immediate orders for building the said street. If you judge it anyways inconvenient to the Company to buy the said ground for their account, then the President desires you to buy the said ground for his own account, causing the writing to be firmly established by the law, that he may have a sufficient title thereunto, desiring you answer by the next cossett (that is *lâsîd* or courier).¹

List of Company's
Houses,
1676,

About the close of the year, 21st November 1676, touching the Company's houses at Bombay, the Surat Council write to Bombay: You will see that the Company have desired to be satisfied touching their houses in Bombay. We would therefore have you cause a list of all the houses to be taken specifying their dimensions, the material of which they are built, the rooms which they contain, the present uses they are put to, and their prime cost. This list send to us that we may advise the Company what further is therein necessary.²

Dog House,
1677.

On the 1st January 1677 the Surat Council write to Bombay. We have received a list of the Company's houses on the island of Bombay with their dimensions but not their cost. One small house is termed in the list the Dog House. As we are apt to believe this is put to some other use than to keep dogs we would have you alter the nomination. Also specify the value or cost of each house particularly.³

Buildings,
1677

The 24th January 1677 the Bombay Council wrote to the Directors. We send a list of all your Honours' houses with their dimensions and the materials they are made of with the prime cost of the Court of judicature, hospital, and mint.⁴

On the 12th March 1677 the Surat Council write to Bombay. We formerly gave you order to receive unto the Honourable Company's cash the Rs 3000 paid Mr. Philip Gyfford and Mr John Petit on account of their arrears of salary for the building a house on Bombay which they have now sold to the Company.⁵

A month later, 10th April 1677, they further write. We take notice that Mr. John Petit will now pay into the Honourable Company's cash the Rs 1500 he took upon account of house building, but we do somewhat blame him that he did not advise us before, that he had not wherewithal in his hands to pay Mr Gyfford's Rs 1500 he also took upon account of house building. We shall now demand the Rs. 1500 from Mr. Gyfford's executors.⁶

¹ Surat to Bombay 4th July 1676, Surat Fact. Out. L B 2 of 1675-76, 156 Forrest's Home Series, L 98.

² Surat to Bombay 1st Nov. 1676, Surat Fact. Out. L B. 2 of 1675-76, 259. Forrest's Home Series, I 111.

³ Surat to Bombay 1st Jan 1677, Surat Fact. Out. L B 3 of 1677-1700, 1-2.

⁴ See Out. L B 4 of 1677-1687, 11.

⁵ Surat to Bombay 12th March 1677, Surat Fact. Out. L B. 3 of 1677-1700, 17.

⁶ Surat to Bombay 10th April 1677, Surat Fact. Out. L B 3 of 1677-1700, 28.

On the 19th March 1680, with the view of providing a sum equal to the civil and military charges of the Government, the Court required that all houses should be valued, and a proportionate tax imposed on each; the uncultivated land surveyed, and let out on rent and the marshy grounds drained and rendered fit for agriculture.¹

Regarding the use of their houses at Bombay, the 2nd July 1684, the Court write to Surat: We understand we have great warehouses as also an hospital, a large house called the East India House, as also the chentry (*chhatra* meaning shed) or bandar, and great stables, of all which little use is made, and no profit at all to the Company. On the contrary the Sidi, when he is there with the Moghal's fleet, makes use of them to live in, and to serve and fit his rigging which will make but a mean account for the great expenses the Company hath been at in erecting such chargeable edifices. We therefore would desire you to spend some serious thoughts and to invent some means whereby those buildings may be employed to make us some better return for our great cost. Since there is so much to be put in order at Bombay, and we begin to think that place of great concernment to us, we would have our President when he thinks he can be spared from our business at Surat to make a trip over to Bombay to settle all our affairs, military and civil, in such a frugal regular method that we may have a better account of our trade, revenue, and all other things there than we have lately received.²

Regarding the state of the Company's houses at Bombay a Bombay general letter to the Company, dated the 29th December 1686, has the following: We have had a view of our Honourable Masters' houses in this island, which are very much out of repair. Some of them are dropt down to the ground, others will cost more to make them tenantable than the houses and ground-rent is worth, but many of them that are in town, when occasion shall serve, will make good warehouses and godowns. The new Deputy Governor, Sir John Wyborne, has made the house in the fort much more commodious than ever it was, having fitted up a very convenient chapel out of two rooms situated in the middle of the house, where there is room enough for four times the number of people that we have on this island.³

Three months later, 23rd March 1687, the Bombay Council write to Surat: The Moors' Delvys have of late built one house on the island and are now very importunate with us to dig stones to build another. We desire your Excellency's pleasure whether we shall permit them to build any more.⁴

On the 14th December 1686 the Bombay Council write to Surat: The water tanks were looked up above two months ago and the Deputy

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

East India and
other Houses,
1684.

Company's Houses
out of Repair,
1686

Chapel,
1686.

Moors' Houses,
1687

Water Supply,
1686.

¹ Court to Surat and Bombay, 19th March 1679-80. Bruce, II. 436

² Court to Surat 2nd July 1684, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 1 of 1681-1885, 83. During the Sidi war (1687-1690) the Sidi Yikub Khan put four great guns in the Custom House commonly called the India House. Hamilton's New Account to the East Indies, Vol. 1 (1744), 226

³ Bombay to Court 29th Dec. 1686, Sec. Out L. B. 4 of 1677-1687, 41-42. Forrest's Home Series, I. 149.

⁴ Bombay to Surat 23rd March 1687, Sec. Out L. B. 1 of 1677-1687, 71.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings

Company's
Servants'
Houses,
1709

Governor has secured a good store of wood. We cannot well get more as the havaldars and subhedaris on the other side demand large *peshkashes* (presents). We hope we shall have no want of further supplies.¹

Regarding the bad state of the Company's servants' houses at Bombay the Court write on the 21st April 1709. It has been represented to us that the houses of our very factors and writers as well as soldiers are so old and ill-covered, that in the time of the rains people cannot keep dry within doors, whereby they get dis-temper. We require you to take care this be unended. Let it not be looked upon as below the care of any of you, our Council, from time to time to examine into and remedy this complaint, not only as to our covenant servants but likewise our soldiers and all others who receive our wages. We shall never grudge any reasonable charge that is necessarily laid out to save our people's lives and preserve their health. If either through supineness or otherwise you do not take care these our orders are punctually and on all occasions complied with, we know not how you can answer it to God or us.²

Town Wall
Finished
1715

Christmas Day of 1718 was memorable for finishing the Town Wall.³

Compensation
for Trees and
Land,
1720

In the matter of compensation for trees cut down to erect the town wall a Consultation of the 13th June 1720 records. The President having received several petitions of persons desiring satisfaction for grounds built upon by the town wall or cocoanut trees cut down, it is ordered that Messrs Blackett Midford and Owen Philipps enquire into the same and lay the whole demands before the Board for our discharging thereof.⁴

These officers accordingly report, the 26th July 1720. In obedience to your Honour's order of the 13th ultimo, with the assistance of the vereadores, we have examined into the demands of the several inhabitants of the island on the Right Honourable Company for trees destroyed by building the town wall and for batty grounds made use of on that account and employed for enlarging the town without the walls. We find the whole damage to amount to Rs. 1859 as will appear by the lists we now humbly lay before you. The people in general are more desirous of having the same quantity of ground or number of trees returned to them than of payment in money which if your Honour judge proper may be allotted out of the carts and batty grounds of the Right Honourable Company.⁵

Thereupon a Consultation, the 30th July 1720, records. According to an order of Council of the 13th ultimo Messrs Midford and Philipps deliver in their report of the cocoanut trees that have been cut down and of the batty grounds that have been made use of for building the town

¹ Bombay to Surat 14th Dec. 1686, See Out L. B. 1 of 1677-1687, 38

² Court to Bombay 21st April 1709 para 10. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol 1 of 1715-1721, 113

³ The Rev. Cobbe to the Chiefs of Calicut and Tellicherry, 10th Jan. 1715, in his Account of the Bombay Church (1746), 59

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 17th June 1720, Pub. Diary 1 of 1720, 86-87

⁵ Pub. Diary 1 of 1720, 124.

wall belonging to the inhabitants who demand others in the room of them Conformable to an account formerly drawn out by Messrs Courtney and Crommelin, agreeable to an order of Council of the 9th October 1719, it is ordered that Messrs. Midford and Philipps with the receiver of the revenues adjust and satisfy the same out of the Right Honourable Company's oarts and batty grounds and lay an account thereof before us that it may be brought on our geneial books accordingly.¹

A Consultation, the 18th September 1721, records: There being about Rs 5000 in cash which sum is esteemed sufficient for the present service of the church, it is agreed that from the 1st of last month the half per cent collected for the same be appropriated towards building a custom house when it shall be thought proper to set about that work.²

A Consultation, the 9th July 1731, records: Mr William Henry Draper presents a certificate from the Matras (mhatáris) of Bombay of the measuage of a piece of ground part of that called Umbeharry (Umarkhádi) situated near the Hill Visoian productive only of grass containing according to the measure of the country thirty bages valued by the said matras in (rupees) twenty-four which the said William Henry Draper offers to pay into the Honourable Company's treasury praying he may be entitled to the said spot of ground to build a small house thereon, he paying the Honourable Company the annual pension over and above the said Rs. 24 purchase money, which is agreed to.³

A Consultation, the 31d December 1731, records: Resolved that all persons that have a mind to build, apply to the land paymaster and signify to him in what part of the town and what sort of a house they design to build. On the paymaster's being satisfied that the spot of ground they have pitched upon is a proper situation for such a house, he is to grant them his license for building, receiving as fees for the same Rs 2 and no more, provided the said house is built with stone and mortar and covered with tiles, and for such houses as are covered with earthen Re. 1; and upon any of the inhabitants applying to the Secretary for a lease or certificate to ascertain their title to the house to be built by licence of the paymaster, he is to grant them such a lease or certificate for the same on paying him Re. 1 and no more.⁴

A Consultation, the 18th May 1733, records: It being found by experience that little regard has been had by the inhabitants within and without the walls to an order of Council made the 31d of December 1731 directing that all persons who have or may hereafter have houses should apply to the Secretary for a regular lease of the said house or houses paying him Re. 1 as his fee for drawing out the said lease, it is agreed that we order a publication to be made enforcing the said order under penalty of dispossessing all such persons as shall

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

A New Custom
House,
1721

A Beginning of
Country Houses,
1731

Building Rules,
1731.

House Leases,
1733.

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 30th July 1720, Pub. Diary 1 of 1720, 123.

² Bom Gov. Consultation 18th Sept. 1721, Pub. Diary 2 of 1721, 116.

³ Bom Gov. Consultation 9th July 1731, Pub. Diary 1 of 1731 70-71 As early as 1720, Pub. Diary 1 of 1720 page 110, there were houses enough outside of the fort to make the question of their taxation important.

⁴ Bom Gov. Consultation 3rd Dec 1731, Pub. Diary 4 of 1731, 164-165

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

House Leases,
1733.

Repairs
to Public
Buildings,
1740

Clearance
round the
Town Wall,
1739

not produce an authentic lease signed by the Secretary in six months from the date of the said publication ascertaining then right to the said house or houses and the ground they are built on. Agreed that the Secretary in framing such leases, grant a term of forty-one year, renewable on the party's paying a fine of half a year's rent of the said house or tenement, according as the same shall be valued by the Second in Council and the Collector of the revenues for the time being and the possessor.¹

Regarding repairs to public buildings the Diary of the 6th June 1740 contains the following entry: The President reports to the Board that sundry repairs having been found necessary in the public buildings, as fitting a carpenters' and sawyers' shed in the mangle yard, hitherto only covered with *cajans* which are extremely liable to fire, repairing the ruinous Mandvi or custom house at Mahim, and new roofing the surgeons' houses in the hospital, he had accordingly ordered the same to be set about with fitting expedition, which is approved of.²

In connection with the demand of the military authorities for a clear space round the town wall a Consultation of the 10th May 1739 records. The President represents to the Board that though the passages of the island are rendered as defensible as they can at present be made, still in his opinion the boats now employed in the river might by means of batteries easily be compelled to retire. In such a case a determined enemy might effect a landing on the island. If such an unfortunate circumstance happened, the town wall, being no more than eleven feet in height reckoning up to the cordon, would in the opinion of the engineer be unfit to resist batteries. As besides the shelter they would give to an attacking force the coconut trees and houses near the wall would furnish ready material for raising batteries, the President recommends to the consideration of the Board whether it may not be absolutely necessary to remove this source of danger by clearing all houses and trees within a certain distance of the wall. Some of the members apprehending this motion to be of great importance, desire time to consider of it and are indulged till to-morrow to give their sentiments.³

The next day, 11th May 1739, the Board continue. Resuming the consideration of yesterday's proposal for making a clearance round the town wall by cutting down the coconut trees and demolishing the houses that are too near it, the approach of the rainy season which may drive the sufferers to great heights, is taken notice of in objection to the proposal being immediately put in execution, the uncertainty of the expense being mentioned as another obstacle. It is resolved that previous to our final determination a line of one hundred yards be drawn round the town wall, and a computation made of the value of all the trees and houses which it may be necessary to remove within that space, and a report be made thereof for the further information of this Board.⁴

¹ Mem. Gov. Consultation 15th May 1733, Pub. Diary 5 of 1733 73, 127.

² Mem. Gov. Consultation 6th June 1740, Pub. Diary 13 of 1739 40, 242.

³ Mem. Gov. Consultation 10th May 1739, Pub. Diary 12 of 1735 50, 175-176.

⁴ Mem. Gov. Consultation 11th May 1739, Pub. Diary 12 of 1735 24, 150.

The required calculate having been received the 6th July 1739 an entry in the Diary runs: The President delivers into the Board a calculate made at his order agreeable to a resolution in Council of the 11th May last, by the vecadores of all the trees and houses within the circumference of one hundred yards outside the walls. The sum is as follows :

	Rs.	qrs.	rs.
Outs and Trees belonging to private persons ..	5218	1	46
Do. to the Honourable Company ...	973	1	50
Houses appraised by bricklayers and carpenters	30,512	0	10
Total ..	36,703	3	6

Upon this it is observed how irregular a practice had heretofore obtained of planting trees and building houses through the permission or connivance of the Government within the distance prescribed for the safety of all regular fortifications. Seeing that the necessary precaution has hitherto been entirely disregarded, it behoves this Board to come to such a resolution as may effectually prevent this evil, and obviate such irregularities and inconveniences as have arisen for want of proper control in the buildings, works, and plantation of trees both within and without the wall. It is therefore agreed that the following order be issued by the authority of this Board to the proper officers, as well as duly published. That no houses be made or rebuilt nor any trees planted within the distance of four hundred yards from the town wall, nor any houses erected within the said wall, until the ground be surveyed by the engineer for the time being, and by him be recommended to the land paymaster for his approbation and leave.

In consideration that the work of digging a ditch will require a strict attendance of (officers) to overlook all disbursements and other incidental expenses, and, as the additional service appears too great a burthen for the land paymaster's office, the Board pitches upon Mr. Thomas Marsh to take charge thereof. Mr. John Morley has order to deliver the same over to Mr. Marsh, and Mr. William Nicholls, now assistant to the warehouse keeper, is ordered likewise to assist under Mr. Marsh in the said office. The Board then proceeds to consider, as set forth in our last Consultation of the 29th June, the most proper method of raising the voluntary contribution towards the work of the ditch of thirty thousand rupees from the body of merchants. The same being debated, we are unanimously of opinion that until the amount be cleared one per cent be levied upon the trade, in addition to the two per cent contribution to the town wall. The proceeds of this extra one per cent to be carried to the head of Contribution to the town ditch. It is ordered that the custom master do collect and distinguish the same accordingly.¹

On the question of removing the trees and houses round the town wall, on the 11th March 1742 the Court write: We observe that the late President (Honourable Mr. John Horne, 1734 - 1739) before our last ship's departure, was for removing all trees and houses round the

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

Esplanade,
1739.

One Per Cent
Ditch Money,
1739.

Esplanade,
1742.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 6th July 1739, Pub. Diary 12 of 1738-39, 256-257.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Esplanade,
1742.

town wall, to the distance of at least point blank shot. We took notice with pleasure that three of the members Messrs Geckie, Dudley, and Marsh stood in the gap and by a seasonable opposition prevented the proposal at that time being put in execution. Although our directions were desired they were not duly waited for, as by the overland advices we have the mortification to find that a few days after the ship's departure, the late President carried his point. If we are rightly informed the expense and loss to the island will amount to a very great sum. Thus when one costly step has been taken, our servants have continually fallen into another, wasting our estate in a very expensive and unsatisfactory manner. To what end is such a large military and marine force maintained but to keep an enemy from landing, which by safe guarding the passes we are well assured is impracticable. A due observance of our last year's orders will compel you to lay aside all such projects. You must undertake no expensive work whatever without an absolute necessity until our leave is first obtained for the same. We shall take this affair into further consideration. For the present we direct that those who did not dissent to this costly step shall not be sent to any subordinate settlements nor expect any further favour from us till this matter is cleared. Perceiving that the Council were nearly equally divided in their sentiments with respect to the cutting down of the trees and pulling down the houses, we desire our President (Honourable Mr. Stephen Law, 1739-1742) to send us his impartial opinion on that affair.¹

1744.

Two years later, 20th March 1744, the Court write. We are highly pleased that a reduction of our charges and increase to our revenues on Bombay have already been accomplished since our President (Honourable Mr. William Wake, 1742-1750) came to the chair, that by the works being all completed, our money is no longer buried in stone walls or ditches. From such a good beginning we persuade ourselves that some further savings will be made both at your place and at the subordinate factories. Our President assuring us that he verily believes none of the Council who were for cutting down the trees and pulling down the houses, had any private views, but acted to the best of their judgment, we are willing to forego any further censure, and therefore revoke our former orders forbidding their being sent Chiefs to any subordinate factory, expecting that for the future without our leave being first obtained they will be utterly averse from all expensive measures.²

Disposal of the
Cut Trees,
1742

As to the disposal of the trees cut down round the town wall a Consultation of the 2nd February 1742 records: As the trees that have been cut down may be serviceable to the poor people who are rebuilding their houses, it is directed that the overseer of the carts accommodate such persons as apply to him with the

¹ Court to Bombay 11th March 1742 paras 66-71, 111, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 9-10, 16.

² Court to Bombay 20th March 1744 paras 53, 54, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 3 of 1742-1751, 69.

numbers they want and dispose of the remainder at public outcry for the most they will fetch.¹

Regarding compensation for trees a Consultation of the 25th May 1742 records: The several persons whose trees have been cut down in consequence of our late resolution being constantly for restitution, it is ordered that the several claimants be by a publication directed to give in their several demands within fifteen days. Such as shall neglect to make a demand within the term limited, shall be excluded from the benefit of a return.²

Regarding the recovery of the rent of the ground to which the people were removed in consequence of the clearance of the ground round the town wall, a Consultation of the 29th October 1742 records: The President moves in behalf of several possessors of ground on which the people who have been obliged to remove their houses in consequence of the resolution for a clearance round the town have rebuilt. He remarks that the indigent circumstances of many of those moved from the Green will cause great difficulty in the recovery of the rents, a work for which the landholders must neglect their own occupations. This would not be the case with the Company as they have persons properly appointed for the collection of their revenues and by virtue of his station the overseer may easier force a compliance. He proposes a calculate be made of the revenue that will arise from the ground rent of the houses so erected compared with what the same compass of ground would otherwise yield. If this is ascertained the Company should be no sufferers by taking the built plots and in exchange returning an equal measurement of land. To this the Board agree and direct that the proper examination and calculate be made. The President observes the ground round the town wall which at present lying fallow yields no revenue, may be made to yield something if let out to be planted with batty. At the same time it ought to be expressly forbid that any fence hedge or trees be planted or erected as in time that would be found of equal detriment, as if the trees and houses already removed had remained. He proposes that a publication be issued that all persons who are inclined to take any part under the above conditions do give in their proposals within three months for the Board's determination. To this the Board agree.³

A Consultation of the 6th May 1743 records The owners of some batty grounds whereon houses were built when the people removed from round the wall, being solicitous for a return, and the overseer of the oats having ascertained each person's proportion, the whole being of the annual produce of 38 *mudís* 23 *pharús* and 16 *ailholis* batty, it is agreed to make return of an equal quantity of ground and that the Collector of the revenues receive

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Compensation,
1712.

Town
Extension,
1712-13

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 2nd Feb 1742, Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 73.

² Bom Gov Consultation 25th May 1742, Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 256.

³ Bom Gov. Consultation 29th Oct 1742, Pub. Diary 15 of 1741-42, 508-509.

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings**

Further Clearance
round the Wall,
1744

the other into his charge and recover the rent as it becomes due from the possessors of the houses built thereon.¹

To take advantage of the destruction of houses by fire a Consultation, the 10th February 1744, records A fire which happened a few days past having consumed several of the remaining houses within the line of three hundred yards from the town wall, the Board are unanimous in opinion not to suffer any new houses to be erected on the same ground²

Repairs to sluices
at Dhārāvī,
1744

A Consultation of 10th February 1744 records: Mr. Marsh representing that without some repairs be speedily given the sluices at Dhārāvī a large extent of ground will be overflowed by the sea, a calculate of the work necessary to be done is now presented amounting to Rs 1650. It is agreed the same be set about³

Town Extension,
1745

Two years later the Bombay Diary of the 7th February 1746 has the following entry: Directed that Messrs Rawdon and Sanders be appointed to allot proper spaces of ground to such of the inhabitants as may be inclined to build in the town⁴

Wells and Holes,
1746.

Messrs. John Spenceer and H. Cameron write to Government on 16th June 1746: Agreeable to your directions to us we have examined into the condition of the several wells and holes both within the town and to a convenient distance without it and think it necessary to make the following remarks

Within the Town.—There is a well in the Honourable Company's Rope Walk belonging to Mr. John Saunders which is in the middle of the common path even with the surface of the earth and only part of it covered with a few rotten boards and is so improperly situated as it ought to be filled. Between the compound walls of the houses of Captains Lewis and Atkins is a large hole from which in the rains danger may be apprehended, especially on one side where it takes away part of the common path which side ought to be filled up and railed. Another should be made sloping and the earth taken from thence carried to the side that is most dangerous which in a great measure would remedy the present inconvenience of this hole. The well by the Portuguese chapel wherein it is said so many people have fallen wants only two small battens to make it perfectly secure. The most dangerous hole is one between the compounds of Mr Lambton's and Ensign Newman's houses which after hard rains is always full of water, is very deep and that side next the path most frequented, the deepest. It would be very expensive to fill this hole up, but it is absolutely necessary it should be railed in at least on that side next the common road. In the coffee garden near the compound of the Parsonage house is a deep well sunk by the Honourable Company now of no use which is dangerous to passengers having no fence and being close to the

¹ Bom Gov Consultation 6th May 1743, Pub Diary 16 of 1743, 129.

² Bom Gov Consultation 10th Feb 1744, Pub Diary 17 of 1744, 59

³ Pub Diary 17 of 1744, 58.

⁴ Bom Gov. Consultation, 7th Feb 1746 Pub Diary, 10 of 1746 12.

footpath Two or three days before we inspected it a person had fallen in, but it luckily happening in the day time was taken out alive. The hole may easily be made secure to passengers by running up a dwarf wall on one side of it the other three being already surrounded, but, as it is not faced, in a little time, by the earth falling in, it will bring down a large part of the Prison compound wall and as there are other wells near, it had better be filled up. Under the gorge of the Banian bastion is a well which much wants to be secured and a Moor woman who owns it has promised to fence it properly in three or four days. In that part of the town which is inhabited by the topass soldiers is a large well in the middle of the street which does not leave a passage two feet wide on each side of it. It is even with the ground which makes it very dangerous and it ought to be filled up as several people have lately fallen into it. In the middle of the curtain between the Banian and Prince's bastions is a well belonging to the Honourable Company the fencing of which wants only a small repair to make it quite secure. In the small bazar by the old Māndvi bastion is a very deep well which is said to belong to Rupji Dhanji is fenced but very insecurely by its being much too low. It would be proper to call upon him to raise it to a sufficient height which may be done at a very trifling expense.

Without the Town.—Near the Apollo gate and public road are three large deep wells without any manner of fence about them which are of no use since the trees have been cut down round the town wall. They are faced with stone and the earth that was taken out to sink them never having been removed to any distance it would be an easy matter and little expense to fill them up again with the same. In the path from the bazar gate to Sivaji's Punch house is a well faced with stone formerly in the compound of one of the houses pulled down. The well is now of no use and as it is dangerous it would be necessary to fill it up. Close by the Punch house door is another well, the fence of which ought to be raised something higher to make it secure. Great part of the wall of the tank joining to the Portuguese church close by the public road is fallen down and the rest is so very ruinous that it will soon be in the same condition if not timely repaired. In a street near the Portuguese church is a dangerous well said to belong to one Ventabhai who has promised to make it secure in a few days¹

Referring to this letter a Consultation, the 24th June 1716, records: Read a letter from the clerk of the market and the clerk of the works containing their remarks on the conditions of several wells and holes both within the town and for some distance without it. The expense of filling up some and fencing others is estimated by them at about Rs 351½. Ordered that the land paymaster repair such as belong to the Honourable Company, and the others must be done by such of the inhabitants as live adjacent the same.²

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Wells and Holes,
1716.

¹ Pub. Diary 19 of 1716, 20, 205

² Pub. Diary 19 of 1716, 201.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings
English Houses,
1750

In 1750 according to Grose most of the English houses were built round the Green.¹ They were generally ground-floored with a court-yard before and behind and offices and out-houses. They were substantially built with stone lime and plaster. They were often whitewashed, which had a neat air but caused a troublesome glare. Little glass was used. Instead of glass the sashes were square-cut oyster-shells which let light through and stopped glare. The floor was of stucco or chunnam lime of burnt shells by a process not so polished that you can see your face in it. The terraces were also made of chunnam. But the sun was apt to crack them. Attempts had been made to paint the walls. But salt in the lime spoiled the paint. What the Portuguese called verandas were a useful shelter against the sun.²

Native Houses,
1750

The best houses, writes Grose, of the black merchants though all were not black, were in the town which was about a mile in extent. Most of these merchants' houses were ill-built and inconvenient, with small window lights and ill-arranged rooms. Even the best have a certain air of meanness and cheapness.³

Water
1750.

Grose mentions a well within the fort and walls. But the water is not extremely good and liable to be dried up in the heats. It is also to be observed that the water in general on the island is not reckoned the best, and has been given for a reason why the Gentu merchants were not so forward to settle on it, water being a point of great consequence with them for as they drink no spirituous liquors they are very curious and discerning in the taste and qualities of waters.⁴

Town
Extension,
1752.

Two years later a Consultation of the 12th May 1752 records Mr. Lawrence Sullivan on delivering charge of the custom house to Mr. Thomas Hodges, and after taking the oath tendered him by the President and one of the committee, is appointed his Majesty's Justice of Peace for regulating ground to erect houses and prevent encroachments on the high roads.⁵

Building Rule,
1751.

On the question of encroachments a Consultation of the 19th March 1751 records. Several of the inhabitants within the town wall

¹ The Green was a spacious area planted with trees. On the green was situated the only English church at Bombay and which was full sufficient for any possible congregation of them at it. This church was a building extremely neat commodious and airy (Grose's Voyage, I 52). Besides the Green Bombay had two very pleasant gardens cultivated after the European manner. The one a little way out of the gates open to any English gentleman, the other much larger and finer at about five miles distance from the town, that is at Parel, where the Governor had a very agreeable country house. Grose remarks. This house was originally a Romish chapel belonging to the Jesuits but confiscated about 1719 for some foul practices against the English interest. It is now, he continues (1750), converted into a pleasant mansion-house, and what with the additional buildings and improvements of the gardens, affords a spacious and commodious habitation. There is an avenue to it of a hedge and trees near a mile long, and though near the sea side, is sheltered from the air of it by a hill between. Here the Governor spends most part of the heats, the air being cooler and fresher than in town, and nothing is wanting that may make a country retirement agreeable (Grose's Voyage, I 46).

² Grose's Voyage, I, 52-53. ³ Grose's Voyage, I 53-54. ⁴ Grose's Voyage, I 50.

⁵ Bombay Consultation 12th May 1752, Pub. Papers of 1752, 180.

have made encroachments on the high roads and erected sheds and buildings without license. These encroachments having been inspected by the proper officers, to prevent anything of this nature recurring in future, the rules and regulations now affixed at the foot of this Consultation are ordered to be deposited in the Collector's office. Further that the inhabitants may be duly apprised thereof and no one plead ignorance, these regulations are ordered to be made public by beat of drum.¹

The following publication by the Honourable Richard Bouchier Esquire, President and Governor of His Majesty's Castle and Island, Bombay, was accordingly issued :

Whereas, in contempt of the Government, several of the inhabitants have made encroachments on the high roads by erecting buildings and sheds without license, the said President and Governor by and with the advice and consent of his Council has thought proper to ordain and direct that all eajan or palm-leaved sheds and pent-houses are to be pulled down till the monsoon sets in. Liberty will then be obtained for refixing such as are necessary and these will continue till the breaking up of the monsoon and no longer. That all pent-houses whether thatched or tiled made without leave that appear encroachments in the streets be pulled down. That in future no houses walls compounds or sheds be erected within the town wall before a certificate is granted by the committee under their hands for that purpose. Every storehouse erected within the town wall to be covered with tiles in less than thirty days or else to be pulled down and the owner thereof fined ; and all eajan or palm-leaf huts to be unroofed. When liberty is given for building a house the applicant must set about it in twenty days. No stones chunam or other materials to lay longer in the public street than ten days before the work of building begins. All the gramalook (prickly-pear the Portuguese *grão maluco*) hedges within the town wall to be dug up by the roots, especially those round the ramparts. That, as few of the present holders of houses agree with the names on the rent roll, the name of every person purchasing a house within the walls be recorded in the Collector's office before the purchaser enters in the premises. That, provided upon remeasurement they are found offenders, every person who has insisted on having his ground measured to prove he has made no encroachments, pay Captain Cameron's fees besides the fine. That no storehouse be built within the town wall under a thousand rupees value. If any one presume to act in contempt of the above regulations, he shall be subject to such penalty as the Honourable the President and Council pleases to inflict. And that no one may presume to plead ignorance hereof the said President and Governor hath caused this notice to be published by beat of drum and affixed at the usual places. Dated in Bombay Castle this 19th March 1754.²

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Building Rules,
1754

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 19th March 1754, Pub. Diary 27 of 1754, 94.

² Pub. Diary 27 of 1754, 97-98 Forrest's Home Series, II. 85.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Open Spaces in
the Fort,
1754

Letter from Mr. John Spencer, Collector, to the President and Council, 19th November 1754 On examining into the merits of the petition of Manoel Baretto and Limji, entered in Consultation of the 6th August last, I find that, in regard to the trees, ever since the digging of the town ditch they do labour under the hardships they set forth. When the ditch was begun the President and Council insisted on Manoel Baretto and Limji permitting a number of houses to be built in their respective oarts within the walls to be inhabited by the military I understand that most of the military have found means to evade paying the owner the usual quit-rent of six *res*. Further by all accounts the petitioners suffer from the oarts being inhabited, as this prevents the trees being properly cultivated. As they show in their petition a desire of changing their oarts for others of the Honourable Company's, I thought it necessary to order the verendores to make a valuation of the trees as they now stand in the exactest manner they possibly could according to the nature of the trees This valuation and report are enclosed for your Honour's perusal The ground of these oarts being for the most part filled up by very ordinary houses, I applied to the clerk of the works to give me a plan of that part of the town that your Honour might form the better judgment in regard to their removal in order to make room for houses for merchants of substance which at present are so much wanted within the walls. His attention to other matters has prevented the clerk of the works finishing the plan in the manner he intended. Yet as enough of it is performed to give your Honour the necessary knowledge of the ground, I did not think it necessary to detain the report on that account. As to the fine land on Manoel Baretto, the gentlemen of that committee being members of the Board, can inform your Honour what may be necessary in regard thereto¹

The verendores' report on the number and value of trees and the area of empty spaces gives the following details²:

Spaces within the Town Wall, 1755

No.	Private Oarts	First Sort.		Second Sort		Third Sort		Total Trees.	Spaces		Grand Total
		No.	Rs.	No.	Rs.	No.	Rs.		No.	Rs.	
3	Oart Bangrad	170	691	25	87½	1	3	196	107	2 ½	797½
1	Oart Dandhandi	16	181	2	7			49	23	7	194
	Ditto	24	152	3	10½	5	15	46	7	1½	174½
	Ditto	34	130	1	3½	2	6	37	12	3	144
	Ditto	10	40	3	10½	2	6	15	27	6½	63½
	Ditto	31	132	2	7	1	3	36	11	3½	144½
1	Oart Tejwadi	67	229	1	5½			62	23	7	235½
	Total	388	1552	37	129½	11	23	416	223	65½	1770½

¹ Pub Diary 28 of 1755, 89-40

² Pub Diary 29 of 1755, 41-42. Besides the trees shown in the statement there was in the Tejwadi oart one tree, bearing fruit, valued at Rs 2½ and one tree, to bear fruit, valued at Rs 2, which brought the total to 433 trees and 1774½ rupees. The advance calculated at 400 to 450 per cent brought the total of Rs. 1774½ to Rs. 9005-2-12.

A Consultation of the 16th December 1755 records: Mr. William Andrew Price, paymaster to the additional fortifications and buildings, lays before the Board an account amounting to Rs. 740-2-50 of the valuation of certain houses, being part of what must be pulled down to make the ravelin before the Bazar Gate, and to clear the ground about Dongri Fort. This account being judged equitable he is ordered to discharge it.¹

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

Compensation,
1755

In their letter of 31st January 1756, paragraph 121, Government write to the Court: A house belonging to the Honourable Company situated near the horse stables, being in so ruinous a condition that it would have cost Rs. 1000 to repair it, and then only accommodate one of your servants. we judged it more your Honours' interest to dispose of it together with the compound. They were accordingly sold the 20th May for Rs. 2705, which sum appears a gain on the general books as it was never brought on.²

Company's House
Sold,
1756.

In the same letter of 31st January 1756, paragraph 125, Government add: Mr. Samuel Hough found the marine house in a much worse condition than could be expected, rendering it necessary almost to rebuild it. An account of the charges incurred he presented in Consultation the 15th July amounting to Rs. 7117-3-17. Being persuaded he had carried on the repairs with the utmost frugality by daily overlooking the workmen and expense of materials, we ordered him to be reimbursed out of the treasury which we hope your Honours will deem reasonable.³

Marine House,
1756.

At the close of the same year, 15th December 1756, in paragraph 114, Government write to the Court: The superintendent representing that the marine suffered great inconvenience by being much streightened for room in the warehouses where the general stores were kept for the use of their cruizers and that the warehouses likewise wanted new roofing, we ordered the land paymaster to repair and enlarge them in such manner as the service required under the superintendent's inspection.⁴

More Room for
Marine Stores,
1756.

As regards the increase of houses within the town on the 31st March 1756 the Court write: It is with satisfaction we observe your scheme for accommodating many of the creditable inhabitants in the town, who, much against their inclinations, were obliged to live without it. We shall add that whatever regulations are made for the encouragement of the people in general and of the richer sort in particular, will always meet with our approbation when they are calculated for the mutual interest of the Company and the people residing under their protection.⁵

More Houses
within the Town,
1756.

A Consultation of the 10th August 1756 records: Part of the dam Captain Jacques de Funck has made to confine the water in the town

Water Supply,
1756.

¹ Pub Diary 28 of 1755, 479.

² Pub. Diary 28 of 1755, 217. Pub. Dep. L. to the Court Vol 4 of 1756-57, 44-45.

³ Pub Diary 28 of 1755, 276. Pub. Dep L to the Court Vol. 4 of 1756-57, 45.

⁴ Pub Dep Letters to the Court Vol 4 of 1756-57, 163.

⁵ Court to Bombay 31st March 1756 para 90, Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 1 of 1752-1756, 309-310.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Water Supply,
1756

ditch from rising towards the ravelin next the Bazzar Gate has given way. Should the whole dam give way no water will remain in the ditch and in consequence the town wells will become dry. To avoid such a calamity, as the whole dam appears weak, the President proposes that Captain De Funck be ordered to make another dam twenty or thirty feet from the present one. In this the Board concur.¹

Compensation,
1757.

In 1753 with a view to clear a still larger area round the town wall more coconut trees had to be cut down. To obtain compensation for these trees, on the 18th March 1757, the Bombay fazandars made the following petition to Government. 'That in the month of October last your Honours were pleased to order to cut down a number of coconut trees belonging to your petitioners round the town wall which having been the only means and remedy for your petitioners and their families to subsist upon, your petitioners suffered much thereby. In this great necessity your petitioners make this application to your Honours hoping your Honours will out of your wanted compassion be pleased to take the case into your consideration so that your petitioners may have due reparation made them for their trees. The Honorable Company have on several occasions cut down coconut trees of the fazandars' orits. For these they always gave just and full satisfaction, tree for tree, otherwise your Honours' petitioners must have been broken and ruined.'²

Referring to the above petition a Consultation of the 18th March 1757 records: Read a petition from the Bombay fazandars praying a consideration for their coconut trees being cut down within the distance of 400 yards round the town wall pursuant to an order of the select committee under the 13th October last for making a proper clearance on the esplanade for the guns. These trees having been valued by the veredores previous to their being cut down we observe amount to Rs. 31,353½ according to their estimate now before us. As the veredores have not inserted at what rate they value each sort of tree, the Collector is ordered to deliver in an exact and particular account of their worth that the fazandars may have suitable satisfaction made them.³

Agreeably to the above order on the 22nd March 1757 the Collector reports. In consequence of your Honour's directions to me in the Secretary's letter of the 18th I called upon the veredores to explain to me the method they had made use of in valuing the trees cut down in October last by your Honour's directions. I find they have estimated them in a manner quite different from that practised in regard to those cut down in the time of Governor Law as your Honour will observe on reference to the account I now enclose. In this I have thought proper to insert an additional column expressing value according to the usual method of valuing cocoa palms. There

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 10th Aug 1756, Pub Diary 29 of 1756, 297-298

² Pub Diary 30 of 1757, 86

³ Bom Gov. Consultation 18th March 1757, Pub Diary 30 of 1757, 82

is also an abstract annexed at the foot of the said account showing the amount according to the usual method of valuation.¹

Palm Trees in Private Oarts, 1757.

No	Cocoanut Trees	Rate.	Amount.
		Rs.	Rs.
1327	First Sort .	4	5709
360	Second Sort .	3½	1260
130	Third Sort .	3	1200
17	Old Trees .	1	17
27	Trees, Bearing Fruit .	2½	67½
1	Do Second Sort .	2	2
	Trees to bear Fruit .		
50	First Sort .	2	112
10	Second Sort .	1½	15
1140	Spaces .	½	28½
90	Bitchnut Trees .		8½
1	Brab Tree .		1
..	Total .	..	8443½

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Compensation,
1757.

On receipt of the above details on the 22nd March 1757 the Board observe: Read a letter from the Collector advising that the cocoanut trees which were cut down in October near the town wall, according to the rate at which trees have been always valued and paid for by the Honourable Company, amount only to Rs. 8443½ instead of Rs. 31,3½ as valued by the vereadores. Directed therefore that the vereadores be required to attend at our next meeting to assign their reasons for having made such an exorbitant valuation.²

On the 29th March 1757 the vereadores attended as required when the Board pass the following order: The vereadores attending agreeable to order allege that their reason for valuing the cocoanut trees cut down round the town wall in the manner they have, is because the value of trees has of late years so greatly increased. They are nevertheless reprimanded for not having inserted a column in their report to apprise us of the advance they put on the trees. At the same time as the proprietors are willing to accept trees from the Honourable Company in lieu of those cut down, it is resolved that the Collector be ordered to assign them trees agreeable to the method observed in the time of President Law, and to make a report thereof that we may determine on making good any deficiency which cannot be paid in trees.³

A Consultation of the 10th May 1757 has the following entry: The President observes that under the 6th July 1739 the Council passed a resolution that from that time no houses should be made or rebuilt nor any trees planted within 400 yards of the town wall. This resolution is now accordingly read. But as the publication therein mentioned is not to be found in the office it may be doubted whether the inhabitants were apprised of the above resolution. Messrs. Crommelin, Sedgwick, and Hornby are therefore appointed a committee for making the necessary inquiry whether such publication was actually made and if anything contradictory thereto appears in the Consul-

¹ Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 96-97.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 22nd Mar. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 95

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 29th Mar. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 101.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Compensation,
1757

tations. We imagine many of the cocoanut trees cut down round the town wall in October last may have been planted contrary to the above resolution. Notwithstanding the permission noticed in the Consultation of the 29th March last the Collector is therefore directed not to give the proprietors any equivalent nor put any person who owned any of the trees cut down in October in possession of trees belonging to the Honourable Company without first making a report to us in what manner he proposes doing it¹

Agreeably to the above order on the 11th June 1757 the Collector reports: In obedience to your commands of the 10th ultimo I now lay before the Board two accounts of cocoanut trees belonging to the Honourable Company proposed to be delivered the proprietors in lieu of those cut down by your orders in October last. The first marked No. 1, chiefly situate at Máhim, are in a very bad condition indeed through the neglect of the farmers. Now, in fact, are they anything like equivalent in value to those cut down belonging to the proprietors, although, from the manner of the valuation, they appear to be so. The second, marked No. 2, are chiefly situate at Bombay and are in all respects pretty equal to those cut down. As the proprietors and their families are chiefly inhabitants of Bombay, they have requested me to represent to your Honours on their behalf that it would be extremely inconvenient to have trees given them at Máhim exclusive of the consideration that they should be great sufferers by receiving trees there as those proposed to be delivered are much inferior in worth to those cut down²

The following is an abstract of the Máhim palms proposed to be delivered in exchange for trees cut down round the town wall in October 1756³.

Palm Trees at Máhim, 1756.

Variety.	Sort.	No	Rate.	Total
Cocoanut Trees .	First .	508	Rs. 4	Rs. 2032
Do .	Second	515	3½	1802½
Do .	Third	1150	3	3450
Do.	Old	212	1	212
Do	New bearing.	150	2½	375
Do	To bear	214	2	428
Posora .	First	63	1½	94½
Do.	Second	54	1	54
Do .	Transplanted.	52	¾	41
Vacant Spaces		407	.	101¾
Belchat Trees		11		5½
Drab Trees		23		46
Total .				5717½

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 10th May 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 147-148

² Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 225-226

³ Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 231-232

According to the following account the result of these allotments showed a balance of Rs. 1514 still due to the owners of trees :¹

<i>THE HONOURABLE COMPANY</i>				Dr.
To Oarts cut down	...	...	...	Rs. 5821½
To Balance	...	...	...	507½
				9328½
To Net Balance due	...	...	...	1514
<i>THE HONOURABLE COMPANY</i>				Cr.
By Oarts delivered	...	...	...	Rs. 8717½
By Mánekji's Oart	...	...	...	611½
				9328½
By Balance	...	...	507½	
By Advance on ditto at cent per cent			507½	
				1014½
By 33 Well Wheels	...	...	...	499½
				1514

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Compensation,
1757.

Thereupon, on the 17th June 1757, the Board, taking into consideration the Collector's above letter respecting their making an equivalent to the proprietors of the cocoanut trees cut down round the town wall in October last, resolved that the Collector be directed to put the people in possession of some of the Honourable Company's oarts at Máhim agreeable to the account he then enclosed. They add: Notwithstanding the inconvenience the Collector represents we think the proprietors will thus be sufficiently recompensed especially as it was as highly necessary for their security and that of the inhabitants in general as for our Honourable Masters' estate and property that there should be a proper clearance round the town wall in case of the place being attacked.²

Three weeks later a Consultation of the 5th July 1757 further records: Read a petition from the proprietors of the cocoanut trees cut down round the town wall in October last, representing that they shall be great sufferers by receiving the Honourable Company's trees at Máhim in lieu thereof and praying to be considered on that account. Resolved: As we are unanimously of opinion that they will be sufficiently recompensed their petition is rejected.³

Six weeks later, the 23rd August 1757, the Collector reports: Some of the proprietors of the cocoanut trees cut down by your Honour's order in October last and who in consequence of your orders have been acquainted with and tendered such as I with your approbation lately assigned them in lieu, having requested me to represent to your Honour that they should instead thereof rather choose a space of the ground round the town wall to cultivate for batty, I request your Honour's orders thereon, as

¹ Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 232

² Bom Gov Consultation 17th June 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 229.

³ Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 251.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings
Compensation,
1757.

also to know if I may let out what may remain on the usual terms to such as have applied for it¹

Thereupon on the 23rd August 1757 the Board direct. We entirely reject the request of the proprietors of the cocoanut trees cut down in October last to have any of the ground round the town wall assigned them to cultivate batty as equivalent for their trees instead of those we have given them belonging to the Honourable Company at Máhm as we do not know how far it may be deemed necessary to extend the fortifications²

House Valuation,
1757.

In the matter of the valuation of certain houses the clerk of the works reports on the 23rd May 1757 I received a letter from Mr. William Andrew Price paymaster to the new fortifications, dated 30th November 1755, desiring me to attend at the valuation of four houses belonging to Lakshumanset, Sivaji Dharamset, Váman, and Báluset, and two mosques that Captain De Funck thought necessary to have pulled down I afterwards received another letter from Mr. Thomas Byfeld paymaster to the new fortifications, of the 24th March 1756, desiring a calculate of charges not only for removing the materials of several houses between the Bazái Gate and the different flags placed by Captain De Funck from above Dongri round to Back Bay, but an estimate also of the expense that would be occasioned by rebuilding such houses with the same materials in some other places more remote. Both these orders were complied with without loss of time The latter likewise directed that all the cocoanut trees pointed out by Mr. Warner should be included in the calculate at their full value as the proprietors were to have an equivalent given them out of the Honourable Company's oarts This estimate was never made, as an order from the select committee of the 13th of October 1756 rendered that in a great measure unnecessary I was also further desired in the course of this survey to have due regard to such houses as were either repaired or rebuilt within 400 yards of the town wall since the time such repairs were positively forbid by a publication issued in Governor Law's time and remarks are accordingly made where anything was found that could with certainty appear to be a breach of that order On this occasion I cannot omit to mention 260 houses built round the town wall within 400 yards by leave only from the ground farmers. Within the hue of valuation marked out by Captain De Funck were 984 houses, 660 of which were upon the Honourable Company's ground, including 176 lately burnt down, 321 are in oarts belonging to fazandars, and 260 stand upon the ground that was farmed out. A survey of those last mentioned accompanies this and the fazandars have always possessed a power of giving liberty to build upon their own ground. All such persons as were desirous of building upon the Company's ground have constantly made application to the Collector for his note of leave. This note is directed to the clerk of the works who

¹ Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 325.

² Bom Gov. Consultation 23rd Aug. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 322

always gives a discharge in writing for his fee signed by himself and specifying the length and breadth in feet and the contents in square yards. Whoever fails to produce this note, is always supposed to have built or repaired without leave. This note was all along demanded but as no more than five or six appeared, your Honour will receive with this a list of 484 houses valued at Rs. 57,952 whose owners should be asked to explain under what authority they were built. Permit me to present with this an account of wages due to the bricklayers carpenters and others who assisted at the valuations but were not in the Honourable Company's service.¹

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

House Valuation,
1757.

On receipt of the above report on the 17th June 1757 the Board record the following order: Read the above letter from the clerk of the works concerning his survey of houses and buildings without the town wall. He mentions that 260 houses have been built by leave only from the ground farmers and in contempt of the publication issued by President Law and his Council in July 1739 positively forbidding that any houses should be built or re-made after that time within the distance of 400 yards of the town wall, as also that only five or six notes from the Collector were shewn him by the owners of 484 other houses. In spite of this in order as much as possible to prevent the inhabitants having any cause for complaint, it is agreed that a publication be issued by beat of drum requiring all persons possessed of houses round the town wall to deliver whatever powers or authorities they may have obtained for building the same to the Collector by this day month. Otherwise that we shall take it for granted that such people as do not shew obedience thereto have built all their houses without any authority, and shall proceed accordingly.²

Regarding the result of this publication on the 4th November 1757 the Collector reports: In consequence of the publication issued by your Honour's direction on the 17th June last, the proprietors of such houses as are therein mentioned have attended the Collector's office and in obedience to your commands of the same date I now enclose a report of such as have as well as such as have not produced building vouchers. The latter in general declare they were once possessed of proper authorities and as proof thereof referred me to the Honourable Company's rent rolls which I thought proper to retrospect as far as 1738 in order that your Honour might be informed with greater certainty whether any and which of the said houses might have been built or re-built within 400 yards since the publication in 1739. No ground belonging to the Honourable Company on which houses are built can appear in the rent roll, but such as had originally proper permits for building on. For though it was formerly usual for the paymaster, the clerk of the works, and others to give permits, yet those permits were always

¹ Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 232-233

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 17th June 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 229-230.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
House Valuation,
1757.

produced at the Collector's office and the measure of the ground inserted in the rent rolls in order for the annual collection of the rent. From whence your Honour will please to observe that those which are said in the report to have appeared on the rent roll in 1738 must have been standing before the date of the aforementioned publication and had originally proper authority for building them. The proprietors of the 260 houses built round the town wall within 400 yards, declare that they had no other authority for the building them than the consent of the farmer of the ground round the town wall who by the tenor of his lease had no authority to grant permission without the Collector's order.¹

On receipt of the Collector's report, the 11th November 1757, the Board direct Read the above letter from the Collector in consequence of our publication and orders of the 17th June last, regarding the houses built round the town wall and enclosing a report of such proprietors as have and have not produced authorities for building houses and representing that 260 houses have been built by permission only from the ground farmer. Resolved therefore that the Collector be ordered to pull those 260 houses down without allowing the owners any compensation as they have built them without the consent of the Collector for the time being. Also to require the proprietors of the remaining 484 houses situate without the Bazar Gate to deliver him an account of the cost of building or repairing them with the dates when the same may have been done for our inspection that by that means we may know to a certainty whether any or how many of those houses have been built or repaired in contempt of the publication issued in 1739.²

Sanitation,
1757.

Regarding the cleansing of the town the Bombay Diary of 22nd November 1757 has the following entry: As the town has become very dirty in great measure owing to the little regard the inhabitants pay to the scavenger on account of his being always a junior servant, the Board agreed that a member of the Board be appointed to that office; and that all houses within the town be proportionably taxed for maintaining a sufficient number of labourers, carts, and buffaloes for keeping the town clean.³

Houses without
the Wall,
1757.

Before allowing people to build or re-build without the town wall it was necessary to determine what space should be left unoccupied by houses. To this end it was necessary to fix the plan of fortifying the town on the land side. In connection with this subject a Consultation of the 10th May 1757 records. As it will necessarily be a considerable time before any material resolution for fortifying Bombay town on the land side can be carried into execution, it is directed that the Secretary require the chief engineer as soon as he can to deliver in the plan he has proposed for that purpose.⁴

¹ Pub Diary 30 of 1757, 417.

² Bom Gov Consultation 11th Nov. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 416.

³ Pub Diary 30 of 1757, 423. Forrest's Home Series, II. 93.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 10th May 1757, Pub Diary 30 of 1757, 118.

Three months later Government was asked to sanction the pulling down of certain houses next the Bazár Gate. On the 9th August 1757 the Board direct: The Major representing that certain large stone and chunam houses next the Bazár Gate must be pulled down, the new fortification paymaster is directed to set about the work immediately and to advance the owners one-fourth part of their value as calculated by the clerk of the works on a late survey thereof on account of the expense they must incur in removing the materials to build their houses elsewhere.¹

In connection with the demolition of these houses, on the 23rd August 1757, the Collector writes to Government. Several of the proprietors of the houses now pulling down by your Honour's orders just without the Bazár Gate having lately applied to me for ground to rebuild, I request to know the exact distance you are or may be resolved to reserve without the walls, clear of houses, in order that I may give the necessary directions to prevent new buildings being erected within that space in future, and likewise be enabled to determine as soon as possible what ground is proper to give such persons as have lately applied.²

On receipt of this letter the Board order the Secretary to repeat the Board's order of the 10th May last to the chief engineer for his laying before them as soon as possible the plan he has proposed for fortifying the town on the land side. Till then, they add, it is impossible for us to determine what distance it may be necessary to preserve round the town wall clear of houses.³

The cutting down of trees within the town wall and the giving of trees in exchange to their proprietors outside the wall, afforded an opportunity to have substantial buildings raised within the fort. A Consultation, the 16th August 1757, records: As the chief engineer is in want of more cocoanut trees for making embrasures and finishing the battery under the Tank bastion, and as under the 6th of August 1754 Manoel Baretto and Limji have petitioned us to exchange their oarts within the town wall for such of the same value as belong to our Honourable Masters without the wall, we shall be able to accommodate many substantial people with houses on ground at present occupied by the poorer sort of inhabitants. Further as in paragraph 90 of their letter of 31st March 1756, the Court of Directors have been pleased to approve this scheme, it is ordered that the Collector give directions that the trees in the oarts (which have already been valued as entered under the the 21st of January 1755) be cut down for this service and assign the proprietors such trees belonging to the Honourable Company without the town walls as he may judge to be of the same value, reporting thereof to the Board.⁴

Regarding the aforesaid exchange of trees, on the 28th February 1758, the Board resolve that the Collector report the value of the

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Houses next the
Bazár Gate,
1757.

Houses within
the Wall,
1757.

1758.

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 9th Aug. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 302.

² Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 325.

³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 23rd Aug. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 321-322.

⁴ Bom. Gov. Consultation 16th Aug. 1757, Pub. Diary 30 of 1757, 316.

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

Houses within
the Wall,
1758.

Honourable Company's oarts, proposed to be given in exchange for those of Manoel Baretto and Limji situated between the Church and Apollo Gates, as also the expense incurred by cutting down those trees and pulling down the houses. The Board observe that if any houses remain in that neighbourhood, they are forthwith to be cleared away and the ground surveyed and measured by the clerk of the works that we may be enabled to calculate how much a yard ought to be charged to persons desirous of building thereon¹

On the 3rd March 1758 the Collector reports. In obedience to your commands I now enclose an account of such trees belonging to the Honourable Company as with your approbation are proposed to be delivered to Limji and Manoel Baretto in lieu of theirs which I was directed to cut down between the Church and Apollo Gates Four or five of the trees are still standing because they cannot be cut down without much damage until several of the houses about them are removed. The following statement gives the details of the exchange and of the expense incurred.

Dr	(1) Limji in account with the Honourable Company	Cr.	
To his Oart Sonapur . .	Rs 602½	By his Oart Daul em down . .	Rs 156½
To Balance . .	85½	By his Oart Tejraudi . .	210
To Advance on ditto at 100 per cent . .	68½	By Daulkaudi do . .	197½
To Two Well-wheels . .	28½	By Balance . .	68½
	165½	By Net Balance due . .	602½
			165½

Dr	(2) Manoel Baretto in account with the Honourable Company	Cr	
	Rs	Rs	
To his Oart Tankori	617½	By his Oarts	1339½
To ditto Chaunaudi	845½	By Balance	129
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	1483½		1468½
To Balance	129		
To Advance at 100 per cent.	129	By Net Balance due to the Honourable Company	354
To Six Well-wheels	96		
	<hr/>		
	354		

In the same letter, 3rd March 1758, the Collector continues. Of the two hundred and sixty houses within three hundred yards of the town wall ordered to be pulled down, only six or seven are now standing. These are again ordered to be removed immediately. In the demolition of these houses no expense has or will be incurred to the Honourable Company, otherwise the account thereof would now be enclosed as you direct²

On receipt of the above information from the Collector, a Consultation of the 3rd March 1758 records. Resolved to approve of the oarts the Collector has assigned belonging to the Honourable Company being given

¹ Bom. Gov. Consultation 28th Feb 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 162
² Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 172-173.

in exchange for those of Limji and Manool Baretto, situated between the Church and Apollo Gates, whose account currents are given above. The Collector must be required to pull down all the houses built on those lands that the streets may be lined out by the clerk of the works and the new buildings be carried on in such a regular manner as not to interfere with the defence of the fortifications, conformable to a plan which has been approved by the President and principal engineer.

The same Consultation, 3rd March 1758, continues. As we must conclude from the proprietors of the 48½ houses situated without the Bazar Gate refusing to give any account of their building, that they have had no authority for so doing, but on the contrary have built or repaired these houses in contempt of the publication issued in July 1739, the Collector must be required to give directions for their being pulled down without loss of time.¹

At the same Consultation, the 3rd March 1758, the Board further direct: Mr. Mace having likewise urged the necessity of clearing away the houses without one hundred yards of the line to be carried on from Dongri to Back Bay, it is ordered that the new fortification paymaster and clerk of the works survey, value, and report the expense which will attend their removal. But that such houses as Mr. Mace wants to be immediately cleared away be valued and pulled down without waiting for the report being delivered to the Board.²

A Consultation of the 1st May 1759 records: Read a letter from the Collector enclosing the vecadores' estimate of the cocoanut trees cut down in March 1758, amounting to Rs. 2208½, to carry on the intended wall from Dongri to Back Bay; proposing also to let out such of the Honourable Company's oarts as were not rented on the 10th ultimo. Ordered that the Collector assign the proprietors of the above mentioned trees an equivalent out of the said oarts for those cut down in March 1758, after which we shall determine on leasing out the remainder of those oarts.³

A Consultation of the 29th May 1759 records: Read a letter from the Collector enclosing an account valuation of the Honourable Company's trees at Milhim which he proposes delivering the proprietors of those cut down in March 1758 with the proprietors' accounts current and an account of the produce of Puckravol, respecting which the following orders are given: That such of the Milhim oarts as he proposes be delivered to the proprietors of those cut down in March 1758 to carry on the intended line from Dongri to Back Bay, but that the Collector take proper care of the remainder of the oarts which were not let out the 10th ultimo, as we imagine there may be occasion to exchange some more of them on that account. We approve of his delivering to Gambsiji Putlaji the remainder of the oart Runsat on his paying Rs. 1726½ for it, agreeable to the vecadores' valuation. We also approve of Mr. Richard Nowland either paying or receiving the

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings

Houses within
the Wall,
1758

Cocoa Palm
Compensation,
1759.

¹ Bom Gov. Consultation 3rd March 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 168 - 169

² Bom Gov. Consultation 3rd March 1758, Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 168,

³ Pub. Diary 32 of 1759, 301 - 302

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Cocunut
Compensation,
1750.

Clearance outside
of Apollo Gate,
1759.

difference between the spots of ground belonging to the Mázgaon estate situated in Puckravol and those belonging to Puckravol situated in the Mázgaon estate (according to the veradores' report) to avoid the disputes which would in all probability arise on their being possessed by different persons. And, for the reason given by the Collector, we likewise agree to his cultivating and paying the pension of the several spots of salt batty ground belonging to our Honourable Masters bordering on Puckravol and the Mázgaon estate.¹

Letter from the principal engineer Major James Mace to the President and Council, 22nd July 1759. It is humbly represented to your Honour that there is an absolute necessity for pulling down or otherwise destroying the village without the Apollo Gate together with the cocunut trees and houses adjacent, also the walls and other buildings in and about the burying ground. The reasons are that those places jointly or separately are capable of concealing and covering a great number of troops should an enemy land on or near Old Woman's island.² They will be found proper places for them to occupy and commence their approaches. From them also an enemy can greatly annoy the garrison, and in one night be able to make the position so tenable that our whole strength could hardly force them to abandon it. Even should we succeed, it might cost us very dear, while were we to suffer them to hold the position unmolested, it must oblige us to keep on duty more troops than our number can admit of. That all straw or hay in quantities near the fortifications or powder-house be immediately removed to a proper distance from the same. That all houses and buildings within the town that are nearer than 65 feet from the inside of the parapet as lately thickened by Major Mace be taken down and removed. That no buildings be suffered to stand within 400 yards of the town walls. That all sails and other combustible stuff said to be in the long store rooms in the dockyard be removed to some place distant from thence, and that there be at least 100 casks or tanks full of water deposited in different parts of the said yard together with engines to extinguish any fire that may happen in that part.³

On this letter being read at a Consultation on the 24th July 1759, the Secretary is directed to remark to Major Mace that it has very lately been represented by himself and other principal officers that our putting the works next the harbour in the best condition was deemed

¹ Pub. Diary 32 of 1759, 353-354

² Adjoining to Bombay (at low water) is (1777) a small island called Old Woman's island which partly forms the north side or entrance of the harbour. It is about two miles and a half long near the extreme point of which, next the sea, is a very lofty light house, the light of which is so bright and well watched that it may be discerned at five leagues distance. On this island are two large barracks for the military. Some times a camp is formed here. It has good grass, not many trees and a few houses but neither town nor village. It lies so very open to the sea all round as to be deemed a very healthy place, whither people after recovering from illness frequently move for a change of air. There are bitter fish and a larger quantity caught about this island than in the parts adjacent, especially sea tortoise. In the farther or inner part of the harbour are two small islands, both inhabited. The first is called Kianja which is famed for its oysters. The other or inner one is named Elephant. Parson's Travels in Asia and America (1808), 217.

³ Pub. Diary 33 of 1759, 449-450.

by him the most essential for the defence of the island and that we desire to know whether he has or can procure a sufficient number of workmen for immediately performing both services. If otherwise, which of the two in his opinion ought to be done first.¹

In reply, on the 27th July 1759, Major Mace writes: Concerning my letter representing the necessity of destroying the buildings without the Apollo Gate, your Honour has been pleased to direct that it should be remarked to me that it had very lately been represented by myself and other principal officers that putting the works next the harbour in the best condition was deemed by me the most essential for the defence of the island. To this I humbly answer that my joining in opinion that the works next the harbour were essential to the preservation of the place cannot, I humbly presume, be construed to mean that no attention was to be paid to the others. It can hardly be imagined I should mean that the putting that side only in good posture of defence would be sufficient to protect the island from the insults of an enemy. At the time abovementioned by your Honour I had the honour to represent my uneasiness at the lowness of the curtain between the Flag and Cavalier Bastions, likewise the two faces of the Cavalier Bastion and also the little height of the low flanks at the Royal Bastion which might be jumped into from a boat. All which I proposed to heighten, and this your Honour was pleased to approve and direct me to do. That very day I commenced, and I may venture to say they have been carried on with surprising despatch, notwithstanding the difficulty I have laboured under both for the want of labourers and of chunam.

Your Honours are pleased to desire me to know whether I have or can procure a sufficient number of workmen for performing both services immediately, and if not, which of the two in my opinion ought to be done first. As to my having a sufficient number of workmen, I humbly apprehend that it is known I have very many times expressed my uneasiness at the want of men when I have been obliged to lend them to other branches of business, and I have not had enough for that under my charge. As to my procuring more I should soon do it, was it in my power; nor have I been neglectful in endeavouring to procure men. As to which of the two works ought in my opinion to be first begun the question indeed is very nice. To answer as fully as I can and in the way I apprehend your Honour intends me, I think the Apollo Gate buildings might be destroyed without much hindrance to the works carrying on and ought to be destroyed as soon as possible. Since many things now have to be done which undoubtedly require the utmost despatch, I hope your Honour will be pleased to take it into consideration that I may by some means or other be furnished with more workmen, labourers and women to carry earth and sand. I hope likewise your Honour will be pleased to consider that to erect the false sea-marks and disguise the others (which I am setting about), will further diam the fortifications of working people especially as the sea-marks are at such a distance. In regard to those on Old Woman's

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Clearance outside
of Apollo Gate,
1759.

¹ Pub. Diary 33 of 1759, 147.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Clearance outside
of Apollo Gate,
1759

island, if I may presume to advise, I should be for destroying one of the tombs (instead of disguising it) and erecting a false one in another place.¹

At a Consultation held regarding this letter on the 31st July 1759, the principal engineer being present is ordered conformable to his recommendation to destroy one of the tombs on Old Woman's island and to erect a false tomb in another place. The determining with respect to pulling down the houses buildings and trees without the Apollo Gate and contiguous to the ramparts is deferred till our next meeting.²

At the next Consultation, the 7th August 1759, the following decision is recorded. Taking into consideration the letters from Major Mace, principal engineer, referred to in the Consultations of the 24th and 31st ultimo, in the former of which, with the advice of the two of His Majesty's captains of artillery, he in the strongest terms represents the absolute necessity for our pulling and cutting down the houses and trees without the Apollo Gate, as likewise the buildings at the burial ground and all others within 100 yards of the town wall and nearer than 65 feet from the inside of the parapet, and in his last letter expressly says that he thinks those buildings and trees might be removed without much hindrance to the rest of the works now carrying on and ought to be removed as soon as possible. Reflecting likewise on the reasons contained in the former letter in support of his opinion and that he must undoubtedly be the best judge of the necessity for taking these measures and that our Honourable Masters have directed us to carry any such representations from him into immediate execution; it is resolved, notwithstanding the expense which will attend the removal of the said buildings and cutting down the trees and the hardship of depriving so many people of their habitations at this disagreeable season of the year, that the principal engineer be ordered to acquaint the new fortification paymaster with all such buildings and trees as he judges absolutely necessary to be pulled down or cut down for the security of this place in order for the principal engineer's carrying the same into execution as soon as possible after the new fortification paymaster is able to make a valuation of them.³

At a Consultation on the 4th September 1759 was read the humble petition of all the Parvoes who lived without the Apollo Gate: That your Honour's poor petitioners humbly beg leave to submit to your consideration that they have, agreeable to the Government order, pulled down their houses and now cannot help troubling your Honour for your favour that your Honour will please to order the valuation to be paid your petitioners as their families are in sheds under great fear of robbery (one of them having been already robbed) and ill health, both which may readily happen on account of the present weather and the situation they

¹ Pub. Diary 33 of 1759, 457-458

² Pub. Diary 33 of 1759, 453.

³ Pub. Diary 33 of 1759, 461-465.

are in. They humbly think it appears evident that the valuation made for removing their houses cannot be sufficient to have such houses as they before had; because the carts, *bigáris*, and artificers having much work, will undoubtedly demand and receive and have already received a great deal more money than what your petitioners are allowed as per account herewith annexed. If by your favour they get the valuation soon, they will rebuild their houses as soon as possible. Otherwise, they must daily lose a great part of their materials much to their prejudice; all which your petitioners humbly submit to your Honour's consideration.¹

At the same Consultation was also read a petition from Bála Krishna Purvoo, praying that the Board would advance him Rs. 2000 free of interest on account of the rent of his house within the town wall, occupied by the King's officers and offering to enter into a bond for the balance if not cleared by that means. On these petitions it is ordered that the provisional new fortification paymaster lay before us the valuation of the Purvoo's houses in order for our coming to a determination with respect thereto. Bála's petition is rejected as he is known to be in very indifferent circumstances.²

At a Consultation on the 11th September 1759 the provisional new fortification paymaster presented a valuation of the charge of Rs. 14,540-2-6 $\frac{1}{2}$ incurred by lately pulling down 135 houses of sorts without the Apollo Gate and removing the materials for rebuilding them at a proper distance from the town wall. Also an account of the cocoanut trees belonging to the onts Dabory, Agondam, and Bonian which were situated in the same place amounting to Rs. 1713 $\frac{1}{2}$. These valuations being deemed reasonable the paymaster is ordered to issue the amounts to the several proprietors of the said houses and trees.³

At a Consultation of the 30th October 1759, read a petition from the Purvoos who were lately obliged to remove from their houses without the Apollo Gate, praying that they may be allowed to continue covering their present temporary habitations with *cajans*, which is agreed to.⁴

Regarding the power of granting permits to build new houses a Consultation, the 8th August 1758, records. The power of granting permits for ground to build on without the town walls having been disputed between the engineer and Collector, it is resolved that no ground be granted to any person for that use, without getting a petition for the same, signed by the President for the time being, and that those gentlemen be ordered to pay a due regard thereto.⁵

In the next month, September 1758, Government received a petition for compensation for a mosque pulled down and for ground

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Clearance outside
of Apollo Gate,
1759.

Clearance outside
of Bazar Gate,
1758.

¹ Pub. Diary 33 of 1759, 529-530.

² Pub. Diary 33 of 1759, 526.

³ Pub. Diary 33 of 1759, 533.

⁴ Pub. Diary 33 of 1759, 619.

⁵ Pub. Diary 31 of 1753, 395.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Clearance outside
of Bazar Gate,
1758.

to be used for a tank. A Consultation, the 28th September 1758, records. Read a petition from the Moor inhabitants praying payment of the valuation of their mosque lately pulled down without the Bazar Gate, likewise that an additional piece of ground may be given for a tank where the new mosque is to be built. The new fortification paymaster reporting that he some time since offered them as well as other people whose buildings were taken down a quarter part of the valuation conformable to our orders, agreed that the offer be repeated, but no more at present allowed them. We do not see any occasion for acquiescing in their request for an additional piece of ground, as the former mosque had no tank before it; and that many of their mosques are built without any tank in front.¹

1760.

In the beginning of 1760, another petition was received when Government observe on the 8th January 1760: Read a petition from the Moor inhabitants of this place, praying that the full valuation of their mosques which have been pulled down near the Bazar Gate may be paid them, that they may build them in a proper place, the determining on which is deferred.²

Warehouses,
1760.

As the warehouses near the bandar were appropriated for the use of the Company's servants, room had to be provided for the Company's goods. In their letter of 27th February 1760 para 165, Government write to the Court. The range of warehouses in the bandar next the sea being altered to make apartments for the covenanted servants and warehouses proper for keeping woollen goods being wanted, we ordered the warehouse-keeper to hire them on the lowest terms procurable. He reported on the 27th November that two large warehouses might be purchased for Rs 4000 to lodge grain adjoining to your own near the old Mándvi bastion. Thinking that they may sell for near as much should we not have occasion to keep them and that purchasing them would prove far more frugal than renting any at the high rent they now let for, we resolved on buying them. Mr. Byfield also represented that they might serve as lodgments for troops on an emergency. We therefore ordered the Principal Engineer to prepare them in such manner as might best answer that end.³

Building for
Packing screws,
1760.

In the same letter, paragraph 164, Government write. It being necessary to remove the packing screws out of the warehouse in the Bandar to lodge some arrack tanks therein and to replace the screw without the bandar gate, a building is now carrying on for that purpose.⁴

¹ Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 432-433

² Pub. Diary 34 of 1760, 19.

³ Pub. Diary 33 of 1759, 702, Public Dep. Letters to the Court Vol 7 of 1760, 63-64. The warehouses converted into Civilian's quarters are the present Custom House buildings. After the conversion they seem to have been named the New House. On 20th June 1760 (Pub. Diary 34 of 1760, 168) Govind Shivrampant an officer of Nana that is Peshwa Bálájí Bájirao (1740-1761) had a meeting with the President and Council at the Company's New House.

⁴ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol 7 of 1760, 63.

A month later they further intimate, 4th April 1760, para. 33: Finding that the building intended for removing the packing screws to, might be converted into two very good and commodious warehouses at an easy charge and thereby save your Honours a considerable sum monthly paid for warehouse rent, we have given directions for that purpose and that another place may be pitched on for fixing the screws at a cheap rate.¹

Chapter IV:
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Letter from the principal engineer Major Mace to the President, 11th April 1760: On my arrival here I found a number of houses had been levelled and trees cut down before the north end of the town at about 400 yards from the town walls to secure a free opening round them and to prevent an enemy's turning those houses and walls to the disadvantage of this place, should it ever be attacked. There yet remain many houses within that same space and some to the very crest of the glacis now forming. Some of those houses, as I am informed, were not valued when the others were, though several are pulled down which stood farther off. The bad consequences that must arise from the vicinity of those houses, should this place be insulted by an enemy, are in my humble opinion such as make it absolutely necessary that no time ought to be lost in having them all levelled to the ground. As the owners or inhabitants of them either plead their not being yet valued or the want of ground whereon to remove, your Honour will, I hope, be pleased to take this matter into consideration and honour me with your commands that I may be enabled speedily to remove so dangerous an evil.²

Houses to be
Pulled Down,
1760.

At a Consultation on the 11th April 1760 the above letter is read and the new fortification paymaster is ordered immediately to make an estimate of the expense which will be incurred by pulling down the houses. At the same time Messrs Hornby and Holford are appointed a committee jointly with the principal engineer for pitching on a proper place whereon to rebuild the said houses and buildings.³

At a Consultation on the 15th May 1760, on Messrs. Hornby and Holford delivering a valuation of the charge which will be incurred by pulling down several houses without the town wall and rebuilding them at a proper distance conformable to the order of the 11th ultimo, the new fortification paymaster is ordered to discharge the amount being Rs. 2556-3-68.⁴

At a Consultation on the 5th August 1760, read a petition signed by twenty of the inhabitants whose houses are ordered to be pulled down, setting forth that they are willing to comply therewith but cannot procure ground to rebuild them in a proper place, and praying that the fazandars may be obliged to assign them ground on their paying the common rent and the valuation of any of the trees

¹ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol 7 of 1760, 131.

² Pub. Diary 34 of 1760, 278-279.

³ Pub. Diary 34 of 1760, 272.

⁴ Pub. Diary 34 of 1760, 367-368.

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

*Houses to be
Pulled Down,
1760.*

*Bombay
Fortifications,
1760*

that it may be necessary to pull down on that account. The Honourable Company's ground being all occupied we think it proper that the fazandars should be obliged to part with what spare ground may be wanted for this purpose on reasonable terms that the inhabitants may not be driven to quit the island. The Collector and the principal engineer are therefore ordered to settle this affair between the parties concerned in the most equitable manner.¹

At a Consultation, the 2nd September 1760, the new fortification paymaster laying before the Board a list of the valuation of such houses as have been lately pulled down, amounting to Rs 1043-3-71, he is directed to discharge such part of the whole as belongs to the poorer inhabitants and without further order to proceed in paying for any houses which may be pulled down, the valuation whereof does not exceed Rs. 200 each.²

On the subject of the Bombay fortifications, in their letter of the 25th April 1760, para 97, the Directors write. The description of the additional fortifications and new works intended at Bombay shows that you are putting us to a prodigious expense. Further, many of these works appear superfluous and unnecessary, particularly the wall carried across the island and batteries erected in different parts. Our orders were for Mr. Maee to survey the fortifications and transmit his opinion of them when we would give such directions as to us should appear proper and necessary, yet whatever was immediately required for the security of the island might be performed. We therefore approve of pulling down the high buildings of the fort house, raising batteries towards the sea for protection of the castle and fortifying your piers, because all these are works that will admit of no delay. But your wall and other outworks begun and carried on without our permission we deem an absolute breach of orders. For these there could be no immediate necessity. Even Mr. De Funek, so loudly complained of for expensiveness, which you have already more than doubled, could never be brought into such measures. From the Indian powers it was generally allowed you had little to fear; against an European enemy some precautions were necessary, and strengthening the castle and fortifying the harbour were wise and judicious steps. The proper securing of these was all you ought to have done, seeing that the town wall was always too large for your usual garrison to defend, the multiplying of walls and detached distant batteries must surely be highly absurd. If ever an enemy should land, prudence will direct you drawing away your people to the defence of your capital, else they may be cut off from a retreat, and you from such a misfortune be unable to hold out. A recent instance of this misconduct offers at Cuddalore (in Madras). Again, whilst in one part you are spending immense sums for defence, in another of infinite consequence you are suffering such obstructions to be raised as may prove fatal to the place. In all garrisons the fort ought to have no buildings to impede the guns or shelter an enemy. Calcutta through this weakness became an easy conquest. And, although this is notoriously known, yet you have lately

¹ Pub. Diary 35 of 1760, 591

² Pub. Diary 35 of 1760, 661

permitted (but never before attempted) large and lofty houses to be built betwixt the church and the fort, with several others contiguous, and thus your fortifications which had a considerable space for its guns one way, is almost blocked up on all sides, an evil we are determined to remove, and therefore positively order all such buildings to be immediately razed. Nor shall you ever suffer any house to be erected, but with the approbation in writing of the engineer or gunner signifying that it can in no shape detriment the Castle¹

At a Consultation, the 20th November 1761, the Collector representing that several people have petitioned for permission to rebuild their houses within 600 yards of the town wall, and desiring the Board's order thereon, he with Mr Hornby and Holford are appointed a committee to inquire into the matter and to make a report thereof to us after examining the several orders which have been issued on this head since the commencement of the new works. They must also take into consideration the occupying the waste ground where the trees were cut from Dongri to Back Bay, application having been made to build houses thereon.²

At a Consultation, the 15th December 1761, read the following report from the above mentioned committee. In obedience to your Honour's commands under the 20th ultimo we met to consider the application made by several people for permission to rebuild their houses within 600 yards of the town wall. Having examined all orders that have been issued on that head since the commencement of the new works we find a publication was issued in November 1759 prohibiting all persons erecting or rebuilding the houses or planting young cocanutt trees within the space of 600 yards round the town ditch. This publication we judge must have been issued in consequence of Engineer De Funck representing the necessity of clearing away that space for an esplanade. But when in March 1760 the proprietors of the houses situate within 600 yards which were burnt down in the year 1757 petitioned to rebuild their houses, the late engineer Major Mace must have thought it no impediment to the fortifications, otherwise he would not have acquiesced in their rebuilding their houses. It is plain Major Mace did acquiesce from the reports sent in by him to the Collector in April following of the measurement of each proprietor's ground. We cannot find he had any public order for so doing. To be fuller satisfied on this head we sent for the present clerk of the works who imagines that Mr De Funck's design was first and immediately to clear away as far as 100 yards and that whenever the houses or parts between that space and 600 yards fell to decay, not to suffer them to be rebuilt. As to Major Mace permitting the inhabitants of the aforesaid burnt houses to rebuild on the same spot he cannot pretend to account for his reasons for so doing. At the same time he thinks that the distance of 500 yards will be sufficient for an esplanade and that the houses comprehended within that distance should not be rebuilt when they fall to decay. From all this your Honour will

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Area of
Esplanade,
1761.

¹ Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol 5 of 1757-1761, 268-269. Comp of Standing Ord, Vol 2 of 1759-1788, 18^a.

² Pub. Diary 37 of 1761, 733-731.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Area of
Esplanade,
1761.

be pleased to determine what is to be done. We beg leave to recommend that proper boundaries may be fixed at the distance of the intended esplanade. With regard to the waste ground cleared away for the line of communication we sent for the old proprietors. Only two of them accepted the oarts offered them in truck, namely Manoel Baretto and Govindji. The others made the following proposals: to keep the three oarts at Máhim which were offered them in truck although they barely pay the labour and charge of manning them and to take their respective grounds in the line on the new establishment. By this proposal the Honourable Company will reap as much advantage for the first ten years as if they kept the three oarts at Máhim in their own hands and the proprietors of the waste ground were to be put in possession of that ground on the terms they held it before. For the pension by the new establishment amounts to three times as much as by the old, and after ten years the advantage will be greatly in favour of the Company as the pension will increase to six times the old establishment. Besides the property of the ground will always remain the Company's. Application having been made by several distressed inhabitants of this island for ground to build houses on and the clerk of the works assuring us the aforesaid waste ground was well situated for that purpose, your Honour will please to order which you judge proper, returning the ground to the old proprietors on the terms proposed or granting the same to those who want to build houses thereon on the same rent as is paid for ground within the town wall. This last will turn to somewhat more advantage to the Honourable Company than returning the ground to the old proprietors and will also be of great ease to several distressed inhabitants. On the other hand, we beg leave to observe the building of houses will be of great prejudice to the old proprietors as their oarts are now divided in two by the line and will require two wheels where one used to serve. Building houses will moreover create endless disputes between the old proprietors and the householders. The waste ground formerly belonging to Manoel Baretto and Govindji in the line for which they have received oarts in truck as also a small spot belonging to the Honourable Company may either be cultivated again or let out to build on as your Honour may think proper.¹

At a Consultation on the 29th December 1761, the Board after reperusing the above report agreed that the waste ground at the line of communication between Dongri and Back Bay be let out for the rebuilding of houses on the same terms as ground is let within the wall, namely 11 *res* the square yard. In building, the inhabitants must be governed by such plan as the engineer may lay down and the old proprietors of the ground must have the preference of any others who may be desirous of building there.²

Regarding the provision made for the unhoused inhabitants, in their letter of the 16th April 1762, para 83, the Court write: We

¹ Pub. Diary 37 of 1761, 773-774.

² Pub. Diary 37 of 1761, 803.

approve of the method you have taken to accommodate the useful inhabitants of Bombay with grounds to build upon in the room of what was necessary to be taken from them, being agreeable to our former orders.¹

At a Consultation of the 6th July 1762 the Board decide that as many of the inhabitants whose houses have been long pulled down to make an esplanade represent the hardship of their not being paid the valuation and request us to take the same into consideration, the paymaster is ordered to pay all such claims as do not exceed Rs. 400.²

Regarding house accommodation for Rear Admiral Cornish in their letter of 10th April 1762, para 157, Government write to the Court: On the 25th August the President laid before us a letter he had received from Rear Admiral Cornish setting forth the disagreeableness of the house allotted for his residence which from its low situation in that rainy season affected his health, and pointing out a house belonging to Mr. Charles Whitehill at that time to be let as, from its commanding a view of the harbour, being well calculated for a commanding officer's residence. We wrote to Mr. Whitehill to know the terms on which he would part with the house. He submitted his terms to us when we agreed to allow him Rs 350 a month for two years certain and to give the house such trifling repairs as it might require during that interval. Upon calculating the rent he received for the warehouses alone we thought this a very reasonable offer. Copies of the Admiral's and Mr. Whitehill's letters on this occasion are in the packet and we hope your Honours will approve this step.³

Referring to the above in their letter of 6th April 1763, para 81, the Court write to Bombay: The house hired of Mr. Charles Whitehill for the accommodation and convenience of Rear Admiral Cornish we cannot but think a pretty dear one at Rs 350 a month, notwithstanding the addition of warehouses belonging to it, especially when we consider that the keeping it in repair for two years and allowing Mr. Whitehill another house in its stead are parts of the agreement. We shall make no further remarks on this transaction until we have a full and particular account from you of the several sums of money which have been laid out in repairs whitewashing and the like to the time of its being delivered back to Mr. Whitehill. This account you are to send us by the first opportunity for our notice.⁴

Regarding repairs to the President's house in their letter of the 20th May 1763, para 136, Government write to the Court: The beams of the upper part of the President's house being sprung in so much that it was obliged to be supported with stanchions, we on the 14th of December ordered the sub-engineer to survey and make a report to us of its condition and the expense which would be incurred by repairing it. He made his report on the 18th January and delivered a model of a roof of

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Compensation
for Houses
Pulled Down,
1762.

Admiral's House,
1762.

President's
House,
1763.

¹ Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 6 of 1762-1764, 42.

² Pub. Diary 35 of 1762, 37C.

³ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 9 of 1762, 63.

⁴ Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 6 of 1762-1764, 207.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Office
Accommodation,
1762.

a strong durable construction and an estimate of what it would cost amounting to Rs 5000. As the upper part of the house in its then situation was quite uninhabitable, we ordered the repairs to be completed as soon as possible.¹

Regarding accommodation for the Secretary's and accountant's offices, on the 10th April 1762, para 165, Government wrote to the Court. As your Honours are paying a heavy rent for warehouses for carrying on the business of the Secretary's and accountant's offices, and as we have experienced from their situation that the public books and papers are subject to great damage which may in time deprive us of our most valuable records, we are induced to request your Honours' permission for purchasing or building such a house on your account as will obviate the charges and inconveniences above mentioned and we shall at the same time pay due attention that other savings may accrue in the article of warehouse rent.²

1703

In reply to the above letter on 6th April 1763, para 86, the Court write. We certainly expect that all proper care shall be taken of our books, papers, and records; and if the warehouses now hired for carrying on the business of the Secretary's and accountant's offices are inconvenient and the papers liable to damage, you may embrace the first opportunity of purchasing a house for the purpose, provided you can get one on reasonable terms every way fit for the occasion, and you may fit it up properly in a plain but not expensive manner.³

1764

With a view to provide proper accommodation for Government records in their letter of 25th March 1764, para 99, Government write to the Court. It being absolutely necessary for the preservation of our records to remove the public offices, we shall shortly take into consideration the expediency of building or purchasing a proper house for that purpose. But if building should be determined on we fear it will be necessary to move the records somewhere till the house is finished as many of the books and papers are already greatly damaged by the improper construction of the offices now occupied.⁴

On the subject of room for the Secretary and accountant's offices a Consultation, the 22nd May 1764, records. Read a letter from the Secretary and accountant representing the inconveniences they experience in carrying on the business of their respective offices from the improper construction of the places they now occupy for that purpose and setting forth the necessity of either building or purchasing houses properly adapted for their use. This letter being maturely considered it is observed that our Honourable Masters are at present subject to a very extraordinary expense of a warehouse rent which might be saved if proper warehouses were built and which in the end we apprehend would turn out much cheaper. As we are thoroughly satisfied in the justice and necessity of the representations of the Secretary and accountant, ordered that the engineer prepare a plan of a house for the public

¹ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 10 of 1763, 91. Pub. Diary 10 of 1763, 40.

² Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 9 of 1762, 66.

³ Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 6 of 1762-1764, 209.

⁴ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 11 of 1764, 67.

offices and for the several warehouses and apartments that may be necessary for the several branches of our Honourable Masters' business. This with a calculate of what it may cost, must be laid before us when we shall come to a determination regarding it. But as the near approach of the rainy season renders it absolutely necessary to move the public offices and the house in which the admuials, captains, and masters of His Majesty's ships have lately lived being now vacant by the departure of all the naval officers, agreed that it be appropriated to this use until another house is either built or purchased.¹

Mr. Werner accordingly submits the required plan on which at their Consultation, the 18th June 1764, the Board observe: Mr Werner has delivered in a plan of the building proposed to be erected for the public offices and the military and general stores together with a calculate of the expense which will thereby be incurred amounting to Rs 1,03,833. As this is so large a sum and we may shortly expect to have some orders from our Honourable Masters relative thereto, it is resolved to defer putting the same into execution for some time longer.²

Towards the close of the same year, 1764, in their letter of 14th December, para 98, Government write to the Comt. In the 99th para of our address per *Speaker* your Honours were advised of our intentions to remove the public offices and on the 22nd May the Secretary and accountant addressed us a letter representing the absolute necessity there was for coming to some speedy resolution in respect thereto. It was then observed that your Honours were subject to a very heavy expense of warehouse rent which might be saved by building proper warehouses and which in the end we imagined would turn out cheaper. As we were thoroughly satisfied in the justness of the representation of the Secretary and accountant we ordered Captain Werner to prepare a plan of a house for the public offices and for the several warehouses and apartments that might be necessary for the several branches of your Honours' business and to lay the same before us with a calculate of the expense. But as the near approach of the rainy season rendered it absolutely necessary to move the public offices, and as the house in which the admiral or captains of His Majesty's ships had for some time lived was then vacant, we determined to appropriate the same to this use until another house could be built. On the 19th June Captain Werner delivered in the plan and estimate required amounting to Rs. 1,03,833. But as that was so large a sum and we expected to receive some further directions from your Honours on this subject, we agreed to defer the question for some time longer. On the arrival of the ships of this season, as no such orders were received, we on the 15th October took the matter again into consideration. It was then observed that the house where the offices were kept would answer the purpose very well and would probably be purchased much cheaper than one could be built. And as in your commands of the 6th April 1763, your Honours are pleased to give us a latitude of either building or purchasing, we ordered a committee to survey the house and to report how it would answer the

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Office
Accommodation,
1764.

¹ Pub. Diary 42 of 1764, 325.

² Pub. Diary 42 of 1764, 367.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings

Office
Accommodation,
1764.

purpose and what in their opinion should be given for it. This they did on the 23rd October and the clerk of the works, master builder, and others whom the committee called upon to value it having estimated it at Rs 15,000 the interest of which sum was much less than the rent we paid for it, and, as it is really and essentially necessary your Honours should have a house of your own for the public offices, and we are sensible one so well calculated for the purpose could not be built under a long time and for a much larger sum than the above, we agreed to purchase it as also one adjoining it for Rs 60,000. Both houses together are sufficient for all the different branches of your Honours' business except the marine. The purchase is a considerable saving as your Honours will please to perceive by the report entered on our diary under the 20th ultimo from the committee appointed to examine the second house. As we know these buildings cost much more than the price paid and that erecting a house to answer all the purposes these houses will answer would have been much more expensive, we flatter ourselves you will approve of our having purchased them and be persuaded that nothing but a regard to your Honours' interest induced us to take this step.¹

Before the above letter of December reached the Court, in reply to the previous Bombay letter of March 1764 the Court in their letter of 22nd March 1765, para 119, write: In para 93 of your letter of the 25th March 1764, you represent the absolute necessity of a house for keeping the records for want of which they have received damage. We should rather choose to purchase than build a house for this purpose and permit of your looking out for such a one on our account when a favourable opportunity offers, but for greater security we wish you could find some convenient place for this purpose in the Castle which we therefore recommend to your further consideration.²

Writers' Rooms,
1765.

Regarding house accommodation for the Company's writers, in their letter of 25th April 1765, para 63, Government write to the Court: On the 2nd instant the several writers living in the Castle addressed us a letter, as entered on our proceedings under that date, wherein they strenuously set forth the very bad condition of their apartments by which their health was liable to be much impaired. We being sensible of the justice of their representation, though we had no other apartments in which they could be properly accommodated, agreed to make them an allowance of Rs 10 a month for house rent which we hope your Honours will approve.³

Petition for
an Oart,
1765.

At a Consultation of the 19th February 1765, the Collector lays before the Board a petition to him from a proprietor of the oart cut down in 1759, praying that one of the Honourable Company's oarts may be given her in lieu of it. As compliance with this request will draw on others of the like kind, as there are many who want oarts instead of the full amount of their valuation in money, ordered that a publication be immediately issued requiring all persons who

¹ Pub. Diary 13 of 1764, 591, 606. Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 11 of 1764, 165-166.

² Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 7 of 1765-1768, 38.

³ Pub. Dep. Let. to the Court Vol. 12 of 1765, 47-49, Pub. Diary 41 of 1765, 204.

have any demands of this nature to give in the same to the Collector within 21 days from this date¹

At a Consultation of the 6th June 1766, the Board read the following letter from the Collector to the President and Council, dated 5th June 1766: Agreeable to the directions of the Board for enquiry into the petitions made by the proprietors of the oarts cut down in the year 1758 for clearing a space where the late engineer Mr. Mace intended carrying his line of communication from Dongri to Back Bay, as well as of certain oarts cut in August 1759 for forming an esplanade adjacent to the works at the Apollo Gate, I have the honour to report as follows. For the service of the intended line of communication parts of ten oarts were cut down and truck from the Honourable Company's oarts at Máhim directed to be tendered the proprietors in lieu thereof. Three of the Máhim oarts the proprietors accepted, the other four oarts intended as an equivalent for the seven remaining have been rejected by the proprietors as in no shape adequate to those taken by the Honourable Company. This is particularly set forth in the several petitions accompanying this address. From the report of the Bombay and Máhim vereadores the difference in the valuation both of the oarts cut down and of those tendered in truck by the Honourable Company amount to Rs. 4611½ loss to the private proprietors. In August 1759 five oarts belonging to different inhabitants standing without the Apollo Gate were ordered to be cut down and their valuation calculated at that time agreeable to the old establishment was at Rs. 4 for the first sort of trees, and so in proportion. This valuation amounting to Rs 1713 was ordered to be made good to them by the paymaster of the new works. But the proprietors refused to accept the same, alleging that the valuation was in no shape equal to their intrinsic value. They likewise requested that they might be indulged with other oarts of the Honourable Company's in truck for such of theirs as were cut down for the public service, and which from the late valuation of their intrinsic value appears to amount to Rs. 8566½. The difference of the valuation of the oarts agreeable to the old establishment as practised by the vereadores both of Bombay and Máhim, when directed to examine any oarts or grounds on behalf of the Honourable Company, and the real or intrinsic value proceeds from certain rates having formerly been fixed on the establishment of the Bank when any oarts or grounds were tendered as security for money taken thereout and for which such oarts or grounds became answerable by mortgage. But as of late years the price of cocoanuts has greatly increased, it has also occasioned the value of oarts on Bombay and Máhim to rise in proportion. By that means the present valuation differs greatly from the valuation according to the old establishment, which is seldom used excepting when a particular security is demanded as in loans to the black inhabitants from the Honourable Company's Bank. Great attention is also paid to the

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

**Compensation
for Oarts,
1766.**

¹ Pub Diary 44 of 1765, 93.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Compensation
for Onits,
1766.

situation of onits both in respect to the ground as well as to the water necessary for cultivating the trees. Thus from the report of the Māhām vereadores coincides with the reasons alleged by the proprietors for not accepting in truck those tendered them by the Honorable Company. In respect to the four vacant spots of ground taken into the glacis and covered way near the Bazár Gate the proprietors are very willing to accept such waste ground as may be allowed them by the Honorable Company in proportion to the present valuation made by the vereadores¹

After discussion the Board resolve that it seems evident the proprietors of the onits cut down in 1758 and 1759 must be considerable sufferers, if their trees are paid for only at the valuation of the old establishment. As we cannot by any means think of imposing so great a hardship upon them, it is agreed to pay for the onits at their present intrinsic value and to allow the proprietors since the time they were cut what onits at present are generally estimated to produce, namely five per cent a year²

Wall at
Washerman's
Tank,
1766

In their letter of the 19th February 1766, paragraph 113, Government write to the Comt The Grand Jury at the last quarter sessions of the peace having represented that a retaining wall was absolutely necessary at the washerman's tank to preserve the main road which otherwise was in danger of being entirely washed away, we agreed to build the same and to repair the roads in general upon the island as the heavy assessments already laid upon the county and which are barely sufficient to defray the expenses will not admit of any more being laid on and the badness of the roads is chiefly occasioned by your Honour's carts bringing stones and chunam from Byculla for the use of the fortifications³

Fort House,
1766.

The principal engineer having represented the necessity of pulling down some parts of the fort house the Board ordered the land paymaster to comply therewith as it would in all probability have fallen in during the ensuing rainy season⁴

Houses for
Marine Offices
and Stores,
1766.

Regarding the purchase of new houses for offices and marine stores in their letter of 19th February 1766, paragraph 115, Government write to the Comt Mr. George England on the 31st December made us a tender of the house and back apartments adjoining to the marine house with the warehouses underneath on both sides of the compound for Rs 25,000 Being of opinion these buildings should belong to your Honours not only from their being so very contiguous to the marine house but from the convenience of their situation for carrying on the different branches of the marine business and lodging the stores, we appointed Messrs Price and Boddam with the master attendant to survey the same. On the 7th ultimo they reported to us that having taken to their assistance the most skilful master builders and carpenters together

¹ Pub Diary 46 of 1766, 341-343.

² Pub Diary 46 of 1766, 339.

³ Pub Dep Letters to the Court Vol 13 of 1766, 79 Bom Gov Consultation 10th Nov 1765, Pub Diary 45 of 1765, 740

⁴ Bombay to Court 9th April 1766 para 36, Pub Dep Letters to the Court Vol. 13 of 1766, 132 Pub Diary 16 of 1766, 225, 228

with such other persons as they judged would be of most use, the apartments and warehouses had been each surveyed and valued separately, the amount valuation of the whole being Rs. 27,675 as your Honours will please to perceive on reference to the report entered on our Diary under the above date. The committee further represented that these buildings were most conveniently situated by the sea-side and would be very serviceable in lodging the marine stores free from damp or damage and for the public offices and many other purposes appertaining to that department for which and to prevent their falling into private hands which for many reasons would be improper they judged it for your Honours' interest to accept Mr England's offer. This we accordingly did and annexed the upper apartments to the main house and the warehouses we have appropriated to the purpose above mentioned.¹

In their letter of 19th February 1766, paragraph 116, Government write to the Court: The warehouses in which the military stores have for some years past been kept being to be sold at public outcry when it was probable they would sell very cheap, we empowered the land paymaster to bid as far as Rs. 16,000 for them on your account. At this price we thought it would be much for your interest to purchase them as the interest of that sum was only Rs. 120 a month, whereas you have paid Rs. 225 a month rent for them ever since you occupied them besides the expense which would necessarily be incurred by removing the stores and fitting up another house for their reception. The land paymaster went to the sale accordingly and we have the pleasure to acquaint you purchased the warehouses for Rs. 10,000, which is certainly a very cheap purchase, more especially as they were ready fitted and in every respect well calculated for the use to which they are put and the upper part of the house purchased from Mr. Hunter which was included for this purpose being thereby become vacant and Mr. Spencer having no house allotted him we determined to tender it to him and he is to inhabit it accordingly.²

Referring to these purchases in their letter of 4th April 1767, paragraphs 80-83, the Court write to Bombay. The purchase of a house from Mr. England for Rs. 18,000 and warehouses of the same gentleman to the amount of Rs. 9675 appears to us much more than you ought to have given, particularly the house, as the gentlemen who surveyed them intend them for no other purpose than to put stores in. Another warehouse has been purchased of one Mr. Hunter for Rs. 10,000, the upper part of which we observe was given to Mr. Spencer to live in. From this we judge that the high price we are charged for places which you call warehouses is owing to the apartments over them and are valued accordingly, whereas they are no further serviceable to us than mere warehouses. We are not at all obliged to provide our servants with elegant apartments; if there is not a number sufficient for them, a settled allowance in money is paid in lieu of it. We must

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Houses for
Marine Offices
and Stores,
1766.

Purchase of
Warehouses,
1766

¹ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol 13 of 1766, 80-81. Pub. Diary 45 of 1765, 807. Pub. Diary 46 of 1766, 12, 16-18

² Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol 13 of 1766, 81.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Purchase of
Warehouses,
1766

observe here that for some years past under various pretences our servants at your Presidency have purchased many buildings from gentlemen leaving the island, which in general have appeared more for the interest of those gentlemen than that of your Employers. To prevent this in future we positively order that no houses or warehouses be purchased on our account until leave is first obtained from us. If on any particular emergency warehouses should be wanted which we suppose can only be for a short time, you must in that case hire them. We understand Mr Sedgwick has some that are convenient. If so, you may give him the preference, as he has been a very old servant of the Company's and we think merits this indulgence.¹

Apartment for
Junior Servants,
1768

At a Consultation on the 22nd January 1768 the Board record the following opinion: The upper part of the fort house having lately been entirely taken down and the lower apartments thereby rendered unfit for keeping stores until as originally intended a proper bomb-proof roof is thrown over them we have been under the necessity of appropriating for stores the apartments in the Castle occupied by the junior servants. As even before this the number of apartments was so insufficient as to render the construction of more judispensable and as there is space for two sets of rooms at each end of the bandur, the building of them is ordered to be set about immediately an estimate of the expense being previously laid before us.²

Marine House,
1768.

The Bombay Diary of the 1st November 1768 has the following entry: A plan of the alterations necessary to render the marine house suitably commodious for the marine paymaster and superintendent now being laid before us together with an estimate of the expense which will thereby be incurred amounting to Rs 8615-0-58, the same are ordered to be carried into immediate execution.³

A month later, 2nd December 1768, paragraph 81, Government write to the Court: In consequence of your commands the land paymaster was ordered to cause such alteration to be made to the marine house as might be necessary for rendering it suitably commodious both for the marine paymaster and superintendent. This is accordingly now doing and will cost Rs 8615-0-58 as by an estimate laid before us the 1st ultimo.⁴

Battery Ground
Compensation,
1770

At a Consultation on the 26th January 1770, read a petition for compensation from the owners of the battery grounds occupied for the esplanade contiguous to the west gate: Resolved that the petition be referred to the new fortification paymaster, the collector, and the principal engineer to report what such grounds annually produce.⁵

Town Houses
to be Removed,
1770.

At a Consultation of the 2nd February 1770 read the following letter from the Committee to the President, dated 23th January

¹ Pub Dep Court's Letters Vol 7 of 1763-1768, 258-259.

² Pub Diary 50 of 1768, 107-108.

³ Pub Diary 51 of 1768, 355-357.

⁴ Pub Dep Letters to the Court Vol. 15 of 1768, 114.

⁵ Pub Diary 55 of 1770, 81.

1770: Enclosed your Honour will receive account valuation of sundry houses within the town wall represented by Colonel's Campbell and Keating as necessary to be removed. All such as are to the westward of the Bazar Gate, the principal engineer requests may accordingly at once be removed; the removal of those to the eastward may, he apprehends, be deferred till next season. Agreed that Rs. 9132-1-26, the value of the westward houses, be made good to the proprietors and ground be allowed them on which to rebuild their houses.¹

At a Consultation of the 17th August 1770 read the following report from the Committee to the President, dated 25th June 1770: In consequence of your Honour's orders to us of the 27th January and the 9th March last, with the assistance of the vecadores and mhatáns we have valued such oarts of coconut trees as are within the line recommended by Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell to be cleared away and added to the esplanade. We now enclose to your Honour the vecadores' report of the same as also report of the batty grounds occupied by the Honourable Company contiguous to the west gate of the town. Resolved that the proprietors of the oarts which have been cut down for the new works must have others allowed them to produce the annual rent shown in the valuation now laid before us by the committee appointed for that purpose. The proprietors of batty grounds to be paid in money or have other grounds in exchange and such trees to be cut down as the engineer thinks immediately necessary.²

At a Consultation on the 11th September 1770, after reconsidering our resolution for giving oarts in exchange for those cut down on account of the new works contiguous to the town, the Collector is ordered to cause the oarts to be given in exchange to be valued in the same manner as those cut down laying a report valuation thereof before the Board previous to their being distributed. Should any person be dissatisfied with the lot which may then be assigned him he must be paid in money for his oart cut down and the lot assigned him in exchange must be sold to make good the amount.³

At a Consultation of the 7th November 1770, the Board read a letter from the Collector enclosing an account of the oarts intended to be given in lieu of those cut and to be cut down; also another account whereby it appears the Honourable Company would sustain a loss of Rs. 17,133-1-50 by valuing the oarts at their annual produce instead of at their intrinsic value. These being considered we are of opinion the most certain way of ascertaining their real value will be to sell them at public outcry for whatever they will fetch. This the Collector and chief at Málim are ordered to do, the amounts realised to be appropriated towards paying for the oarts cut down.⁴

At a Consultation of the 18th February 1771, the Board read the following report from the paymaster of the new fortifications

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Town Houses
to be removed,
1770.

¹ Pub. Diary 55 of 1770, 91, 109-110.
² Pub. Diary 56 of 1770, 484.

³ Pub. Diary 56 of 1770, 452-453.
⁴ Pub. Diary 56 of 1770, 600-601.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Town Houses
to be Removed,
1770

acquainting the Board that the Principal Engineer represents it necessary that the small houses at present occupied by *hamuls* and other indigent people between the Church and Bazin Gates should be removed. To this the Board agree. The Board further order that the ground so cleared be allotted to the proprietors of the larger houses which from being too near the ramparts are under orders to be pulled down. As in the present want of space no cocoanut plantations ought to be permitted within the town, it is further agreed the private proprietors of oarts be obliged either to let them out for house building or to give them up to the Company on their valuation.¹

Town Hall,
1771

At a Consultation of the 23rd April 1771, the Board read the following letter from Mr. Gregory Page, clerk of the peace, to the President and Council, dated the 20th April 1771. The Grand Jury at the last sessions represented to His Majesty's Justices that the ruinous condition of the present Town Hall, added to the great inconvenience attending the holding the sessions there from the want of proper apartments for the juries, with rooms for the prisoners and evidences, rendered the constructing a new hall or the complete repairing of the present so essentially necessary that they recommended to the Court to carry the same into execution.² Resolved that the consideration of this letter be deferred.³

At a Consultation of the 24th July 1771, the Board read the following letter from the Clerk of the Peace to the President, dated Bombay Town Hall 23rd July 1771: The Grand Jury have also again presented the Town Hall as being unsuitable improper and dangerous. The Court particularly concern in the propriety of this part of their presentment and have enjoined me strongly to recommend to your Honours the providing a Town Hall more secure suitable and commodious than the present one.⁴ The Board resolved that the consideration of the above letter be deferred.⁵

Building
Committee,
1771.

At a Consultation of the 21st May 1771, the Board appointed Mr Nathaniel Staekhouse a member of the committee for inspecting the buildings within the town walls. They ordered that in future the land paymaster and collector of the rents and revenues should be constant members of the said committee.⁶

Expence of
Six Hundred
Yards,
1771

At a Consultation of the 26th June 1771, the Board ordered that former directions for cutting down all the trees within 600 yards of the fortifications be enforced.⁷

At a Consultation of the 6th August 1771, the Board read a petition from sundry fazandars owners of oarts situated within 600 yards of the new works and on that account ordered to be pulled down, representing the losses they have incurred by the orders which have at different times been issued regarding the oarts within that distance of the works and requesting the Board's consideration thereof. Ordered

¹ Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 113

² Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 314-335

³ Pub. Diary 55 of 1771, 671.

⁴ Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 316

⁵ Pub. Diary 59 of 1771, 620

⁶ Pub. Diary 57 of 1771, 401

⁷ Pub. Diary 58 of 1771, 512.

the Collector make due enquiry into the merits of their petition and report the same.¹

At a Consultation of the 20th August 1771, the Board read the following letter from Mr Robert Gaiden, Collector, to the President and Council, dated 19th August 1771. In compliance with your orders I have examined into the merits of the petition of sundry fazandars owners of oarts within 600 yards of the town wall. I am of opinion that at the time they were prohibited from building houses and planting young trees in their said grounds, they were offered other oarts in truck, or to be paid the value of the present oarts in money. They declined the said offer, and preferred keeping possession of their own oarts till such time as there was an absolute necessity for cutting down the cocoanut trees. I therefore apprehend they have no right to the allowance they petition for. Such of the fazandars whose oarts were taken possession of and the trees cut down a twelve-month ago are certainly entitled to some consideration from the Hon'ble Company. Either the amount of the annual produce should be made good to them, or if judged equitable by your Honour, they should receive five per cent on the intrinsic valuation of the lands as was practised in 1766. The five per cent payment will cause a saving to the Honourable Company of above one-half; by the enclosed account the annual produce of the oarts is Rs. 2733-1-55, while five per cent on the intrinsic value is only Rs. 1151-2-15. From this also may be deducted Rs. 668 the amount of ground rent for houses received by the different proprietors of the said oarts. I think, however, if only five per cent on the valuation is allowed, the ground rent should be continued to the proprietors. With regard to the petition of the Bhandáris, it appears that 5335 cocoanut trees have been cut down since the date of their lease of which 1679 were allotted to the Bhandáris to draw toddy from. It therefore rests with your Honour whether you will direct the fazandars to allot the Bhandáris an equal number of trees from the oarts which the fazandars have received in lieu of those taken from them or from such of their oarts as are most contiguous to the town of Bombay.²

Resolved that the following directions be given. Such of the fazandars whose oarts were actually taken possession of and the trees cut down about twelve months ago, are to be allowed five per cent on their intrinsic value agreeable to the Collector's recommendation. The Collector must also cause a number of cocoanut trees to be allotted to the Bhandáris for drawing toddy in the Bombay woods equivalent to those cut down and at the same prices.³

At a Consultation of the 20th August 1771 the Board read two petitions, one from sundry Purvoes the other from sundry Muhamadan proprietors of houses situated within 600 yards of the works and therefore ordered to be pulled down, desiring that the proprietors of certain oarts may be directed to permit of their building thereon, for which they are willing to pay the highest ground rent. It is

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Esplanade of
Six Hundred
Yards,
1771.

Esplanade of
One Thousand
Yards,
1771.

¹ Pub. Diary 58 of 1771, 745.

² Pub. Diary 58 of 1771, 821-822.

³ Pub. Diary 58 of 1771, 807-808.

Chapter IV
Fortifications
and Buildings

Building
Committee,
1771.

Place of Arms,
1771

European Houses
within the
Town Walls,
1772.

Shops to be
removed
to the Bazar,
1772.

ordered that the fazandars permit their building in any part not within one thousand yards of the works on their paying the usual ground rent¹ At the same Consultation the Board resolved and ordered that in future no buildings shall be erected within one thousand yards of the new works on any account whatever²

At a Consultation of the 22nd August 1771, the Board resolved that in future the committee of surveys jointly with the Collector be the committee for inspecting all buildings carrying on within the town wall³

At a Consultation of the 22nd August 1771, read the following letter from the committee of surveys to the President and Council, dated 22nd August 1771: In obedience to your directions last Council day we have surveyed the ground between the Prince's and Baman bastions We are of opinion that it will be necessary to remove six houses in order to make room for a place of arms to protect the works on that side of the town When these houses are removed there will be a place of arms of the following dimensions, 128 feet on the north, 200 feet on the south, 317 feet on the west, and 330 feet on the east side The valuation of the whole will amount to about Rs 3000 We have further to represent to your Honour that it will be necessary to stop the buildings that are going on there by permission of the committee within the town walls⁴ Ordered that the houses the committee recommend be pulled down the valuation of which amounting to about Rs 3000 must be paid to the proprietors A stop must immediately be put to the buildings carrying on there⁵

Bombay Government Consultation, 25th February 1772. Read a petition from Raghunath Báláji Puivoe owner of a house situated in Church Street representing that he had nearly completed rebuilding the same when the committee of surveys put a stop thereto; and requesting permission to complete it On this the committee acquaints the Board that they put a stop thereto only till they could examine whether there were any orders against the black proprietors rebuilding their houses in that street but they find there are none It is therefore agreed that he be permitted to complete his house⁶

At a Consultation of the 25th February 1772 the Board record As there is great want of ground within the town walls for Europeans to build, and as the Church Street is a very proper place for that purpose, resolved that the present proprietors be positively prohibited repairing their houses This we hope will be a means of inducing them to sell to Europeans on reasonable terms. The Secretary to issue a proclamation to the above purpose⁷

A Consultation of the 25th February 1772 records. The shops

¹ Pub Diary 53 of 1771, 803

² Pub. Diary 58 of 1771, 803-809 Comp of Standing Ord Vol 2 of 1759-1758, 193

³ Pub Diary 53 of 1771, 820

⁴ Pub Diary 53 of 1771, 830-831.

⁵ Pub Diary 58 of 1771, 826

⁶ Pub Diary 60 of 1772, 202 Torret's Home Series, II 167.

⁷ Pub Diary 60 of 1772, 202 Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol 2 of 1759-1758, 198. Torret's Home Series, II 167

to the south of Church Street having become a great nuisance, ordered that they be all removed to the bazar. In future no shop must be permitted to the south of the north side of Church Street.¹

At a Consultation of the 25th February 1772 the Board record : The valuation of all the remaining houses situated within 600 yards of the new works, and on that account necessary to be pulled down, is now laid before the Board amounting to Rs 98,986-2-86. Ordered that the amount be made good to the respective proprietors by the new fortification paymaster and that the houses be pulled down as soon as possible beginning with those nearest to Fort George. Five per cent from the amount to be paid each person, must be deducted by the paymaster for the clerk of the works in consideration of this trouble in having valued the same.²

At a Consultation, the 2nd December 1772, the Board read the following petition from the owners of some houses ordered to be pulled down: That your Honour's poor petitioners humbly beg leave to represent that some time after their houses were destroyed by fire, the then engineer Major Mace promised to give the spot of ground of their said houses to those whose houses were pulled down from near the gate to remove their houses to. On this your petitioners made request to the then Honorable Governor to have the said ground for their houses, as the same belonged to them and as they had their stones and the floors of their destroyed houses still remaining on the ground. The then Honorable Governor directed the committee to take a view thereof and grant them their old land to rebuild their houses each on his own site. Accordingly the committee ordered the engineer to measure out each his ground of old houses and grant them permission for rebuilding their houses on the same, provided they would build strong large tiled houses. Thus your petitioners accepted and built strong large tiled houses. Two years thereafter the rest of your Honour's petitioners' neighbours asked permission to rebuild houses on their ground which the then engineer did grant them on their passing a writing not to take a valuation of their houses. It follows that those who have passed their writing ought not to take a valuation. Those who have not passed any such writing applied to Benj Jervis Esquire, new fortification paymaster, for an order to value their houses. Mr Jervis was pleased to direct Mr Spaeth to make the like valuation which the said Mr Spaeth has done excluding those who had passed a writing not to take a valuation. This your petitioners humbly desire your Honour will be graciously pleased to order to be paid them, who, ever since they have been obliged to demolish their said houses for the service of the Honorable Company, are suffering very much being unable to rebuild them on several other different spots of ground. The charge of pulling the houses down and removing them each to his place, costs much more money than the valuation and as much more it will cost them in rebuilding those houses.³

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
Compensation,
1772.

¹ Pub. Diary 60 of 1772, 202 - 203.

² Pub. Diary 60 of 1772, 203.

³ Pub. Diary 62 of 1772, 1111 - 1113

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Compensation,
1773.

Ordered that on examining the records should it appear that the petitioners were permitted to build on the ground they mention, the valuation of their houses must be paid except to such as entered into an obligation to demand no compensation¹

At a Consultation of the 6th January 1773 the Board read the following letter from Mr. Robert Garden, Collector, to the President and Council, dated 1th January 1773 In obedience to your orders of the 13th ultimo I have inspected the registers of my office and find that what is set forth by the petitioners with regard to their having permission to rebuild their houses is true. It is but just therefore that they should be paid valuation In the accompanying list which was delivered to me with the petition I observe the names of Govindji Coppesmith and Ranoji Barber, the house of the former valued at Rs 22-3-48 and of the latter at Rs 35-2-65 To these no valuation should be paid as they are of the number who agreed to rebuild on condition that, whenever it might be deemed necessary to pull down their houses, it should be done without their being entitled to any compensation I further submit it to the consideration of your Honour whether the valuation of Rs 18-1-6⁹ for the house of Govindji Trimbakji Talor should be paid him as it does not appear by our registers he had any permission to build it, nor has he ever paid a single *ra* of tax for it to the Company.²

Ordered that (except the three he mentions) valuation of the houses in the Collector's list be paid³

Esplanade of
One Thousand
Yards,
1773

A Consultation of the 19th February 1773 has the following Directions were given to the late engineer Lieutenant-Colonel Keating under the 20th of August 1771 that no person whatever should be permitted to build any house of stone and chunam within one thousand yards of the crest of the glacis all round the works Understanding that the same has not been exactly observed, it is resolved and agreed that the Secretary issue a publication to that effect advertising all persons who may disobey the same that their houses will be certainly removed and no compensation allowed The acting engineer must fix proper boundaries at the above mentioned distance⁴

Kolis' Houses,
1773.

At a Consultation of the 16th March 1773, the Board read a petition from the caste of people called Kols, requesting as their houses contiguous to the works are ordered to be pulled down that the ground formerly marked for rebuilding the same may now be appropriated to that use This is agreed to and the new fortification paymaster is ordered to cause the Kols' houses to be directly pulled down and to put them in possession of the ground formerly allotted them for re-building their houses⁵

Moormen's
Complaint,
1774.

At a Consultation of the 8th February 1774 the Board read the following letter from the committee appointed to enquire into the merits of a petition from Moormen to the President and Council, dated

¹ Pub Diary 62 of 1772, 1108.

² Pub Diary 67 of 1773, 11-12.

³ Pub. Diary 63 of 1773, 7

⁴ Pub Diary 63 of 1773, 102.

⁵ Pub Diary 63 of 1773, 196-197

Bombay 5th February 1774: Having in consequence of your Honour's orders examined into the merits of a petition delivered to the Board by Shitadin Patel commandant-sabhedar, and others, we called on them to prove their assertion that for the sake of four dolkars or not owners they were to be sufferers, each of which dolkars had two or three houses. Confronted with the Kolis the petitioners declared they did not know that any of the dolkars, patels, or Kolis whose houses were ordered to be pulled down had any house or houses without the line; but that the said assertion respected other dolkars and patels who live without the line and have some of them several houses. Out of the 140 houses valued and ordered to be removed from the ridge of Dongri hill to the spot formerly allotted them we find that 83 are the property of the Dongri fishing and palanquin Koli caste.¹

It is therefore agreed, though it will be attended with a small additional expense to the Company, that the Kolis' houses be valued at their true worth as well as those situated on the spot to which they are to remove. The value of the Kolis' new houses must be made good to the proprietors out of the value of the Kolis' old houses, and the Kolis must then be put in possession of the petitioners' houses.²

At a Consultation of the 5th March 1774, the land paymaster lays before the Board an estimate of the expense of the repairs necessary before the rains to all the Honorable Company's buildings, comprised in his books under the head of fortification and house repairs. Regarding these repairs which amount to Rs. 12,283 2 qrs, 18 pcs he requests the directions of the Board. As it appears these repairs are absolutely necessary, ordered that he cause them to be executed accordingly.³

At a Consultation of the 13th April 1774, the provisional new fortification paymaster, pursuant to order, presents to the Board an estimate of the full valuation of the Kolis' houses on the ridge of Dongri hill, which are ordered to be pulled down on account of the new works. He also presents an estimate of the full value of those houses situated on the spot pitched upon for rebuilding the Kolis' houses; the former of these amounts to Rs. 11,241-0-4 and the other to Rs. 5616-3-67. As our treasury is so very low it is ordered that the houses be permitted to remain till we may be better enabled to discharge the amount of their valuation.⁴

At a Consultation of the 11th October 1774, read a petition from the proprietors of the battery grounds without the Church Gate, which now form part of the esplanade, requesting that their value may be paid and that they may be allowed a compensation for what they have lost by not having been permitted to cultivate the fields for several years. As it appears to us reasonable that the loss should be made good to them in like manner as was done to the proprietors of the carts that were cut down for the same purpose, the Collector is ordered to adjust the same with them on such terms as may appear equitable

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Mooimen's
Complaint,
1774

Repairs,
1774

Want of Funds
for Compensation,
1774.

¹ Pub. Diary 65 of 1771, 68, 69.

² Pub. Diary 65 of 1774, 222.

³ Pub. Diary 65 of 1774, 60-61.

⁴ Pub. Diary 65 of 1774, 306.

Chapter IV. -
Fortifications
and Buildings.

between the Company and the proprietors, and to pay them what he may think reasonable.¹

At a Consultation of the 6th April 1775, the land paymaster lays before the Board an estimate of the repairs necessary to be given to all the Company's buildings against the approaching rains amounting to Rs 11,225-2-19. Ordered that as these repairs are represented to be necessary they be completed accordingly.²

Bombay,
1775

In August 1775 the traveller Parsons wrote the following description of Bombay. The town of Bombay is near a mile in length from Apollo gate to that of the Bazar and about a quarter of a mile broad in the broadest part from the Bunda (Bandar) across the Green, to Church gate, which is nearly in the centre as you walk round the walls between Apollo and Bazar gate. There are likewise two marine gates, with a commodious wharf and cranes built out from each gate, beside a landing place for passengers only. Between the two marine gates is the Castle properly called Bombay Castle, a very large and strong fortification which commands the bay. The works round the town are so many and the bastions so very strong and judiciously situated and the whole defended with a broad and deep ditch so as to make a strong fortress, which, while it has a sufficient garrison and provisions, may bid defiance to any force which may be brought against it. There is a spacious Green, capable of containing several regiments exercising at the same time. The streets are well laid out and the buildings (namely gentlemen's houses) so numerous and handsome as to make it an elegant town. The soil is a sand, mixed with small gravel, which makes it always so clean even in the rainy season, that a man may walk all over the town within half an hour after a heavy shower without dirtying his shoes. The esplanade is very extensive and as smooth and even as a bowling-green which makes either walking or riding round the town very pleasant.³

Dongri Houses,
1775.

At a Consultation of the 26th December 1775, the Board order that the houses on the ridge of Dongri hill be immediately removed agreeable to former order and the proprietors be paid for the same agreeable to the valuation made by the clerk of the works.⁴

Dismantled
Houses,
1776.

At a Consultation of the 18th January 1776 the Board read the following letter from Mr James Sibbald, new fortification paymaster, to the President and Council, dated the 9th January 1776. In consequence of your order of the 29th ultimo to immediately pull down the Kohis' houses situated on the ridge of Dongri hill and to pay their proprietors agreeable to the valuation formerly taken, the engineer has had directions accordingly. But as your Honour has not been pleased in the accompanying order to the paymaster under the 18th of February 1774 to signify whether it is your intention that the Kohis should have the materials of their houses pulled down as well as the full value thereof, I request your orders on this head. It is certain, although they be permitted this indulgence, that they will yet be sufferers by the removal

¹ Pub. Diary 66 of 1774, 707.

² Pub. Diary 67 of 1775, 708.

³ Parsons' Travels in Asia and America (1803), 216 ⁴ Pub. Diary 69 of 1775, 867

of their houses.¹ Ordered that as is always usual the proprietors of the houses pulled down be permitted to carry away the materials they being of little value and no use to the Company.²

At a Consultation of the 30th January 1776, read a report from the committee appointed to line out the ground for the maine yard at Mázgaon Dock and enclosing an account valuation of the houses necessary to be removed amounting to Rs. 1179. These houses are ordered to be taken down accordingly and the yearly ground rent of Rs. 36-0-80 is to be deducted from the rent paid by the present farmer.³

In the Bombay Diary of the 21st June 1776 the following entry occurs: Early this morning a fire was discovered in the Honourable Company's house allotted for the superintendent which although every possible assistance was afforded was entirely consumed and the adjoining house occupied by the maine paymaster.⁴

Two weeks later, 9th July 1776, the Board direct: The maine house and the superintendent's house having been lately destroyed by fire, the acting magistrate must take the necessary depositions and endeavour to discover the cause of this accident which is yet unknown, and the land paymaster is directed to cause the ruins to be surveyed and to lay a report of their state before us.⁵

On the 30th July 1776 Government read a letter⁶ from Mr. Robert Garden, a justice of the peace, dated 18th July 1776, with two deposi-

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Maine Yard at
Mázgaon Dock,
1776

Maine Houses
burnt,
1776

¹ Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 17.

² Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 10.

³ Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 35.

⁴ Pub. Diary 70 of 1776, 558-559.

⁵ Pub. Diary 70 of 1776, 567.

⁶ Mr. Garden's Letter runs, Enclosed you will please to receive the depositions of Messrs. George Emptage and Samuel Patterson, two gentlemen who from their situation I thought were likely to give me the best information relative to the cause of the late fire. I have also made inquiry of several others who were present shortly after the fire was first discovered but cannot learn from any of them the original cause of it. Most of them however concur with Mr. Emptage in opinion that had the engines been in good order and properly managed the Main House might have been saved. (1) The deposition of Capt. George Emptage taken on oath before me Robert Garden Esquire, one of His Majesty's Justices of Peace. This deponent being first duly sworn saith that he was awoke about 3 o'clock in the morning of the 21st ultimo by one of his boys telling him Mr. Ulatson's house was on fire; that he ran over to the place when he saw the flames break through the windows of the room over the passage and that the fire appeared to have proceeded from the room behind that it broke out from. That the gates and doors were all shut and nobody stirring in or about the house; that the fire not being so furious but that had the engines been brought that could have been made use of, and they well supplied, this deponent does firmly believe the Main House might have been saved, but that the assistance necessary coming too late it was not possible under those circumstances to have saved that house, and further he saith not. Signed George Emptage Sworn before me the day and year above written.—Signed Robert Garden. (2) The deposition of Mr. Samuel Patterson, clerk to the executors to the estate of John Ulatson Esquire, taken on oath before me, Robert Garden Esquire, one of His Majesty's Justices of Peace. This deponent being first duly sworn deposes and saith that some months before the fire that happened the 21st of last June, an alarm was given of fire which proved to be in a room to the north of the hall of the house Mr. Ulatson lived in, but was soon put out. It was occasioned by a bale of raw silk having taken fire from some unknown cause. That room never was entered from that day to the 21st June last, to the best of this deponent's recollection, at night or any other time with a light, but that while he had charge of the goods in that room, which was about a month before the last fire happened, he is positive no light was ever carried into it. That this

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Marine Houses
Burnt,
1776.

tions and recorded the following Resolution on the evidence before them : Read a letter from Mr. Garden accompanying some depositions taken by him in consequence of our orders respecting the late fire at the marine and superintendent's houses. As it appears thereby that the progress of the fire might have been stopped had the engines been in proper order, it is resolved that in future they be put under charge of the major of artillery who must be directed to work them as often as may be necessary with the artillery lascars to keep them in proper order.

At the same Consultation of 30th July 1776 Government read also the following report from the principal engineer Mr Nilson, regarding the state and condition of the marine and superintendent's houses burnt down by the late fire: The whole roof of the main building, the ceilings, the floors windows and doors have mostly been consumed by the fire, the two terrace floors of the front and back verandas are very little damaged, the wood work of the staircase is partly destroyed and must be replaced with new. It appears also that the whole of the fronts and partition walls of the upper part of the building have been raised on and supported by a frame of timber owing to the greatest part of the walls of the first floor being partly mud and sandstone and partly sandstone and chunam, and, as the abovementioned frame is entirely consumed, it will be necessary in case the house should be rebuilt to pull down all the fronts and partition walls and erect such a frame of wood as it had before as the lower walls of this building are not strong enough to support such weight without the frame. Part of the roof of the right wing is burnt and some pillars in the verandas broke down, the greatest part of the roof of the left wing is consumed, as are also some doors and windows, and some partition walls and pillars are pulled down. The main building of the superintendent's house is entirely destroyed, namely roofs, ceilings, staircase, floorings, doors, and windows. Two partition walls are fallen down and the whole of this in a totally ruined condition, but the apartments and offices near the sea side are all complete. On this the Board record. Read a report of the present state and condition of the marine and superintendent's houses. Ordered that the estimates be made by the acting engineer and clerk of the works with other proper persons, of the expense of rebuilding them upon the original plan with stone and chunam and of rebuilding them on frames of timber.¹

On receipt of the required estimates at their Consultation of 11th December 1776 Government direct: The land paymaster now lays

deponent the time the fire happened on the 21st June in the morning was asleep in the bungalow at the back of the house on fire; that the evening before the fire did happen this deponent had supped in the room next to that in which the goods were and which is supposed first to have taken fire, and the only light that was in the room with him at supper was a candle which he took away with him into the bungalow. The bale of raw silk that occasioned the first fire was at that time not in the house, having been taken out and sold some time before, and further this deponent saith not, except that the room in which the goods were had not been opened for about three days before the fire.—Signed Samuel Patterson Sworn before me the day and year above written.—Signed Robert Garden. Pub, Diary 70 of 1776, 601-606.

¹ Pub, Diary 70 of 1776, 596

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Marine Houses
Burnt,
1776.

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¹ Pub Diary 70 of 1776, 596

before us according to order two estimates of the expense of rebuilding the marine house, one of erecting it upon frames of timber amounting to Rs. 33,096-0-60, and the other of rebuilding it from the ground with stone and chunam amounting to Rs. 48,912-2-35. Resolved before we determine upon either of these plans that we make the experiment if this work cannot be executed cheaper by contract. Ordered therefore that notices be affixed that we will receive sealed proposals from any person or persons who will contract to rebuild this house agreeable to the plan now before us by which the estimates were formed.¹

Next year, 1777, at their Consultation of 8th January Government record: No proposals having yet been delivered for rebuilding the marine house by contract and the price of timber which will be the principal article of expense being at present very high, it is resolved to defer this work until the pleasure of our Honourable Masters is known, by which time we hope the price will be reduced.²

A year later, 19th March 1778, the Court express their disapproval of both proposals: We have determined they say not to consent for the present to any marine house being built.³

At a Consultation of the 12th May 1779 the Board record: As a proposal is now before us for enlarging the Esplanade, we think it very improper to erect buildings thereon which may in a short time be again pulled down. Some other accommodations must therefore be found for the first battalion of sepoys. It appears to us the barracks on Old Woman's Island will very well answer the purpose.⁴

At a Consultation of the 8th March 1780 the Board read a letter from Mr. Lawrence Nilson, principal engineer, to the President and Council, dated 15th February 1780: I have removed a very large and extensive sandbank on that part of the esplanade next to the sea. At the same time I was under the necessity of leaving the burying ground untouched along whose whole length of 380 and half of its breadth of 240 feet runs a sandbank more than eight feet high above the common level and not more than five hundred yards from the nearest cannon of the place. As this renders it very commodious for an enemy to erect batteries on, the removal of the burial ground becomes highly advisable. As it is necessary to have another place appointed for the purpose of burying the dead, I have to request your Honour's orders for enclosing another place for that purpose where your Honourable Board shall please to direct. After this as soon as it shall be judged proper or be found absolutely necessary the high bank on the present burying ground may be removed. A house belonging to Jánóji mukádam of weavers stands directly in the gorge of the Mándvi bastion and at present impedes the carrying on the bomb-proofs next to the new magazine. As it is absolutely necessary that Jánóji's house should be removed, I have to request your Honourable Board to be

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Marine Houses
Built,
1776.

Marine House,
1777.

1778.

Enlarging the
Esplanade,
1779.

Sand Bank,
1780.

¹ Pub. Diary 70 of 1776, 891.

² Pub. Diary 71 of 1777, 21.

³ Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 10 of 1778-1782, 36.

⁴ Pub. Diary 75 of 1779, 287. Comp. of Standing Ord. Vol. 2 of 1759-1788, 200.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

pleased to give orders for the removal of the house as soon as possible.¹

Ordered that he examine and fix upon a proper spot for a new burying ground taking care that it be at such a distance from the works as not to be liable to any further removal. The house he mentioned must be valued and removed as soon as possible.²

At a Consultation of the 10th April 1780 the Board read the following letter from Lawrence Nilson Esquire, principal engineer, to the President and Council, dated the 30th March 1780: I have the honour to enclose a valuation of the house of Jamoji weaver situated in the gorge of the Māndvi bastion, which I take the liberty to request your Honourable Board will be pleased to order payment of: Ordered the valuation of the weaver's house, Rs. 1835-2-20, must be paid to the proprietor.³

Town Hall,
1780.

At a Consultation of the 23rd August 1780 the Board resolved that a survey be made of the Town Hall and a report delivered in of its present state and condition.⁴

A House for the
Secretary,
1780.

At a Consultation of the 22nd March 1780 the Board read a letter from the Secretary and passed the following decision: On consideration of the Secretary's case and as we judge him entitled to the indulgence he requests, and on that principle recommended his request to the Honourable Company, it is agreed to purchase the house at the price before offered being Rs. 20,000 and to allot it for the residence of the Secretary.⁵

Digging on
the Esplanade
1781.

At a Consultation of the 25th January 1780 the Board ordered that the principal engineer be directed not to permit private persons to dig for sand-stone on the esplanade on any account whatever.⁶

Bombay,
1781.
L. Dalrymple.

Mr Forbes, the author of Oriental Memoirs, writes: About 1754 when I left Bombay the generality of the public buildings were more equal than elegant. The Government house, custom house, revenue house, barracks, mint, treasury, theatre, and prison included the chief of these structures. There were also three large hospitals, one within the gates for Europeans, another on the esplanade for the Europeans or native troops in the Company's service, and a third on an adjacent island for convalescents. The only Protestant church on the island stood near the centre of the town, a large and commodious building with a neat tower. There was also a charity school for boys and a fund for the poor belonging to the Church of England. There were also more than two chaplains belonging to the Bombay establishment. When I was in India (1760-1764), the one resided at the Presidency, the other alternately at Surat and Bhorch, where were considerable European garrisons. The Roman Catholics had several churches and chapels in different parts of the island and enjoyed every indulgence from the English Government. The English had a cathedral, though small, at

St. John's Church.

¹ P. P. P. 77: 1780: 2.

² P. P. P. 77: 1780: 1781.

³ P. P. P. 77: 1780: 1781.

⁴ P. P. P. 77: 1780: 1781.

⁵ P. P. P. 77: 1780: 1781.

⁶ P. P. P. 77: 1780: 1781.

⁷ P. P. P. 77: 1780: 1781.

⁸ P. P. P. 77: 1780: 1781.

so large nor elegant as those at Calcutta or Madras, were comfortable and well furnished. They were built in the European style of architecture as much as the climate would admit of, but lost something of that appearance by the addition of verandas or covered piazzas to shade those apartments most exposed to the sun. When illuminated and filled with social parties in the evening these verandas gave the town a very cheerful appearance. But since I left India (1784) the town houses have been almost deserted by the English who reside entirely at their country villas. The gentlemen only go to the fort in the morning to transact their business, devoting the evening to domestic pleasure and convivial meetings at their garden houses.¹

The houses of the rich Hindus and Muhammadans are generally built within an enclosure surrounded by galleries or verandas not only for privacy but to exclude the sun from the apartments. This court is frequently adorned with shrubs and flowers and a fountain playing before the principal room where the master receives his guests which is open in front to the garden and furnished with carpets and cushions.² The large bazar or the street in the black town within the fortress contained many good Asiatic houses and shops stored with merchandise from all parts of the world for the Europeans and Natives. These shops were generally kept by the Indians, especially the Parsis, who after paying the established import customs were exempted from other duties.³

On the 17th July 1786 the managers of the Theatre wrote to Messrs. Rawson Hart Boddam, Robert Sparks, and Richard Church, his Majesty's Justices for the town and county of Bombay: The managers of the theatre with the utmost respect beg leave to represent to this Honourable Board that some time ago they addressed the Honourable the Governor and Council and enclosed plans and an estimate with a proposal for erecting a court house adjoining to the theatre, but they conceive from a multiplicity of business of greater moment the Honourable Board have not had time to take the matter into consideration. The managers are very desirous in every respect to make the theatre as commodious as possible to His Majesty's Justices until such time as the Honourable the Governor General and Council may think proper to adopt some other plan. In the meantime the managers hope the Government will have no objection to order the county to pay a moderate rent to enable them to finish the plastering of the house and in other respects to keep it in perfect repair. The managers have the honour to enclose a bill for rent for the time they have already made use of it and hope it will meet with the approbation of the Honourable Board.⁴

On the above letter the Board at their Consultation, the 27th July 1786, observe: Read a letter from the managers of the theatre addressed to his Majesty's Justices enclosing a bill for the rent of that building during the time it has been occasionally appropriated for the meeting

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings

Bombay,
1784

Native Houses.

Theatre,
1786.

Sale of Old
Town Hall,
1786.

¹ Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, I, 152-153.

² Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, I, 153.

³ Forbes' Oriental Memoirs, I, 75.

⁴ Pub. Diary 88 of 1786, 502.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Sale of Old
Town Hall,
1786

of the quarterly sessions amounting to Rs. 500 As we have had it in contemplation to dispose of the Old Town Hall and erect a new building from the produce of its sale, and, as the exorbitance of the present demand renders it necessary to come to an immediate determination, it is resolved that the old building be sold at public outcry on Monday the 21st of the ensuing month of August for ready money and on the terms which will be noticed As the warehouses under the Old Town Hall are appropriated by the farmer's lease for the lodgment of his tobacco, our determination must be communicated to the Collector who is to settle with the tobacco farmer for a compensation in lieu thereof during the remainder of the lease The General will direct the clerk of the works to draw out a plan of the intended building on the most frugal scale to be erected on the ruins of the old marine house which appears to us to be the most convenient and proper place for this purpose¹

The next month the Town Hall was accordingly sold. On the 21st August 1786 the land paymaster writes to Government: Agreeable to your orders I this day put up the Town Hall to public sale on the terms prescribed by your Honour and sold the same to Harjivan Supat for Rs. 22,600. As the records of the Mayor's Court were in the upper apartments and the warehouses below were in possession of the tobacco farmer, I conditioned with the purchaser that the whole should be cleared out and delivered up to him in one month from this date²

Three days later, at a Consultation on the 24th August 1786, the Board record: Read a letter from the land paymaster reporting the sale of the Old Town Hall for the sum of Rs 22,600 agreeable to the public notice given for that purpose.³ Read also a letter from the Collector dated 20th August 1786 Ordered that the Collector be made acquainted with the sale of the Old Town Hall and that the purchaser is to be put in possession thereof within one month from the day of sale⁴ The land paymaster must be directed to appropriate a dry and secure room in the back part of the large house rented of Mr Hornby for the lodgment of the records of the Honourable the

¹ From Gov Consultation 27th July 1786 Pub Diary 88 of 1786, 197.

² Pub Diary 88 of 1786, 562-563

³ On the 7th May 1803 the Committee's Secretary writes to the Civil Paymaster I am directed by the Town Committee to request you will furnish them as soon as possible with the following information What the Old Town Hall in the Bazar sold for and the number of square yards the property comprised (Bombay Town Committee Vol 163 of 1803, 313-314.) In reply the same day (7th May 1803) the Civil Paymaster writes In reply to your letter of this date you will inform the Committee that the Old Town Hall was sold by public outcry on 21st August 1786 to Harjivan Supat for Rs. 22,600 as appears by the records of the Civil pay office I have referred to the Collector's office for the measurement which I find to be stated in a report of the veredors and maffaras under date 15th January 1787 at 8187½ square feet (Ditto, 314-315) This Town Hall is the Court of Judicature of 1675. The shell remains in Bazar Gate Street

⁴ As regards the sale deed of this Town Hall the Diary of the 30th December 1788 has the following entry The Secretary lays before the Board the deed of sale of the Town Hall which is ordered to be executed and delivered to the purchaser Harjivan Supat Pub. Diary 93 of 1788, 169.

Mayor's Court.¹ As the warehouses and shops beneath the Town Hall are soon to be delivered up, it is agreed to allow the tobacco farmer the monthly sum of Rs. 80 in lieu of those warehouses and it is expected he will immediately provide himself with proper places of which the Collector must be acquainted.²

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Mayor's Court,
1786.

Letter from the Register to the Mayor's Court, dated Bombay Town Hall 28th August 1786: I am commanded by the Honourable the Mayor to acknowledge receipt of your Secretary's letter of the 25th instant acquainting the Court that the ground on which the Old Town Hall stands had been sold and that the land paymaster had received orders to prepare a room in the large house rented of Mr. Hornby for the reception of the Court's records. In answer thereto I am directed to acquaint your Honourable Board that for a long time past the Mayor's Court have laboured under great inconveniences from the want of a proper place to meet in. As this will not be obviated by the removal of their records to the place allotted, I am ordered to request your Honourable Board to appoint some proper place to meet in or the Court will be under the necessity of renting a house and charging the Honourable Company with the expense thereof.³

On the above letter the Board resolve on the 30th August 1786: Read a letter from the Honourable Mayor's Court signifying their being in want of a place to assemble in and representing that a proper accommodation may be appropriated for that purpose. Ordered that they be acquainted, we have come to a determination of building a New Town Hall and until that be finished the Court will be accommodated with a room in the house rented of Mr. Hornby if convenient to them.⁴

The following extracts of 1788 show that the Mayor's Court was removed from the Old Town Hall to the Admiralty House in 1786. Letter from the Mayor's Court to Government, dated Bombay Castle 17th March 1788. Having summoned the members of the Honourable the Mayor's Court to lay before them your letter of the 17th instant addressed officially to me and acquainting me that from public exigency you had ordered a set of rooms in the bandar or custom house to be appropriated for the reception of the Mayor's Court, they unanimously came to the following resolution which by their desire I have the honour of communicating to you: That they should consider an assent on their part to be highly derogatory to the dignity of the Court and at all events the place to be extremely inconvenient for its meetings. That they therefore desire some proper and commodious building may be allotted for the reception of the Court; since until such time as it can meet, conveniently with its dignity and convenience, the Mayor and Aldermen must be under the necessity of adjourning their meetings and suspending the administration of civil justice or of carrying into execution their resolution communicated to the Honourable the Governor and Council under the 28th August 1786 (copy of which I

1738.

¹ This Hornby House also called Admiralty House and the Recorder's Court is the present (1893) Old High Court or Great Western Hotel.

² Pub. Diary 88 of 1786, 518-519.

³ Pub. Diary 88 of 1786, 579.

⁴ Bom Gov. Consultation 30th Aug. 1786, Pub. Diary 88 of 1786, 577.

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

Mayor's Court,
1788.

have the honour to enclose) of renting a house for the reception of the Court at the expense of the Honourable Company.

On the above letter a Consultation of the 20th March 1788 records: The President (the Honourable Andrew Ramsay) lays before the Board a letter addressed him by the Mayor and acquaints us that the Admiralty House wherein the Mayor's Court had for some time past been assembled, being now appropriated to the accommodation of the officers of His Majesty's 71st Regiment he had directed a suite of apartments in the bandar to be fitted up for the Court not as a permanent, but as a temporary place for their meetings until a more suitable building can be provided for them. The President observing at the same time that Courts have been frequently held in the bandar heretofore without its having ever been considered as derogatory to their dignity. Resolved therefore that the Court be acquainted that we shall provide a suitable place for their reception as soon as it may be in our power. In the meantime we hope they will put up with such accommodation as the bandar affords.¹

Thereupon the Register to the Mayor's Court wrote the following letter to Government on the 21st March 1788. Your Secretary's letter of the 21st instant having this day been taken into consideration by the Honourable the Mayor's Court they have directed me to acquaint your Honourable Board that they unanimously remain in the opinion notified to the Honourable the President in the Worshipful the Mayor's letter of the 17th instant. As the Honourable the Court of Directors have given orders for the expenses of the Court to be defrayed from their treasury, they the Court have further commanded me to again inform your Honourable Board that, unless some commodious building is immediately allotted for the Court to meet in, they shall be under the necessity of renting a house and charging the Honourable Company with the expense thereof in order that the business of the Court which has already met with considerable delay may no longer be impeded.

On receipt of the above letter at a Consultation on the 25th March 1788, the President acquaints the Board that in consequence of the inconvenience which the Mayor's Court apprehend would attend their carrying on their proceedings in the bandar he has directed that the part of the marine house at present occupied by the Secretary to the marine board be fitted up as a Court House and Town Hall, the expense of which by an estimate made by the engineer and now before us will not exceed Rs. 137. This intention must be accordingly communicated to the Mayor's Court. We think it necessary to remark that as we have allotted them apartments in the bandar wherein courts had been frequently held and which in our opinions would have answered the purpose very well for the present, we have been in no way necessary to their legal proceedings being impeded.²

¹ Pub. Diary 92 of 1788, 241-243. Forrest's Home Series, II 315-316.

² Bom. Gov. Consultation 25th March 1788, Pub. Diary 92 of 1788, 248-249. Forrest's Home Series, II. 316

On the 11th January 1791 the Register of the Mayor's Court writes to Government: The attorneys of the Mayor's Court having represented to the Court that the place allotted them in the Town Hall is much too small and confined, I am directed by the Court to request that the necessary orders may be given to the proper officer to enlarge the same so that it may be wide sufficiently spacious and commodious for the attorneys' accommodation.¹

On receipt of the above letter a Consultation of the 18th January 1791 records. Read the above letter from the Mayor's Court in consequence of which the land paymaster will be directed to make the alterations in the Town Hall requested by the Court.²

On the 15th February 1791 the Register of the Mayor's Court writes to Government: The land paymaster having represented to the Mayor's Court that your Honourable Board had objected to his plan for the proposed alterations in the Town Hall, I am directed by the Court to acquaint you that such plan was duly considered and approved of by the Court before I was last commanded to address you, and that the alterations therein laid down are such as the Court deem absolutely necessary for their accommodation and that of their officers.

On the 18th February 1791 Government observe: In answer to the foregoing letter the Mayor's Court must be informed that the situation of the Company's treasury will not permit of their authorising further alterations to be made to the Court House than they have already empowered the land paymaster to execute.³

At a Consultation of the 24th April 1787 the Board record: Encroachments having been made within the walls of the garrison by the native inhabitants having built numerous houses which may essentially interfere with the public works and be detrimental to the health of the community, we think it expedient to appoint a committee consisting of the land paymaster, collector, and chief engineer who must be directed to examine the several private buildings now carrying on within the town walls and report how far they may be prejudicial in these respects. The committee must also suspend the progress of such buildings as they judge proper until they have completed the said report.⁴

In consequence of the Consultation of the 24th April 1787 the following letter was addressed on the 7th May 1787 to Mr. William Arden, provisional collector, Mr Patrick Craufurd Bruce, land paymaster and Major Robert Nicholson, chief engineer: The Honourable the President and Council having noticed various encroachments within the town wall by the erection of numerous private buildings which they apprehend must be detrimental to the works, as well as prejudicial to the health of the community, have judged expedient to appoint you a committee for investigating these abuses, directing that you report to

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Mayor's Court,
1791.

Encroachments,
1787.

Buildings
Committee,
1787.

¹ Pub. Diary 98 of 1791, 22.

² Bona Gov. Consultation 18th Jan. 1791, Pub. Diary 98 of 1791, 22.

³ Bona Gov. Consultation 18th Feb. 1791, Pub. Diary 98 of 1791, 79.

⁴ Pub. Diary 90 of 1787, 333.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Buildings
Committee,
1787.

them fully your sentiments thereon, and that in the interim you put a stop to the progress of such buildings now carrying on as you may think necessary.¹

At a Consultation, dated the 21st August 1787, the Board read the following letter from the above committee to the Honourable Dawson Hunt Baddam Esquire, President and Governor in Council, dated Bombay 21st August 1787. In obedience to your order of the 7th May appointing us a committee for inspecting private buildings we have made enquiry concerning the various buildings now erecting by private people within the town wall. We find that the proprietors of the houses now building have had permission according to the usual and established mode, and that they have restricted themselves within the limits of their ground. Hitherto in the absence of any restriction respecting the height of houses the confined extent of their ground has led many of the black inhabitants in their part of the town to raise their homes to so great height as may be injurious to the healthiness of the town. It has likewise been unfortunate, both for the coolness and the appearance of the town, that little attention has been given to the breadth of the streets, and to keeping them as much as possible straight cutting each other at right angles. To suddenly remedy these inconveniences might be oppressive to many individuals and would occasion a very heavy expense. But a cure might be effected in the course of a moderate time, without injustice or much expense, by proper regulations rigidly adhered to; since in all well-regulated communities the convenience of an individual must give way to the public good. We would recommend that the principal street within the town and round the works should be enlarged to fifty feet in width clear of all projections. All new houses to be built at that distance from those immediately opposite to them, or from the walls of the town. The cross streets to be enlarged to twenty-five feet, clear of all projections, and the lanes to fifteen feet. The present width of the street towards the works is conformable to regulations of a very long standing in the engineer's office. On enquiry we find those regulations have been very strictly attended to in confining the newly erected buildings to the old site and limits of the ground. A material alteration would in course take place from this time forward, if the proposed recommendation regarding the breadth of the streets is adopted. We would likewise recommend that all houses to be built in future in that part of the town belonging to the black inhabitants, shall not be raised higher than thirty-two feet from the terreplein to the eaves, that is two feet for the height of the floor and thirty feet from the floor to the eaves, which is about two European stories. The native inhabitants not to be restricted in the number of their stories provided their houses do not exceed the above height. We are of opinion it would be better to regulate the height of houses belonging to the native inhabitants rather from the eaves than from the ridge-beam, because their ground is often extremely narrow which obliges them to increase the size of their houses in the depth. In this case supposing a house of sixty feet

¹ Committee Buildings Diary 177 of 1787-1793, 1.

in depth and allowing for the proper and necessary slope of the roof, there would remain very little height for the wall not more than sufficient for one storey. This would be particularly injurious to the more wealthy part of the inhabitants, as likewise to the weavers whose houses require to be of a great depth in order to give a sufficient length for their webs. In our opinion the projections of the shops in the bazar or principal street of the black town, are a very great nuisance and ought all to be immediately removed, as being positive encroachments on the street, and receptacles for every kind of filth and nastiness. In many parts of the town inhabited by the natives a very filthy practice is permitted of necessaries opening into the streets. This in every respect is highly offensive. These necessaries, we should hope, will immediately be ordered to be closed and nothing of the kind admitted under a very severe penalty including imprisonment and corporal punishment to the lower classes of the inhabitants. Each householder, we also think, should be obliged to clean daily that part of the street opposite his dwelling house and to carry the rubbish and filth to convenient places to be fixed on for that purpose in every street to be under the direction of the scavenger whose people and carts should attend daily to carry it off. Any householder allowing the dirt to remain in the street opposite his house should be fined. The admitting all kinds of goods to be piled up on what is called the Green and in that area opposite to the Maudvi we likewise think is a nuisance and being allowed to extend indiscriminately to all sorts of goods, may on some occasions be productive of unhealthy consequences. In all events it is a very great inconvenience and eyesore allowing goods to be tossed down anywhere at the option of the proprietor. We should therefore recommend that the putting goods on the Green or on any other open area within the town, should be restricted to particular kinds of specified goods; and that the inspection and control of the business should be placed under such authority as might effectually prevent the inconvenience from going beyond the limits allowed by Government. We have much reason to imagine that many individuals have encroached beyond the proper limits of their ground, and particularly those whose houses or compounds extend to lanes and alleys. To detect such abuses effectually it will be necessary to make a complete survey and measurement of the whole of the private property within the town. This at the same time might serve the good purpose of establishing the future intended improvements in the town by ascertaining the best and most advantageous direction for the streets and lanes. We would recommend a heavy fine to be levied from every person who may have encroached, and, if wanted for public purposes, the ground to be taken, or if left with the possessor he in course to be charged with the customary ground rent.

Throughout the whole town the streets are exceedingly in want of repair. Indeed the larger part have never even been formed. In consequence of this during the rains the water lodges upon them and makes them very dirty. Those in that part of the town inhabited by the natives are in a dreadful situation, and particularly during the rainy

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

Buildings
Committee,
1787.

Bombay Streets,
1787.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings
 Bombay Streets,
 1787.

season in many parts they are knee deep in mud. This in course must become putrid and be extremely offensive and detrimental to the health of the inhabitants. To remedy this effectually would require a very heavy expense, because it would be necessary to form sewers throughout the whole town to lead off to the sea. But much might be remedied by having the streets regularly formed with a pretty high arch, and where possible to give them a slope for the water to run off. It will be necessary likewise to give them a good substantial foundation and cover them with shingle and sandstone rubbish, both of which articles are in great abundance and at no great distance from the town. As considerable expense will be required to carry this into execution, and it being a matter solely for the benefit convenience and healthiness of the inhabitants, they ought in course to bear the burden. The mode of taxation may be easily determined and could be noways difficult to collect from so rich a community.¹

At a Consultation, the 24th August 1787, the Board record. We admit the propriety of the measures recommended by the committee for remedying the inconvenience pointed out by them and for the general improvement of the town. Such part of the regulations as will not incur any expense to the Company must be carried into immediate execution, in particular those which will conduce to cleanliness. The necessary orders must be accordingly given to the officers whose province it is to superintend and enforce the observance of these regulations.²

Town Hall,
 1799

At their Consultation the 15th October 1799, Government read the following letter from Messrs. James Anderson and William Sandwith, attorneys to Colonel Jones, dated Bombay August 1799. On the arrival in September 1798 of Sir William Sycet, the first Recorder, on house was taken for his residence at the rate of Rs 200 a month. Sir William desired the monthly bills might be drawn out in his name and that we would consider him and not the Company as our tenant. This wish of Sir William was complied with until he intimated to us that he was about to quit the house as his private residence and that he had obtained your consent to retain it as a Town Hall. We therefore consider it as necessary that some official agreement should exist between Government and us. You must be very sensible, Sir, that the transforming a house from a private dwelling into a place of public justice subjects it in a more than ordinary degree to every species of damage. We therefore trust under such considerations that the undermentioned proposal will not be deemed unreasonable. The rent to be paid quarterly at Rs 250 a month and the repairs on the part of Government. That it be taken for not less than three or more than five years. That, on the Company relinquishing the tenancy, the house to be put by them into its original state of dwelling house. On this letter the President, Honorable Jonathan Duncanson, makes the following minute. Understanding that Sir William Sycet has in consequence

¹ Pub. Diary 91 of 1787, 704-707. Committee Buildings Diary 177 of 1787-1793, 2-5.

² Pub. Diary 91 of 1787, 707-709.

of my application to him for that purpose made the following agreement with Mr. Anderson subject to the ratification of Government, I recommend that the same be approved accordingly, namely: That Government take the house for three years at a rate of Rs 200 a month and keep it in repair during the term, it having been first put into proper repair by the landlord. Provided nevertheless that if Government choose to quit it before the expiration of the term of three years that they shall be at liberty to do so giving three months notice of their intention and paying an additional rent of Rs. 50 a month for such time as they have held it. That Government at the end or other expiration of the said term shall restore the house to its original state at their expense except as to such of the alterations that the landlords may choose to continue. The Board concurring in the President's recommendation, ordered an answer to be accordingly despatched in the terms of his minute to Messrs. Anderson and Sandwith's application.¹

The great fire of 1803 in the north of the town gave an opportunity for introducing throughout the area affected a system of wider and more regular streets. On the 26th March 1803 Government resolved to appoint a committee under the title of the Town Committee to carry out Government instructions regarding the improvements to be made and to determine the compensation that might be found necessary in making such improvements.²

This committee which was called the Town Committee received the following instructions: Upon due consideration of the several suggestions from our own members it may perhaps become expedient to allow the native merchants whose premises have been burnt to build, in lieu of those now destroyed, warehouses for the reception under due precautions, of their goods and counting houses in as far in respect to both these descriptions of structures, as shall be deemed consistent with a due regard to the security of the fort. This seems at the first glance to oppose this class of inhabitants being allowed to have their dwelling houses within the walls. Objection is also rightly taken to any of the proposed warehouses or offices being of more than two stories at the highest or otherwise covered than by terraces instead of the pitched roofs that have hitherto prevailed. It may be hoped that you will be able to convince the natives in question of the unadvisableness of their residing in a garrison crowded with lofty structures filled with goods and merchandise and intersected by such narrow streets as existed before the late fire. And that from the conviction forced on their minds by the late sad calamity, they will willingly concur in the expediency of their dwelling houses and families being without the fort where they ought to be sensible that under the advantage of our insular situation both will be in perfect security. The motives for our inclining to admit any description of their goods to be lodged within the

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

Town Hall,
1799.

Town Committee,
1803.

Street
Improvements,
1803.

¹ Pub. Diary 111 of 1799, 2691-2695.

² The members of this committee were Messrs J. H. Cherry, R. Jones, W. Scott, W. Brookes, Simon Halliday, and P. Hall. Mr. Hallot was appointed their secretary on a salary of Rs. 400.

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

Street
Improvements,
1803.

walls and for their being consequently indulged with counting houses adjoining arise out of what the papers now transmitted to you indicate to be the local circumstances of the harbour, where that part of it immediately opposite to the fortifications is represented to be the only eligible spot for the lading of ships particularly during the monsoon. This point it will be your object still further to investigate since it would certainly prove above all things desirable that every mercantile house, especially of the natives, should be situated without the fort as is completely the case at Calcutta and has we understand lately become so at Madras. Before any plan be finally adopted it is necessary that the right of possession or property in the tract land waste by the late conflagration should be thoroughly ascertained. Towards assisting in this inquiry you are herewith furnished with statements taken from the Collector's registry of the two descriptions of ground, namely public and private affected by this calamity. To these statements are added remarks from Mr. De Souza a well-informed native of this place. We are pleased to find Mr. Hall, the Company's attorney, does not deem it necessary altogether to acquiesce in Mr. De Souza's conclusions. Mr. Hall considers that the part of the ground styled 'public' was given to the tenants not in perpetuity as understood by Mr. De Souza but merely as a permissive indulgence to be resumed at will. Mr. Hall holds that unless any of the public or unpensioned tenants can show leases from Government conferring a superior title, those distinguished under the name of pensioned proprietors can alone claim compensation from the Honourable Company for any ground which it may be deemed advisable to reoccupy.¹

The following are extracts from the record of the committee's proceedings and the correspondence between them and Government. In April (23rd) 1803 the Town Committee's Secretary writes to the Secretary to Government: I am directed by the Town Committee to communicate through you their request to the Honourable the Governor in Council, that information may be afforded them what ground it will be indispensably necessary to reserve between the ramparts and the houses which may be eventually rebuilt within the garrison. I am further directed to request that the information thus applied for may be furnished with all practicable despatch.²

In reply to the above on the 27th April 1803 the Secretary to Government writes to the President of the Committee. In acknowledgment of your Secretary's letter, dated the 23rd instant, I am directed by the Governor in Council to intimate that forty feet should be reserved between the ramparts and the houses, but whenever the present open space is greater, it is not to be narrowed.³

On the 25th April 1803 the Committee write to Government: We have now the honour to report to you the further proceedings of this committee upon the important objects which you have been pleased to

Houses within
the Fort,
1803.

¹ Bom. Gov. Diary 26th Mar. 1803, Pub. Diary 172 of 1803, 1175-1178.

² Bombay Town Committee's Diary 183 of 1803, 221. Pub. Diary 173 of 1803, 1609.

³ Bombay Town Committee's Diary 183 of 1803, 262. Pub. Diary 173 of 1803, 1610.

refer to their consideration. In directing their attention to the material question of any recommendation to your Honourable Board for allowing the native merchants to build within the fort, in lieu of their houses destroyed by the late calamity, it became the first subject of their investigation whether and to what extent such an allowance was compatible with the safety and protection of the fort. In order to ascertain this point the committee had recourse to the highest military opinions to which they had access, as well as those of their own members, who were competent to decide upon it, which were uniformly favourable to the allowance of building upon a prescribed and modified plan. Having proceeded thus far the committee had recourse to the instructions of your Honourable Board respecting the nature and description of such intended buildings. Regarding this they observe that warehouses and counting houses were alone in your contemplation, exclusive of dwelling houses, which you conceived, on due regard to the security of the fort, seemed at the first glance, to oppose. This you further confirmed by suggesting that it would certainly prove above all things desirable that every mercantile house especially of the natives should be situated without the fort as is completely the case at Calcutta and has lately been enforced at Madras. The committee were fully aware of the justice and propriety of these directions of your Honourable Board as originating from the unfortunate cause which occasioned your interference and the best and most probable prevention of its recurrence in future. It was from these ideas that the first object of the committee was directed to a separation of those articles of traffic within the fort from which the greatest, if not the only, danger was to be apprehended such as oil dammar and *ghee* usually imported into the Mándvi. For this purpose it became a natural subject of enquiry if any other situation without the Fort could be selected for the importation of these articles with equal convenience to those engaged in the traffic and the safety and security of the small vessels employed in it. This became further necessary if not indispensable from the recommendation of the commanding officer to shut up the passage of the Mándvi for the security of the garrison. The success of this investigation has been already reported to your Honourable Board in pointing out a situation not only fully adequate to the purpose but attended with many superior advantages to the future safety and encouragement of this branch of traffic and to the convenience and accommodation of those who are employed in it. When this alteration in the destination of the trade takes place the committee entertain little doubt that the persons by whom it is conducted, who are very numerous, will be anxious to change their residence in the fort to a situation more contiguous to their trade without the walls which will remove a considerable class of inhabitants who formerly contributed to crowd the town and whose residence was the most dangerous to its safety. The committee having thus, as they conceived, accorded with the suggestions of your Honourable Board in removing the source of the danger were induced to listen to the urgent and anxious request of the native merchants to recommend to your Honourable Board their being allowed a residence for their families within the fort connect-

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Houses within
the Fort,
1803.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

*Houses within
the Fort,
1807.*

ed with retail shops, or counting houses. With this view they applied to Captain Brooke, to delineate a plan which should at the same time unite the two essential principles of the security and protection of the fort combined with immediate convenience and accommodation as well as a due attention to the limitation of the houses in their form and height and the free admission and circulation of air through the streets of the proposed buildings. This plan has been accordingly prepared by Captain Brooke which we have examined with the most minute attention and take the liberty of expressing our opinion that it appears to combine every useful and every necessary object and merit the consideration of your Honourable Board for its ultimate adoption. Captain Brooke has accompanied this plan with a full and accurate description of its parts and a statement of the reasons which induced him in its particular formation. All these with the plan itself and drawings and dissection of the proposed houses we have the honour to submit to your inspection. Although the committee were fully satisfied with the propriety and expediency of adopting the plan suggested by Captain Brooke they were desirous of fulfilling the letter as well as the spirit of the instructions of your Honourable Board in reconciling the natives to the proposed arrangement or at least in showing every degree of attention by consulting them respecting it. With this view they directed a meeting to be called of the most respectable of the different castes, to whom the committee presented the different plans and explained their objects. When after much consultation and conversation among themselves they requested a few days time to consider the plans more maturely to which the committee assented allowing them to retain the draught, for that purpose. At their next meeting the committee were again attended by the natives who came prepared with detailed objections to the plan proposed by Captain Brooke, the whole originating, as it appeared to the committee, from the anxiety they expressed to be permitted to rebuild their houses upon the former ground which they represented would prevent expense in laying new foundations, would save the necessity of altering the public drains, would preserve the wells attached to their former houses, and would obviate that confusion of property which would naturally ensue from adopting a new plan intersecting the ground of individuals and occasion much trouble in the adjustment of claims and indemnities. Besides these objections they complained that the new plan would deprive them of a great part of their former property and particularly by the proposed allowance of 60 feet from the ramparts to the buildings round the fort. They urged some lesser objections which the committee removed at the time.

Were the committee to acquiesce in the force of these objections by permitting a reoccupation of their former sites even although the streets of the town were widened and the form of the houses limited, points which were conceded by the natives even to a small diminution of their particular grounds, they apprehend it would be deviating from the object of their institution and

instructions to adopt a mode of preventing the recurrence of a similar calamity, as the town would be still crowded with winding and irregular streets totally incompatible with its protection and security as a fortified place. When the objections themselves are met and considered they do not appear to merit that weight and consequence which it is endeavoured to attach to them. Some difficulties certainly must occur in the arrangement of a new plan of this nature and description; but these must give way to the superior and paramount consideration of the great object in view. As to the expense of digging a new foundation it has been found upon investigation not much to exceed Rs. 400, which is no great addition to the value of a house of Rs. 6000 or 7000. As although the altering the drains may be attended with some expense yet the operation is easy and practicable. The arrangement of the wells may be a matter of great difficulty but in many cases they may fall within the new plan and consequently retain their use. The obvious confusion of property which a new system of lines must occasion, appears to be the most serious consideration. Still even this may be adjusted by ascertaining the quantity of ground withdrawn from individuals and granting them such compensation as their rights may entitle them to and in many cases an arrangement of such property may be made with their neighbours upon equitable principles of valuation where the parties have a right to sell. As to the deprivation of property complained of there appears no solidity in the objection, the object of their wishes will be attained, a comfortable residence for their families, a shop for their business, and a more salubrious situation than they formerly enjoyed. The objections to the quantity of ground round the ramparts must be inadmissible in every point of view. Further it shows the spirit in which all these objections are made of excluding every consideration other than private convenience and accommodation. The committee with great deference submit to the superior discernment of your Honorable Board this consideration in answer to the objections of the natives how far the plan suggested ought to be altered or affected by them. It may also be said that the proposed plan will exclude from the town many of the former inhabitants and that the poorer sort cannot afford to build houses upon the new system. With respect to the exclusion of inhabitants the committee consider it a desirable object to be attained as many of the previous inhabitants had no right to a residence in the fort. They had no business to transact and were merely drones in the hive interrupting the business and pursuits of others. The change of the Mándvi will also withdraw a considerable number of petty traders who will find it to their interest as well as to be more convenient to be near the scene of their traffic. Thus the accommodations within the fort will be left to the more respectable and wealthy merchants who have the best claim to its protection. The poorer sort who may have ground which would entitle them to build can easily dispose of this property to others with much advantage and betake themselves to another residence more suitable to their circumstances and more convenient to their occupations which excludes every claim of compassion to this last

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

**Houses within
the Fort,
1803.**

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.**

**Houses within
the Fort,
1803.**

species of proprietor. The committee take the liberty of pointing out to your Honorable Board that by the plan of Captain Brookes, agreeable to the suggestion of the Commander of the forces, a spot in the centre of the proposed buildings is laid down to be appropriated to military purposes. At the same time the committee cannot help observing that if this military space could be dispensed with it would tend to relieve the Company in a considerable degree from the probable demands which may be made upon them for indemnities on account of those whose property may be thus applied. Before taking leave of this subject the committee hope to be forgiven for submitting to your Honorable Board that it appears to them there is a considerable difference in the analogy between Fort William of Calcutta and Fort St. George of Madras with this garrison. The two former are small in the comparison and calculated merely for defence, while the extensive fortifications of Bombay and the considerable area it contains appear more nearly to resemble the various fortified cities on the continent of Europe where the inhabitants of civil occupations and pursuits are united and mixed with the troops who are appointed to defend them. The committee take the liberty of suggesting this comparison to account for their adopting an opinion in favour of rebuilding this place and particularly as it seems to meet the approbation of the Commanding Officer and finally to become an object of reference by your Honourable Board.

The committee have adverted to that part of the instructions of your Honourable Board recommending them to point out a spot for the residence of the natives beyond the boundaries of the engineer's limits. As the other important objects of your reference have hitherto entirely engrossed the attention of the committee they will not fail to enter upon this last subject at an early period of their future deliberations. With respect to the compensations to be granted by the Honourable Company to such proprietors as may be found entitled to them, particularly recommended to the consideration of the committee by the 4th paragraph of the instructions of your Honourable Board, a case has been prepared on the subject by Mr. Hall which they have directed to be laid before the Company's counsel for his advice and opinion. When this is obtained the committee will have the honour of submitting the whole to your Honourable Board.¹

**Proposed
Improvements,
1803.**

On the 29th April 1803 the Secretary to Government wrote to the Town Committee. In acknowledgment of your letter dated the 25th instant I am directed to intimate that whilst the Governor in Council has the utmost reason to be satisfied with the zeal and meritorious exertions displayed in the progress you have hitherto made in the discharge of the arduous duty committed to you, and is also disposed to approve and sanction the plan now suggested for rebuilding that quarter of the town which was the scene of the late conflagration, he must, however anxious to accelerate so desirable an object, postpone

¹ Bombay Town Committee's Diary 133 of 1803, 230-241. Pub. Diary 173 of 1803, 1684-1694.

the authorising its being commenced until he shall have before him a general estimate at least of the expense likely to be entailed on the Honourable Company by its execution. This must, the Governor in Council is sensible, have for its ground-work the opinion to be delivered by the Company's counsel on the case which has been submitted to him. On procuring this opinion your committee, applying the lights thus obtained to the extent and description of the ground now to be taken from the inhabitants, are required to draw up estimates of the amount of indemnifications which may be thereon claimable from the Company. First according to the largest extent of the proposed improvements, that is, allowing the width of 60 feet between the interior part of the works and the houses and for the complete dimensions of the central place of arms as proposed by General Nicolls, and Secondly an estimate limiting the width of the communication between the interior part of the works and the houses to 40 feet and without any allowance for a central place of arms otherwise than may be afforded by the breadth of the principal street which is proposed to be of 40 feet.¹

On the 2nd May 1803 the Town Committee wrote to Government: We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Honourable Board's commands, dated 27th and 29th ultimo. The approbation which you have been pleased to convey of our conduct in the progress of the duties hitherto proceeded on cannot fail to animate our future exertions. We beg leave to transmit for the immediate perusal of your Honourable Board copy of the case and opinion of the Company's counsel alluded to in the last para of our letter of the 25th ultimo.² The estimate suggested by the letter of your Honourable Board respecting compensations so far as it can be at present prepared has been undertaken by Captain Brookes and shall be handed up to your Honourable Board as soon as it is completed. In the meantime the Committee were desirous to furnish the law opinion they have received ascertaining the principles upon which this compensation may be adjusted.³

The Committee's diary of the 11th May 1803 has the following entry: Captain Brookes having delivered in to the committee the estimate respecting compensations which he formerly undertook to prepare and which is alluded to in the last paragraph of the committee's letter to Government of the 2nd instant, the same is now read and the Secretary is ordered to reduce it to the form of a letter to be addressed to Government which is accordingly done.⁴

At a Consultation of the 13th May 1803 read the following letter⁵ from the Town Committee with accompaniments, dated 11th May 1803: In reference to your Secretary's letter of the 29th April and to the promise communicated in the last paragraph of our address of 2nd May we have now the honour to submit to your Honourable

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Proposed
Improvements,
1803.

Compensation
for Improvements,
1803.

¹ Bombay Town Committee's Diary 2nd May 1803 Vol. 153 of 1803, 265-266. Pub. Diary 173 of 1803, 1708-1710.

² For the case and the opinion see Bombay Town Committee's Diary 183 of 1803.

³ Bombay Town Committee's Diary 183 of 1803, 299-301. Pub. Diary 174 of 1803, 1795-96.

⁴ Bombay Town Committee's Diary 183 of 1803, 328.
⁵ Pub. Diary 174 of 1803, 1966-1973, Town Committee's Diary 183 of 1803, 328-335.

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Compensation
for Improvements,
1803.

Board our sentiments upon the subject of compensation therein alluded to. To facilitate the investigations of the committee it was thought desirable to ascertain the quantity of ground occupied by the old streets in that part of the town recently destroyed by the fire in order that by a comparison with the quantity required for the same purpose under the new plan we might be enabled to judge if any and to what extent compensation for loss of ground would be necessary. The present confused state of the bazar rendered it impossible to obtain any correct measurement of the town. The committee therefore have had recourse to the most authentic document which is now extant, namely a survey of the place by the late Major Spaeth.¹ Since this period few if any alterations have been made in the public streets. These measurements must differ somewhat from the truth as we have no better authority for the positions of the lines marking the boundary of the late calamity than a careful inspection affords. The result is that of 102,393 square yards laid waste by the fire the old streets occupied 28,659. If the proposed design is adopted the new streets upon the same space will require 29,621 a sum exceeding the former by 965 square yards. These measurements relate merely to the space in ruins. Therefore to rebuild that space upon the proposed plan does not appear likely to involve an expense worth much notice. The extent for the proposed place of arms given by the officer commander-in-chief is 15,000 square yards and to effect a clear space 60 feet wide along the ramparts from the Banian bastion to the Mándvi, may require about 12,000 square yards in addition to the deficiency of 965 abovementioned. Upon this view of the subject compensation for 27,965 square yards will be wanting and also for some houses which must come down in order to carry into effect the suggestion of 60 feet clear along the ramparts.

Towards the Bazar Gate 61 houses remain a list of which we have the honour to enclose.² These stand upon the assessor's books at the

¹ The record of this survey is not available. It was apparently made some time after 1780 (see above page 491). The first recorded order for a regular survey of the island was in 1772 to Lieut Turner and Mr Witman a cadet (Pub. Diary 61 of 1772, 305, 766). No record of the execution and results of that survey has been traced.

² The details are

Houses Remaining near to the Bazar Gate, 1803.

No.	Street.	Annual Valuation	5 per cent Assessment.	No.	Street.	Annual Valuation	5 per cent Assessment
57	Perah (Bohori) Bazar	Rs 600	Rs 30	67	Perah (Bohori) Bazar	Rs 540	Rs 27
58	Ditto	120	6	68	Ditto	1050	52 1/2
59	Ditto	150	7 1/2	69	Ditto	120	6
60	Ditto	720	36	70	Ditto	600	30
61	Ditto	1200	60				
62	Ditto	500	25		Total	6658	332 1/2
63	Ditto	120	6				
64	Ditto	120	6				
65	Ditto	120	6	70	Bazar Gate Street	710	35 1/2
66	Ditto	000	0	80	Ditto	120	6
					Total	720	36

gross annual value of Rs. 25,155. Many of them are old on which account ten years' purchase may perhaps be a reasonable price for them, and this amounts to Rs. 2,51,530. Probably one-half of these houses must come down to open a clear space of sixty feet along the works. Certain documents produced to the committee, supply an idea of the market price of land within the gates. It may be useful to ascertain how much the price has risen above the ordinary value of equally good land in less fortunate situations.¹

We learn from these documents that some time in 1786 the Honourable Company sold at public auction to Narjivan Sirpat a building called the Old Court House situated in the Bazar Gate street together with the land on which it stood containing 909½ square yards for Rs. 22,600.² Some years later the plot of ground called the land pay office yard situated also within the gates near to the King's barracks and containing about 1200 square yards was at a public sale bought in at Rs. 62,000. The value of the Old Court House not being on the books in the civil pay office, we can only offer a conjecture as to the worth of the building which may be a liberal one if taken at one-fourth of the abovementioned purchase money, the other three-fourths or Rs. 16,950 remaining for 909 square yards which is Rs. 18-2-52 the square yard.

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Value of Land,
1803.

Houses Remaining towards the Bazar Gate, 1803—continued.

No.	Street.	Annual Valuation	5 per cent Assessment	No.	Street.	Annual Valuation	5 per cent Assessment
5	Gola Lane Total	Rs 500	Rs 10	8	Manojda Rupji Street	Rs 300	Rs 15
1	Mangn Smay Lane	102	5	9	Ditto	15	2
2	Ditto	204	10	10	Ditto	150	7
3	Ditto	703	35	11	Ditto	18	2
4	Ditto	312	15	12	Ditto	150	7
5	Ditto	720	36	13	Ditto	120	6
6	Ditto	170	8	14	Ditto	111	5
7	Ditto	500	25		Total	1620	81
8	Ditto	510	25	15	Rampart Row East	100	5
9	Ditto	391	19	16	Ditto	120	6
10	Ditto	210	10	17	Ditto	96	4
11	Ditto	210	10	18	Ditto	360	18
12	Ditto	210	10	19	Ditto	360	18
13	Ditto	210	10	20	Ditto	360	18
14	Ditto	180	9	21	Ditto	150	7
15	Ditto	1410	70	22	Ditto	150	7
	Total	6303	315	23	Ditto	1050	52
1	Thakurdaur Street	300	15	24	Ditto	210	10
2	Ditto	102	5	25	Ditto	720	36
3	Ditto	31	1	26	Ditto	600	30
4	Ditto	360	18	27	Ditto	120	6
5	Ditto	120	6		Total	5018	250
6	Ditto	111	5	19	Hornby Row	1500	75
7	Ditto	111	5	20	Ditto	100	5
8 & 9	Ditto	150	7		Total	1900	95
10	Ditto	720	36		Grand Total	27,055	1352
	Total	2191	109				

¹ Pub. Diary 171 of 1803, 1971.

² The details are given in a letter from W. Crawford civil paymaster to the Secretary Town Committee, dated 7th May 1803. The sale was on the 21st August 1786, the building is described as the Old Town Hall and the area 8187½ square feet equal to 909½ square yards. Pub. Diary 171 of 1803, 1975. See above page 488.

**Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings**

Value of Land,
1803

The second example the land pay office yard though not more in point is more within reach of examination. The new shed on the south side of this ground now in charge of the commissary of stores was not then in existence. All the other buildings upon it are very old and very common. If therefore we deduct Rs 2000 from the sum offered on account of these old buildings Rs 60,000 will remain as the price of 4290 square yards of land that is Rs 13-3-98 the square yard. Now if for the sake of whole numbers Rs 16 be considered the medium of the above prices, this may perhaps not be very wide of the market price of a square yard of land within the fort in situations convenient for business. Captain Brookes having been personally present with the Collector at the pay office yard sale, informs us that after an improper influence exerted by a particular family had been counteracted (and which for near an hour had kept the first lot at Rs 4000) the sale was a fair competition of bidders and must therefore be considered as a decisive criterion of the value of ground similarly situated that is of the market price¹

Compensation
for Improvements,
1803.

The ordinary annual ground rent for good land in Bombay without the gates near the town is 11 pces the square yard and a very handsome rent it is, being £16 12s 9d. the acre counting the rupees at 2s. 6d. As in Bombay the established rate of interest differs little from 9 per cent, land on account of its security may be fairly estimated in ordinary cases at fifteen years' purchase. By this computation 1 q. 65 pces should be the full price of a square yard in common cases without the gates so long as money can be borrowed on good security at 9 per cent. As it has been shown above that Rs 16 is near the market price of a square yard of land within the gates it follows that in favourable situations within the gates the growing competition for an article which cannot be increased has raised the market price 38 7/8 per cent above its natural value. If the above reasonings are just and the calculations accurate we must conclude that to re-build the space in ruins upon the proposed plan leaving forty feet clear along such parts of the ramparts as the late fire approached, may probably cost the Honorable Company Rs 15,110. To rebuild the space in ruins upon the proposed plan reserving a place of arms of given extent in such part thereof as may be thought proper, and reserving also a clear space sixty feet wide along the ramparts from the Baman bastion to the Mandra, the committee conceive, may involve the following expense:

Place of arms	Rs	2,10,000
Removal of houses	"	1,25,775
Sixty feet clear along the ramparts	"	2,07,110
Total	Rs.	5,42,885

This report being read the President delivers in a statement from Town Major Mr William Green, dated Bombay 13th May 1803,

¹ Details of this sale of the Company's ground situated between the Engine House and King's Barracks subject to a quit rent of Rs 5 a year and amount payable one month after delivery of the ground show that the area was sold in four lots. Lot 1 to Dhandji Dhandji for Rs 15,000, Lot 2 to the same for Rs 16,000, Lot 3 to the same for Rs 19,000, and Lot 4 to Nigra Khasan for Rs. 1000. Pub. Diary 171 of 1807, 1976.

showing that the breadth of the space left clear for a communication between the Church and Apollo Gates, that is in such part of the town as remained unaffected by the late fire, gives a medium breadth of twenty-four to twenty-five feet, while the like communication between the Church Gate and Bazár Gate averages not quite twenty feet.¹

After consideration at the same Consultation, Government determine to fix the future breadth of the communication along the works between Church Gate and Bazár Gate at forty feet that is at halfway between the present average breadth and the suggested width of sixty feet. This medium the Board remark combines in the greatest possible degree a necessary attention to economy with the requirements of public utility. In our opinion, they continue, the difference of twenty feet does not constitute a consideration equal to the expense of Rs 2,07,410 which the above recorded able and clear report from the town committee shows a sixty-foot broad communication would cost. Besides by limiting the breadth to forty feet due regard is shown to the situations of the late inhabitants who will thus be able to reoccupy if not the precise limits from which they were lately burnt out, yet each of them a nearly equivalent area within the same protected space without incurring any expense of material moment to the Honourable Company.

They add. The same combined motives preclude Government from allotting a place of arms within the walls in the space known under the denomination of Bombay Green. The members of the Board cannot think they should stand justified with their superiors in adopting this article of the propositions laid before them for the rebuilding of the Bazár, especially as since the period of that suggestion, circumstances have admitted of their allotting for military purposes, in the spot called Mody's bay, a still more extensive area than that originally proposed to be taken from the ground in the Bazár.

As the removal of the remaining houses in the Bazár is estimated to cost so large a sum as Rs. 1,25,775, Government will not enter upon what must be undertaken at so heavy a charge without the consent of the Honourable the Court of Directors further than by determining that in proportion as these houses fall into decay and require to be rebuilt, this shall not be admitted on any system other than one in strict consistence with the plan which the Board have already sanctioned for the erection of the new houses in that part of the Bazár which has been destroyed. Copies of these resolutions to be transmitted to the town committee with instructions to proceed to allot to each of the former proprietors of the houses in the Bazár lately consumed on the

Chapter IV. Fortifications and Buildings.

Compensation
for Improvements,
1803.

¹ The details in feet between the Church Gate and the Apollo Gate are: Church Gate 15, M^r. DeSouza's office 32, Fort of Cavalier 16, M^r. Crawford's house 56, General Nichol's house 31, Rope Walk 30, and road by the Rope Walk 62.

The details in feet between Church Gate and Bazár Gate are:

Corner by the Church Gate	..	22	Cavalier	..	20
Ardeour Dady's Church	...	32	Bazár Gate	..	16
Hodges' Ravelin	..	25	Beyond Bazár Gate	...	12
M ^r . Green's House	..	30	Cavalier Road	...	8
Banian Bastion	...	18	Bomb-proof	...	11

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.
Compensation
for Improvements,
1803.

17th February last, that proportion of ground which will devolve to each of them on the principles of the preceding resolution, reporting from time to time their progress inclusive of the quotas of indemnification to which any of the said inhabitants may in their opinion have an equitable claim. Ordered that copy of the above report by the town committee with the preceding resolutions be forwarded to the Court of Directors by the overland despatch proceeding hence on the 15th instant for the Honourable Court's information as to the progress hitherto made towards rebuilding that part of the Bazar consumed by the fire on the 17th February 1803.¹

Theatre to be
rented for Office
Use,
1803

Bombay Government Consultation, 13th May 1803. Read the following proposals from the managers of the theatre. The managers of the theatre understanding that Government are much in want of room for offices beg to submit to their consideration the renting of the stage floor of the theatre to serve for the town committee and for the Sadar Adalat office.² More, the managers apprehend, could not be accommodated; and though Government rented it formerly for Rs. 250 monthly for the great and petty sessions use, yet being desirous chiefly to accommodate Government, they only require Rs 100 monthly, being the actual charges attending the theatre. Government agree to the above proposal for one year certain, of which the departments for whose use the theatre is to be rented, are to be advised.³

Bombay,
1803.

In his *Oriental Commerce* published in 1813 Milburn thus describes Bombay apparently between 1803 and 1808. After quoting the passage from Parsons, 1775 (given above at page 482), Milburn adds: Between the two main gates is the castle, called Bombay Castle, a regular quadrangle, well built of strong hard stone. In one of the bastions is a large tank or reservoir for water. The fortifications are numerous, particularly towards the sea, and are so well constructed, the whole being encompassed by a broad and deep ditch, which can be flooded at pleasure, that it is now one of the strongest places the Company have in India. Besides the Castle are several fort- and redoubts, the principal of which is Mahim situated at the opposite extremity of the island, so that, properly garrisoned, Bombay may bid defiance to any force that can be brought against it. In the centre of the town is a large open space, called the Green, which in the fine weather season, is covered with bales of cotton, and other merchandise entirely unprotected; around the Green are many large well built and handsome houses; the Government house, and the church, which is an extremely neat commodious and airy building, are close to each other, on the left of the Church Gate. On the right of the Church Gate is

¹ Pub. Diary 174 of 1803, 1977-1981.

² In 1820 the provincial Court of Civil Appeal at Surat was abolished and the Chief Civil Court or *Sadar Duanis Adalat* was transferred from Bombay to Surat Reg. V of 1820. In the same year the power and functions of the Criminal Court of circuit and of appeal were united to form a Chief Criminal Court or *Sadar Fawjdar Adalat* and stationed at Surat. In 1823 the Chief Civil and Criminal Courts were again removed from Surat to Bombay. Reg. VII of 1823 Bombay Gazetteer, Surat, II 228.

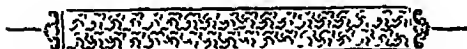
³ Bom. Gov. Consultation 13th May 1803, Pub. Diary 174 of 1803, 1981.

the Bazar, which is very crowded and populous, and where the native merchants principally reside. At its commencement stands the theatre, a neat handsome structure. This part of the town suffered much by a destructive fire which broke out in February 1803 and destroyed nearly three-fourths of the Bazar, together with the barraeks custom-house and many other public buildings, and property of immense value belonging to the native merchants. Many houses in the neighbourhood of the Castle were battered down by the artillery, to stop the progress of the flames, and preserve the magazine, or in all probability the whole town would have been destroyed. Since the fire of 1803 this part of the town has been rebuilt, and the whole much improved, at a considerable expense to the Company.¹

Chapter IV.
Fortifications
and Buildings.

Bombay,
1808.

¹ Milburn's Oriental Commerce (1813), I. 169-170.



APPENDIX I.

THE SIDIS IN BOMBAY.

PAGE 282 NOTE 3.

THE Sidi connection with Bombay lasted for about eighteen years from 1672 to 1690. The details of these relations from 1672 to 1685 are recorded by Orme (Fragments, 3-110). In October 1672, about twelve years after their appointment as Moghal admirals, the Sidis under Sidi Yakut entered Bombay harbour with the object of ravaging Shivaji's Kurlabs, that is the lands and villages of Panvel, Pen, and Alibag. As President Aungier refused to let them land in Bombay they withdrew to Janjira. They returned to Bombay on the 24th December where they were received with constrained civility and were allotted houses in the town of Mazgaon. Sidi Yakut proposed to the President that they should join against Shivaji. Aungier explained that a war with Shivaji meant the stoppage of all Bombay supplies. Sidi Yakut admitted this difficulty and in January 1673 retired to Surat. Though Sidi Yakut was friendly, his people, 'with insolence characteristic of Moors in the Moghal's service,' burnt several of the houses which had been allotted to them in Mazgaon. In May 1673 the Moghal and Sidi fleets anchored off Bombay and required permission to winter (May-October) on the island. This permission Aungier accorded, neither because he was pleased to have the Sidis as guests nor because he was unable to drive them off, but because to refuse the fleet shelter would be to enrage the Moghal Emperor and destroy English trade at Surat. For this reason Aungier allowed the four principal Moghal frigates to be hauled ashore under the shelter of Bombay Castle. He refused to allow any Sidi boats to be hauled ashore or to permit any of the crews to remain. On the return of the fair season (September 1673) the Sidis came to Bombay, took away the Moghal frigates, and pillaged the Ratnagiri coasts. They returned on the 18th of October without message or warning and laid waste Pen and Nagothna. Mr. Aungier remonstrated to the Sidi and the Governor of Surat. No argument availed and Mr. Aungier had to restrain his indignation from sinking the Sidi's ships when they insolently anchored under Bombay Castle. On the 24th April 1674 driven in by a gale the Sidi's fleet anchored in the harbour. They were ordered to leave and refused. From the sea-side they sent a number of rowboats up the Mahim creek, and, landing at Sion, drove the people out of their houses intending to stay till the monsoon was over. A frigate and part of the Bombay garrison forced them to leave. Their boats with 500 armed Sidis tried to land at Mazgaon but were beaten back by the cannon from the shore. It was agreed that 300 of the Sidi's men armed only with swords and under the watch of the Bombay garrison should be on shore at the same time. The Sidis conducted themselves with more respect than in their former sojournments. They sailed in the beginning of September and returned in February distressed with every want and soon after proceeded to Surat where they spent the monsoon. In 1675 Anrangzeb strengthened the Sidi fleet with two large ships, two frigates, and two thousand men. The fleet arrived in Bombay harbour in December 1675. Sidi Sumbal who commanded both the Moghal and the Sidi vessels came to Bombay early in April. He wished to pass the monsoon in Bombay. But the prudence of President Aungier procured him

Appendix I.

THE SIDIS IN
BOMBAY,
1672-1690.

Appendix I.

THE SIDIS IN
BOMBAY,
1672-1690.

an invitation to Surat and he left with all his vessels on April 8th. In July all the Sidi's ships which had been left in Janjira under Sidi Kásim came to Bombay to spare the provisions of the Janjira garrison. Sidi Kásim was received with respect and took his abode at Mázgaon where the larger vessels rode and the smaller were hauled ashore. In the middle of August Sidi Kásim left to help in the defence of Janjira. At the end of April 1677 Sidi Sambal and Sidi Kásim came together to Bombay from Janjira. Sidi Kásim was given quarters near the fort, apparently in the original custom house near the present mint. Sambal, who was ordered to hand the command to Kásim, promised from day to day to go to Surat but loitered till the monsoon set in. As it was then impossible to put to sea he took up his residence, as usual, at Mázgaon. At the beginning of the next fair season (October 1677) Sambal and Kásim quarrelled regarding the terms of handing over the command. At last Kásim with 300 men marched from his quarters near the Castle and attacked Sambal and his 300 at Mázgaon. The reports of matchlocks and pistols apprised the Castle which detached the best of the garrison with the troop of horse who fell indiscriminately on both sides until they had quelled the riot. This was not effected till three horses of the troop and Sambal's own horse were killed. Many were wounded and some slain mostly by the sword. The Council obliged the two chiefs to send to the ships all their men except a few menials. A watch was also allowed over the vessels hauled on the shore. In consequence of the Council's mediation Sambal retired. Kásim raised his flag as admiral of the two fleets, and left Bombay in the beginning of November. They returned in late April (1678) having through the governor of Surat obtained leave to winter in Bombay. They hauled their smaller vessels ashore at Mázgaon and moored the larger ones as close to the shore as they could. Many of the men made their dwelling in the town and daily committed violence and injuries on the Gentu inhabitants. Shivaji planned a scheme of crossing in boats from Panvel and burning the Sidi's fleet. But during the monsoon enough boats were not available. He next asked leave of the Portuguese to pass to Mázgaon through Sálsette and Máhim. The Portuguese distrusted Shivaji and forty armed boats drawn up in the creek before Thana made the attempted passage impossible. Sidi Kásim unable to pay his men remained in Bombay harbour till near the close of the year. In August 1679 the fortifying of Kanheri by Shivaji and in January 1680 the fortifying of Henery by the Sidi increased the rivalry and anxiety regarding Bombay harbour. In 1680 Sidi Kásim sent some boats captured from the Maráthas to be sold in Bombay. The Government, who were then in negotiation with Shivaji, forbade the sale. So the Sidi passed along the south of the harbour and ravaged Pen. On the 28th April 1680 Sidi Kásim sent some of his smaller ships to winter at Mázgaon. On the strength of a recent proclamation at Surat which had made Europeans liable to the same customs duties as Hindus the Sidis treated the people of Mázgaon as their subjects and brought captives from the Kurlahs to sell in the Mázgaon market. On the 1th of May some Sidis brought contraband goods into the market which led to a fight. Next day (May 5th) Sidi Kásim came into the harbour with the main body of his fleet. Without compliment or warning he anchored off the fort. Guns were fired on him and an agreement was concluded under which he was allowed to remain in Bombay harbour during the winter provided he did not plunder the Kurlahs. On the 1st of August Sidi Kásim prepared to signalise a successful attack on Kenery by fixing eighty Marátha-heads on poles along the Mázgaon shore. This form of

rejoicing the Council interdicted. Sidi Kásim remained at Mázgaon till the 22nd December when he started to plunder down the coast. He returned in the end of April (1681) and sailed for Surat on the 3rd May leaving six galivats and 300 men at Mázgaon. During the breaks in the monsoon the Sidi boats from Underi attacked several Bombay boats crossing for supplies to the Nágothna creek. The Bombay Government appealed for redress to Surat and the Sidis remained quiet till October. Then Kásim returned with his fleet from Surat to Bombay harbour and setting aside his orders from Surat, detained a Bombay boat that carried his own pass. Sidi Kásim, says Omo, was all this while allowed to occupy the town of Mázgaon and to make every use of the port without control, because the concern of lading the Company's ships at Surat precluded any effectual opposition to his enormities which this forbearance increased.

On the 12th April 1682, after guarding Janjira from the Maráthás, Sidi Kásim came into Bombay harbour where the English Council at Surat, more afraid of the Moghal than of Sambháji, had ordered their admittance. During the swatches of fair weather in the rains the Sidis and Maráthás fought at Kánheri and at the mouth of the Nágothna creek. In a fight on the 5th October between Sidi Kásim and Sidi Misri, who had joined the Maráthás, Sidi Kásim won and brought back four prizes and Sidi Misri a prisoner. As Sidi Misri was mortally wounded the Bombay Council allowed him to be landed but refused permission to any one else. In November 1682, before a Moghal fleet expected from Surat could arrive, Sambháji ordered his admiral Daulat Khán to attack the Sidis in Bombay. The militia were drawn out to resist the Maráthá attack when an ambassador arrived from Sambháji explaining that Aurangzeb's fleet had orders to take Bombay from the English and Bassein and Daman from the Portuguese. Sambháji proposed an alliance on condition the Bombay Government would refuse both the Sidi and the Moghal access to Bombay harbour. Meanwhile the Sidi knowing the arrival of the Moghals would prove the end of his harvest, plundered Pen and on the 28th November in spite of the Council's expostulation brought 200 prisoners to Mázgaon. On the same day (28th November) the Moghal fleet sailed into the harbour without the compliment of notice. They landed 3000 trained Moors at Mázgaon who bore themselves with such insolence that a stranger would have believed the whole island belonged to them. The English, who seemed to hold their Castle on sufferance, were obliged to watch its gates against treachery and surprise. After the cold weather plundering cruise in March 1683 the Sidi and Moghal fleets returned to Bombay and on the 20th March the Moghal fleet was recalled to Surat. The Sidis remained at Mázgaon more insolent than ever. In the Mázgaon market in May two unarmed soldiers of the Bombay garrison were cut down by two of the Sidi's Pathians. The Sidi sent the murderer privately to Surat. The Bombay Council took a strange form of expressing their annoyance. In July a crazy Councillor and a newly arrived ship captain heated with wine boarded the ship on which Sidi Kásim had his quarters. They used abusive language and the captain drew his sword. They were overpowered and sent back in their boat. No sooner was he on board than the captain fired a broadside into the Sidi fortunately doing little injury, except in Surat where on learning the news the mob crowded the streets claiming vengeance on the English. The Sidi's fleet, who as usual had to wait for funds from Surat, did not leave Bombay till the end of October. On the 21st (November) the Moghal fleet arrived from Surat to overawe Bombay and Sambháji's fleet.

Appendix I.

THE SIDIS IN
BOMBAY,
1672 - 1690.

Appendix I
THE SIDIS IN
BOMBAY,
1672-1690.

During the Bombay rebellion (December 1683 to December 1684) the strong government of Keigwin forbade the Sidi's galleys to continue at Mazgaon or to come there for any purpose than to get water. In consequence in the beginning of April 1684 they retired to Surat. During the next cold weather, up to November when they surrendered the fort and island to Sir Thomas Grantham, the rebels without yielding to them kept on fair terms with the Sidis who had lately returned from Surat. Keigwin had to watch against surprise from Saunbhaji as well as from the Sidi, for both of them would have given much to capture the island.

Between 1685 and 1688 no reference has been traced to the Sidis in Bombay. Early in 1689, on the rupture with the Moghals, which formed part of Sir John Child's ambitious scheme for increasing the power of the English, boats from Bombay captured several of the Sidi's vessels which were carrying provisions to the Moghal army at Danda Rajpuri. Of the result of this act of aggression the interloper Captain Hamilton has left the following probably not unbiassed account. When (1689) the news came to Sidi Yikut that his fleet with his provisions of corn and cloth were seized and carried to Bombay he sent a civil letter to our General to discharge his fleet protesting that as he had not meddled in the affairs between the General and the Sultans he would continue neutral unless he was forced to do otherwise. But our General gave him an insolent answer and the fleet was unladed at Bombay. Sidi Yikut sent again in fair terms to desire the delivery of his fleet, otherwise he would be obliged to come with his army and quarter on Bombay where his provisions were detained. He threatened that if his fleet was not set at liberty before the 11th February, which was near at hand, he would certainly be on Bombay by the 14th. As he still received uncivil answers he performed his promise to a tittle, for that very night he landed at a place called Souree (Sewri), about four miles distant from the main fort, with 20,000 men at his back. Our General's security had made him neglect providing for receiving such guests, trusting to the reputation of his forces who were greater then than ever they had been before or ever were since that time. And he had small ships enough, had they been stationed in proper places, that might certainly have hindered the Sidi landing and forced him home again. But all those necessary preparations were neglected and the Sidi landed at midnight. The redoubt where he landed fired a great gun to give the alarm and so deserted their post and the Sidi took possession of it. At one in the morning the Castle fired three guns to give the general alarm which brought such fear on those that lived securely in their houses without the Castle that the poor ladies both white and black ran half naked to the fort and only carried their children with them, but they were all obliged to wait without the wall till daylight relieved them. Next morning the Sidi marched to Mazgaon, a small fort of fourteen guns and about a random shot distant from the Castle. On the enemy's approach, that fort, though situated on a point of rocks where the sea defended three-quarters of it, was also deserted in such precipitancy that eight or ten chests of treasure which generally contain 1000 pounds each and four chests of new arms were left behind. The seamen that were sent in boats to bring them off, proffered to carry them along with them, but the Commanding Officer thought the seamen not fit to be trusted with money and arms and so the chests were left for a present to Sidi Yikut with fourteen cannon, two mortars, and some powder shot and shells. Why that treasure and those arms and ammunition were deposited in Mazgaon few could account for, and the reasons why they

were left to the enemy were as wonderful. It was plain that the old way of fishing in troubled waters was known at Bombay and the officer was never called to account for his oversight. Sidi Yâkut finding no opposition sent a party of men towards Mahim to plunder the poor peasants and to take that fort which he thought might be deserted as the rest had been. Nor was he in the least out in his conjecture for the garrison had embarked in boats and come by sea to Bombay before they saw an enemy. The Sidi taking possession of Mázgaon hoisted his flag there and made it his head-quarters. The following day some of the enemy appeared on the Mázgaon hills which grieved our General's righteous soul to see infidels come so near him in an hostile manner. He called a minion of his own, one Captain Pean, who was no better soldier than himself, and ordered him to take two companies, each containing about seventy men and march to those hills and drive the enemy out of his sight. He also ordered to be Pean's lieutenant one Monroe who had been a soldier at Tungier and received a wound in his heel that spoiled his running. Accordingly they marched in good order within shot of the enemy who shewed their heads above the surface of the hill, but did not offer to advance or expose their bodies. Several gentlemen volunteers took their arms and accompanied the little army. Lieutenant Monroe advised the Captain to march up the hill in platoons to separate the enemy's forces. The Captain took it as an affront to be advised. He said to his lieutenant. When you have the command in your own hands you may use it as you think fit. As it is now entrusted to me I will use it according to my own mind. So he ordered his men to spread as much as they could and when they saw the enemy open in the plain to discharge all at once amongst them which he said would terrify them. Monroe opposed Pean's scheme and told him of the danger he would bring himself and them into, if the enemy should attack them whilst their arms were reloading. Nothing could dissuade Pean from his project and so he commanded his men to fire as he directed. The Sidis being ten to one in numbers and better runners than our men, and also better acquainted with close fighting with sword and target, took hold of the opportunity and advanced with all their speed. Thus the Captain perceiving betook himself to his heels and was the foremost man to the Portuguese church where he took courage to look behind him to see what was become of his men. Poor Monroe thinking to stop the enemy's career by a part of the wing that he commanded, found himself deserted by all but thirteen or fourteen stout fellows who were soon surrounded by the enemy and cut to pieces. Pean had not stopt at the Portuguese church had he not found a party of 100 men that lay there ready to support or receive him as his case should require. He was a fellow as well made for running as any I ever saw and was so much in the General's favour that he had not so much as a reprimand for his cowardice and misbehaviour. This relation I had from a gentleman volunteer who kept always near the Captain while he could keep pace with him. And now the Sidi being master of the whole island except the Castle and about half a mile to the southward of the Castle, he raised batteries on Dongri hill which overlooked the fort wall and disturbed the garrison very much. Then the Sidi put four great guns in the custom house commonly called the India House and raised a battery at the Moody's house within 200 paces of the Fort, and another in the Lady's house that the General had been so unkind to, so that it was dangerous to go out or in at the Castle gate till we got up an half moon before it. All men were then pressed into the Company's service, and I amongst the rest. We passed the months from April to September

Appendix F.

THE SIDIS IN
BOMBAY,
1672-1690.

Appendix I.
The Sidis in
Bombay,
1672-1690.

very ill, for provisions grew scarce by the addition of 3000 Shivájís that were employed as auxiliaries in the military service of the Company. When the winter months were over, in September we went to sea with our small ships to cruize on the Moghal's subjects and had pretty good success.

The ill success we had ashore with the enemy made our General sick. In December he despatched two factors to the Moghal's court with a Surat merchant called Mir Mezanie. In January General Child died which much facilitated the Ambassador's affairs at the Moghal court. While a new charter was preparing, the Sidis were ordered to forbear hostilities and as the English had the same orders, frequent visits passed between the Sidis and the Europeans. When the *phirma*n was ready and the required security given, Sidi Yakut left Bombay the 8th June 1690. But he left behind him a pestilence which in four months' time destroyed more men than the war had done and for joy made a malicious Liffie of his head-quarters, Mázgaon Fort ¹

¹ Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies (1711), I. 220-231

APPENDIX II.

HARBOUR, DOCKS, SHIPS, AND LIGHT-HOUSES.

AFTER its transfer to the English the earliest available reference to Bombay Harbour is by the Dutch traveller Baldæus, who, in 1666, describes it as a fine large port where one can be safe from all winds. The depth he gives as six fathoms at high water and four fathoms at low water.¹

Appendix II.
HARBOUR,
1666.

In 1668 in the first despatch after the transfer of the island to the Honourable Company, orders were issued for making a harbour with docks, and for stationing at Bombay an armed vessel of about 180 tons for the protection of the island and of its trade.²

1668.

In January 1673 the French traveller Dellon wrote: At the entrance of the port of Bombay lies a rock which stretching a mile deep into the sea makes this passage very dangerous. For this reason we sent for some pilots who took us safely on the 12th into that harbour which is one of the safest in the world provided you are well acquainted with the situation of the place to avoid the rocks.³

1673.

In 1750 Grose (*Voyage*, I. 29) writes: Bombay harbour is spacious enough to contain any number of ships. It has excellent anchoring ground. And by its circular position can afford them a land-locked shelter against any winds to which the mouth of it is exposed. It is also admirably situated for a centre of dominion and commerce, with respect to the Malabár Coast, the Gulf of Persia, the Red Sea and the whole trade of that side of the Great Indian Peninsula and northern parts adjoining to it, to the Government of which Presidency they are very properly subordinated.

1750.

Between 1766 and 1770 Forbes (*Oriental Memoirs*, I. 21-22) writes: The harbour is one of the finest in the world, accessible at all seasons and affording a safe anchorage during the tempestuous monsoons. The merchants carry on a trade with all principal sea ports and interior cities of the peninsula of India and extend their commerce to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, the Coast of Africa, Malacca, China, and the eastern islands. Again, he says (*Or. Mem* I. 151-152): Bombay harbour is large and secure from the storms and hurricanes which are very frequent and destructive at Surat bar and on the Malabár Coast

1766-1770.

About 1775 Parsons (*Travels in Asia and America*, 214-215) writes: Bombay was first called so by the Portuguese, literally in English, Good Bay, which it is in all respects, being so very capacious as to be capable of receiving any number of ships of any size or draft of water with room sufficient to moor clear of each other in safety.

1775.

¹ Baldæus' *Malabar and Coromandel Coast*, Amsterdam, 1672, page 65.

² Bruce's *Annals*, II. 226.

³ *Journal Bom. Br. Royal As. Soc.* Vol. XVII., Pt. II 51. This mile-long rock is Colábr. Coming from the north Dellon's ship would be tempted to put into Back Bay and be wrecked on the reefs.

Appendix II

- In 1786-87 Franckhn (Pinkerton's Voyages, IX. 232) speaks of Bombay as a splendid harbour
- Docks,
1663 From their first connection with the island the wide range of its tides impressed the English with the suitability of Bombay harbour as a place for Docks. In August and September 1668, despatches from the Court of Directors in London and from Governor Gerald Aungier in Bombay crossed each other, enforcing the advantages of a mole and dry dock for Bombay.¹
- 1670 In 1670, the Court of Directors ordered the making of docks and sent to Bombay Warwick Pett, one of the Pett family of famous ship-builders, to construct two vessels for the defence of the island and to instruct the natives in the art of ship-building. Nothing seems to have come of this first attempt
- 1686 In 1686 the distinguished sailor Sir John Wyborne, Deputy Governor of Bombay, suggested the building of a dry dock. All ships, he writes, in these seas when they know of a dock where they can lie securely will come to clean and repair. Had there been a dock the ship *Falcon* had not left her bones here. We can only say it will be a necessary profitable work when done.
- 1689-90. In their Bombay despatch for 1689-90 the Court of Directors ordered the Honourable Bartholomew Harris, Governor of Bombay (1690-1691), to complete a dry dock in Bombay, that it might become a safe retreat to English shipping. Large quantities of iron work were sent for building and repairing vessels. But in those the darkest of dark end-of-century days nothing was done.
- 1701 1707 Between 1701 and 1707, under Sir Nicholas Waite, the 'wretched arrangements' hitherto deemed sufficient for repairing ships are said to have been somewhat improved.
- 1735 In 1735, with the help of Mr. Dudley Master Attendant, and of Lari Nasarwanji the famous Parsi Shipbuilder or Wadu from Surat, Government started a ship-building yard at Bombay.
- 1748 Till 1748 the only dry dock was a mud basin in and out of which the tide flowed at will. This mud basin was probably pretty near the centre of the present Government Dockyard. On the 3rd January 1748, when the Honourable William Wake was Governor, the following resolution was recorded. Considering that a dry dock at this place capable of receiving a ship of 50 guns (that is of about 500 tons) would be extremely useful for cleaning or repairing ships belonging to the Honourable Company or to private traders, and thereby bring many advantages to the island, particularly in respect to trade and most branches of the revenue, the charge of which by computation would not exceed Rs 5000, and which would be soon reimbursed by collecting a duty (not yet agreed upon) on all ships that make use of it. Of all which the Board being very sensible, and likewise well assured there are many private persons who would gladly take it on themselves for the advantage, it is agreed that the same be undertaken on the Honourable Company's account, borrowing money of the Bank for the amount for which a distinct head is to be kept on the General Books. Directed, therefore, that such

¹ In 1663 Dince notices (Annals, II 226) The first despatch after the transfer of Bombay to the Company contained orders for making a harbour with docks. In the same year 1668 (in another place, page 211), he adds A mole and dry dock are wanted.

timber and planks as may be wanted for the gates of the dock be indented for to Tellicherry.

Apparently the site of the mud basin was chosen for the new dock. The work was pushed so busily that on the 3rd of July 1750 this entry appears. The dry dock ordered to be set about at the Presidency being finished, the rates to be paid for all ships and vessels that go into it are now settled, namely Rs. 150 for the first spring and Rs. 100 for every spring they remain in afterwards.

On the 23rd January 1751, when the Honourable R. Bouchier was Governor, it was judged if the heads of the dry dock were carried a little further out, it would not only be more commodious, but by means of the tides carrying off the filth which at present settles in it, and as the same may be done for a small expense, it is agreed that it be set about and finished as speedily as possible. This 1750 dock is the Upper Old Bombay Dock, 209 feet long 47 feet broad and 15 feet deep. It forms the inmost or westmost section of the southern of the two lines of docks which lie parallel to each other, about north-east and south-west near the centre of the Government Dockyard.

This Dock proved so great a success that in 1751 the Superintendent of Marine suggested the building of a second dock outside of and in the same line as the 1750 dock. In 1756, while the work was in progress, Captain Pearce of the ship *Edgecote*, asked that the dam in front of the dock might be broken and his ship be allowed to pass in. On Captain Pearce agreeing to pay the expenses of pulling down the dam and any extraordinary expense Government might be put to for want thereof till the dock gates were fixed, his ship was allowed to enter. Captain Pearce's bill, which he afterwards tried to repudiate, was Rs. 681-1-69.¹

In 1762, on the 10th and 11th June, Admiral Cornish wrote from Trincomalee urging the completion of the outer dock before the return of the squadron. The dock was of the utmost consequence. It was the only means of preserving the two capital ships of the squadron. On the 21st July 1762 the Honourable Charles Crommelin being Governor, the Board resolved: 'The outer dock has been carrying on as fast as the tides would admit of working upon ever since the Admiral recommended its being completed and not a moment's time will be lost in finishing it.' This dock, which seems to have been completed before the close of 1762, and still shows signs of somewhat rough and hurried workmanship, is the Middle Old Bombay dock, 183 feet long 51 broad and 20 deep. The cost of this dock is said to have been Rs. 12,000. Outside of this second dock and in the same line a third dock seems to have been almost at once started.

On the 23rd July 1765, when the Honourable Charles Crommelin was Governor, the following entry of rare cheerfulness occurs: 'Our treasury being now pretty strong and the third dry dock nearly completed, the same is ordered to be continued and finished as soon as possible.' This is the Lower Old Bombay Dock, 256 feet long 51 broad and 20 deep.

For the next forty years this line of three docks, one within the other, was the boast of Bombay and the wonder of travellers. Even the single original dock astonished Grose in 1750 and Ives in 1754. In 1763 before the third dock was finished, the German traveller Niebuhr wrote:

Appendix II.

Docks,
1750.

1751.

1751-1756.

1762.

1765.

1750-1812.

¹ Feb. Diary 32 of 1759, 197.

Appendix II.

Docks,
1750-1812.

'Among the large number of good arrangements made by the English in Bombay for trade and shipping the dock is much the most considerable and important. The work is partly rock-cut partly cut-stone. Two ships can be careened at a time and a third basin is preparing. The work though costly brings a considerable return. Strangers pay very dear for liberty to careen in these basins. When I was in Bombay I saw a ship of war belonging to the Imam of Sana which he had sent to Bombay solely on purpose to be refitted.' In August 1775 the traveller Pains wrote 'At Bombay there is a dockyard large and well contrived with all kind of naval stores deposited in proper warehouses, together with great quantities of timber and planks for repairing and building ships and forges for making of anchors as well as every kind of smaller smith's work. Bombay boasts such a dry dock as perhaps is not to be seen in any part of Europe, either for size or convenient station. It has three divisions and three pairs of strong gates so as to be capable of receiving and repairing three ships of the line at one time as the outermost ship can warp out and another be admitted in her place every springtide without any interruption of the work doing to the second and innermost ships, or both the outermost and the second ship can go out and two others be received in their places without hindrance to the workmen employed on the third or innermost ship' In 1776 Forbes mentions the three excellent docks. In 1786-87 Pinkerton's *Voyages*, IX 236 speaks of Bombay's splendid harbour and excellent docks in which His Majesty's ships were repaired refitted and equipped. And in the beginning of the present century the docks are described as 'sensibly equalled for size or convenience'. So popular were the docks that it had been found possible to raise the original modest Rs. 150 and Rs. 100 to Rs. 450 and Rs. 350 in the case of English and to Rs. 600 and Rs. 500 in the case of foreign ships. In 1812 Hall (*Voyages and Travels*, III 192) found Bombay the only place with docks large enough for the *Illustrations*.

1782.

In June 1782 when the Honorable William Hornby was Governor, the Admiral asked that either new docks should be made or the old docks should be changed. The Board decided that the old docks could not be changed. They thought as the rise and fall of the tide was greater there than in the Dockyard, Butcher's Island was the best place for a dry dock. Plans and estimates were called for and submitted in November 1782.

1801-1806.

No further action seems to have been taken, till, in August 1804, at the request of His Majesty's Ministers the Court of Directors urged the Bombay Government to arrange for the construction of a 74-gun man-of-war. Colaba and Butcher's Island were examined for sites for a dock suitable for the construction of a 74-gun ship. On the 27th March 1805 His Excellency Admiral Sir Edward Pellew decided that the only proper spot was in the dockyard parallel to the old dock. Tenders were issued on 1st May 1805. In June 1805 the Governor the Honourable Jonathan Duncan decided that the dock should be begun and a contract entered into with one Mulji Narani for Rs. 1,20,811. In July this decision was reviewed with the result that instead of giving it to contract, the building of the dock was entrusted to Captain-Lieutenant Crozier of the Engineers, who, 'with the utmost regard to substantial strength and future national utility, was to make a point of honour of keeping within the estimate'. On the 30th September the Marine Board urged that the proposed dock should be extended further seaward to give room for another dock capable of

Appendix II.

Docks,
1804-1806.

receiving a ship of the line of the largest class that could be expected in those seas. The Marine Board urged that if a second dock was not built the cost of keeping clear the passage into the first dock would be Rs. 1800 a year. They urged the extension from motives of economy as one dam would do for both. The cost of the additional dock would not be more than Rs. 49,000. This suggestion was adopted (11th October 1805), and the construction of a second dock was sanctioned. On the 8th April 1806 the Superintendent of Marine delivered a letter from Captain-Lieutenant Crozier saying the cost of both docks would be much more than the estimated Rs. 1,69,811. The cost of both docks would be Rs. 2,50,000 or Rs. 10,000 less if the upper dock was finished in the rough and not with cut-stone. It was also stated that water made its way into the dock under the north wall. This report was so unsatisfactory that in May 1806 Colonel Atkins was called from Malabar and Captain Cowper from Surat and a committee was appointed to examine the dock. The committee's opinion was most unfavourable. They considered the docks planned on a wrong principle and executed in an improper manner. In consequence of this opinion on the 4th of June Captain Cowper was placed in charge of the work. He reported that to complete the two docks would cost Rs. 2,79,157, and that the work already done at a cost of Rs. 90,000 was an obstacle and should be removed. During the rains the work remained at a stand. In September Captain Cowper was ordered to proceed with the Upper or Building Dock with durable construction. Captain Cowper was to perform the work 'upon honour' without proceeding further on the original design until the first and most urgent portion of the work, that is the Upper or Building Dock, was completed. On the 23rd September the Honourable Board reconsidered the question of the Lower or Repairing Dock. As opinions were divided, it was arranged that progress with the second dock should be stayed till the views of the Honourable Court of Directors were ascertained.

Captain Cowper began work under circumstances of special difficulty. His first step was to enclose the whole of Captain Crozier's masonry with a coffer-dam, to the summit of which at high water spring-tides the sea nearly approached. Before he could lay a stone in execution of his own plan Captain Cowper had to remove every particle of Captain Crozier's masonry. The two leading features of Captain Cowper's plan were the general use of vaulted arches and buttresses in constructing the piers, and the system of rabbetting every stone in the exterior and interior surface of the dock. By this rabbetting all chinks and cracks were avoided, and the dock walls were as impervious as if hewn out of the living rock.

In January 1807 Captain Cowper had cleared all Captain Crozier's 'obstacles' and began the new work. He had four great difficulties to face: the want of trained workmen; interruption from springs, which required constant attention at all hours to repress and ultimately to confine, the extensive bed of rock stretching from the upper dock to the mouth of the outer dock so solid and hard that it had to be removed by mining, when his cutting reached below the level of the old docks, water oozed through the old walls and a considerable part fell. Captain Cowper made his new walls support the tottering fabric of the old dock, which otherwise must have given way.

On the 28th November 1807 the Upper or Building section of the new dock was reported ready for the reception of the keel of the 71. The

1807.

Appendix II.

Docks,
1807.

President Dock Committee would have ordered the keel to be immediately laid. But the builder Jamsedji Bamanji being anxious to choose a fortunate day for that purpose and the astrologers having fixed on Friday next, Mr Money assented to Jamsedji's proposal. The Honourable Board preferred the old English lucky day to the astrologer's lucky day. The *Bombay Courier* of 26th December announced that the new dock was forward enough to admit the laying of the keel of the new 71, and that the ceremony of the Silver Nail had been fixed for New Year's Day. The *Courier* of 2nd January 1808 has this paragraph: 'While this paper is going to press, a Royal Salute is fired as a signal that the Silver Nail has been driven in and united the stem and keel of the new 71. May,' adds the local editor, 'the ever-during Indian teak, under the auspices of our gallant tars, rival the glories of the British oak.' A note in the Annual Register for 1808 shows that the name of the new 71 was *Minden*, that her Silver Nail was driven by the Governor, and that in the Governor's honour the dock was called Duncan's Dock. On the west end of the dock on a blackened slab, about eight feet below the pier level, these words are carved. This dock was executed during the Government of the Honourable Jonathan Duncan Esquire by Captain William Cowper of Engineers, 1807.

The Upper Duncan Dock is 286 feet long 63 broad and 23 deep. The sides are of fine cut stone. The bottom is partly masonry partly rock.

1810.

The answer of the Honourable Board of Directors to the reference regarding the outer or repairing new dock has not been traced. What its purport was is beyond doubt. At all cost the outer or repairing dock must be pressed on. On the 20th July 1810 the Dock Committee addressed the Government stating that as the 'magnificent and important work' of the new docks was completed, they laid before the Honourable Board the peculiar and eminent merits of Captain Cowper, who planned and executed the great undertaking. All who visited the Presidency considered the new docks an unrivalled monument of professional skill and public utility. The committee pleaded for a special reward to Captain Cowper. The Honourable Board referred the question of special reward to the Honourable Court of Directors. The Lower Duncan Dock is 246 feet long 63 6 broad and 23 deep. That is the total length of the two docks is 532 feet. In 1811 before all the dock fittings were completed a further sum of Rs 20,000 had to be spent. The total cost of the Upper and Lower Duncan Docks was therefore

	Rs.
Spent by Captain Cowper without return . . .	90,000
Captain Cowper's detailed estimate . . .	2,51,053
Add for fittings and finishings . . .	20,000

Total . 3,61,053

1810-1849

Since 1810, according to Maclean's Guide to Bombay (page 239), two additions have been made to the Upper Duncan Dock, 30 feet in 1845 and 40 more in 1849. According to the Monthly Miscellany (page 209) both the Bombay and Duncan Docks were extended under the superintendence of Captain Sir Robert Oliver in 1845. There is some confusion in these statements. The records show that in 1841 the Bombay Government proposed to widen the entrance to the Lower or Stern Duncan Dock to 62 feet, and make culverts and sluices and cut a groove in the dock wall, for a half depth caisson to keep fourteen feet of water in the Upper Duncan Dock. The estimated cost of these improvements was widening Rs. 60,355, caisson Rs. 13,000, total Rs. 73,355. The Court of Directors

approved these proposals. Afterwards in 1843-44 it was arranged to widen the Upper Duncan Dock and fit both upper and lower docks with full depth caissons. The revised estimate was: widening Rs. 33,698, full depth caisson Rs. 43,000, total Rs. 76,698. These changes were approved and the work was pressed on. On the 3rd July 1847, the improvements were complete and the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steam vessel *Brigantia* was hauled in for urgent repairs. The gates and ports-locks worked very satisfactorily and were highly creditable to Captain Estridge. The cost proved Rs. 27,314 more than the estimate, that is a total charge of Rs. 1,04,042 for the improvements. This raises the grand total outlay on the Upper and Lower Duncan Docks as they now stand to Rs. 1,68,094. The Honourable Court of Directors were gratified with the manner in which the repairs had been carried out. They considered the result highly creditable to the professional talent and assiduity of Captain Estridge.

Besides the five dry docks in the Government Dockyard there are three dry docks at Mázgaon. Of the three Mázgaon Docks, Mr. Uloth, Superintendent, Peninsular and Oriental Company, and Mr. Turner, Agent to the British Indian Company, have kindly supplied the following details: The three Mázgaon Docks are the P. and O. small dock, the British India Company's dock, and the P. and O. Ritchie dock. Of the three the P. and O. small dock is the oldest. It seems to be the same as the Mud Dock at Mázgaon which a committee appointed to fix a new site for the Powder Works describe (16th January 1767) as to the south of the best site for the Powder Mills and which is referred to in a Consultation of the 30th January 1776 as ground for a marine yard at Mázgaon Dock.¹ Hamilton (Gazetteer, page 562) about 1810 mentions at Mázgaon a good dock for small vessels. In 1827 in a correspondence regarding proposals for enlarging and improving the Mázgaon Dockyard, reference is made to the basins near the dockyard. In 1859 when it had been in a ruinous state for many years, this dock was handed to the P. and O. Company, in whose possession and use it has since remained.

The next in age is the British India Dock, 395 feet long 45 broad and 23 deep, and supposed to have cost about Rs. 5,00,000. This dock is on the site of the British outwork, which in 1682 was seized by Yákut Khán the Sidi of Janjira, and held by him for nearly a year. The dock was built about 1845 by Aga Muhammad Rahim Shirázi, a rich Persian merchant. The P. and O. Company became tenants of this dock in 1846, and discontinued its use in 1870. Since 1870 this dock has been leased by the British India Company from its owner Sultán Nawáz Jang, a Haidarabad nobleman.

The third Mázgaon Dock was built by the P. and O. Company between 1859 and 1867. It is named the Ritchie Dock in honour of Mr. John Ritchie, the Superintendent of the Company, when the dock was completed. The first vessel placed in the Ritchie dock was the P. and O. Company's steamer *Rangoon*, gross tonnage 1776, drawing 15 feet. The original length of the dock was 390 feet. It has been twice lengthened, the second time in 1890, up to 49½ feet. The largest of the Company's fleet *Oceana*, 6362 tons gross, has since been docked.

After the Ritchie dock, between 1869 and 1872, the Hog Island Hydraulic Lift was completed at a cost of about Rs. 3,00,000. This lift

Appendix II.

Docks,
1810-1819.

1859-1867.

1869-1872.

¹ Pub. Diary 18 of 1767, 18:— Pub. Diary 69 of 1776, 35

Appendix II.

was available for vessels up to 5000 tons, and had 21 feet of water on the block at spring tides. This lift proved a failure partly on account of its distance from Bombay, partly because of the risk of strain to the vessel lifted. After being under the management of the P. and O. Company for several years it ceased to be used and is now broken up.

Smith,
1621.

In 1623, when Davies with the Dutch attacked Bombay they found two new frigates not yet from the stocks nor fully ended.¹

1635.

About twelve years later (1635), under a convention between the Portuguese and English, pinnaces were built for the English at Bassein.²

1668.

In 1668, the first despatch after the transfer of the island to the Company, contained the provision that an armed vessel of 180 tons should be stationed in Bombay to guard the island.³

In the same year three small armed vessels were built and Warwick Pitt was sent to Bombay to teach ship-building.⁴

Bombay Marine,
1750.

About 1750 Grove gives the following details of the Bombay Marine: The Bombay marine is chiefly directed against Angria. The English had galleys built in England of the most beautiful models that can be imagined carrying about 18 or 20 guns, provided with oars of special service in a calm. Also a few grabs, vessels of much the same burden, built in the country on the model of Angria's grabs with prows which seem best suited for carrying chase guns. The scheme of Angria's gunnery was chiefly to get into the wake of their enemy and rake him fore and aft. A kind of quartermaster conducts the vessel till he brings the masts of his chaso into one, at which instant he gives the word for firing and commonly does the greatest execution in the rigging after which they have the easier market of the vessel thus disabled. Otherwise Angria's grabs are too slightly built to lay alongside of any ship of the least weight of metal. Their great stress lies on those prow guns which they manage to special advantage in a calm having armed boats to tow them astern of the vessel they attack which for want of wind cannot avoid them.

Of these armed boats called *galivats* the Company maintains also a competent number for the service of their marine, being not only of use to oppose them to the enemy but for pursuit or expeditions in shallow water. For further strengthening of the naval force in those parts the Company occasionally stations at Bombay some larger built ships from Europe, which for their superior weight of metal and greater difficulty of boarding, especially in deep water, with anything of a commanding gale, have nothing to fear from those slight vessels, though in a calm they might gall and plague them sufficiently. All these vessels that formed the military marine of Bombay were chiefly manned with English or European deserters from other nations and according to the exigency reinforced with detachments of soldiers from the land forces to serve in the nature of marines.

These vessels were to guard the navigation of those seas and convoy the trade. They were also employed on such collateral services as protecting the interest of the Company or vindicating its honour where requisite within the bounds of that Presidency's jurisdiction as in the Red Sea, the Gulf of Persia, and the Bar of Surat. Towards defraying

¹ Birdwood's Old India Office Records, 215

² Bruce's Annals, II. 226.

³ Bruce's Annals, I. 334.

⁴ Bruce's Annals, II. 211.

the charges of this marine, the Company required of all the trading vessels, those of the other European nations excepted, to take the passes of the Bombay Government, for which they paid so small a consideration that I never heard the least murmuring; the merchants being duly sensible not only of the benefit their trade received from the English protection, but that this contribution was far short of the cost of it¹

The first Bombay boat builders were the Pirsî family of Lauji or Wâdia from Surat. Except in so far as it was modified by English influence Bombay ship-building was the same as Surat ship-building. Of Surat ship-building Grose writes: At Surat they excelled in ship-building. If their models were as fine as English models they would be the best ships in the world for duration. They build to 1000 tons and upwards. But their naval architecture has something clumsy unfinished and inartistic. Surat ships last much longer than European ships, even a century, because they are so solidly built, the planks in their bottoms and sides being let into one another in the nature of rabbit work. The knees are natural shape not warped or forced by fire. Teak as good as oak, and bottoms rubbed with wood-oil, keep planks from decay. They do not launch their ships, but dig canals from the water to the stocks or what they call cradles.

Surat is not the only place by many in India where ships are built but none as yet are comparable to them. The masting generally used in the country ships are poboon masts chiefly from the Malabar coast. But for the cordage what is worth anything must come from Europe. Their coir ropes, made of the fibres of cocconut husks, are, for either running or standing rigging, more harsh and untractable than what is produced from hemp. I have seen very serviceable and large coir cables which in opposition to the European ones last much longer in saltwater, fresh being apt to rot them. Their anchors are mostly European, our iron being much better and better worked. As to sails they are very well supplied by the country manufacture of cotton into a sail cloth called *dangri* which though not so strong or lasting as canvas, Holland's duck, or vitry, is while in use more pliant and less apt to split than they are. For pitch they have the gum of a tree which is called dammar not at all inferior to the other.²

Their navigators are very indifferent artists. Formerly they used to get Europeans to command their ships. Lately they make a shift to do without them having trained up to it some of the natives who may just serve in those parts where they seldom put to sea but in the fair season, and where consequently they rarely meet with storms to try their skill. Their common sailors are rather better in their class though wanting in the vigour expertness and patience of fatigue of Europeans. Sometimes they come to England where they are miserable objects of charity.³

About the same time, 1750, Grose thus describes Angria's Fleet: His fleet consisted of grabs and galivats vessels peculiar to that coast. Grabs are of two classes, two-masters up to 150 tons and three-masters about 300 tons burthen. They are broad in proportion to their length and draw little water. They narrow from the middle forward where instead of bows they have the prow of a Mediterranean galley covered with

Appendix II.

SURAT SHIPS,
1750.NATIVE SEAMEN,
1750.ANGRIA'S FLEET,
1750.¹ Grose's Voyage, I. 43 - 43.² Grose's Voyage, I. 107 - 109.³ Grose's Voyage, I. 109 - 110.

Appendix II
ANGLIA'S FLEET,
1750.

a strong deck level with the main deck of the vessel and separated from it by a bulk-head. As the grab pitches violently when sailing against a head sea the prow sides are open so that the water passes easily off. On the main deck under the fore-castle are mounted two pieces of cannon of nine or twelve pounders pointing forward through port-holes cut in the bulk-head and firing over the prow. The cannon on the broadside are from six to nine pounders. Galivats are large rowboats built like grabs but smaller, seldom over seventy tons. They have two masts a slight mainmast and a strong minimast bearing a large triangular sail. Forty or fifty stout oars can send them at a rate of four miles an hour. Some large galivats have fixed decks on which they mount from six to eight pieces of cannon from two to four pounders. Galivats are generally covered with spar decks made of split bamboos carrying only paltraneous fixed on swivels in the gunnel of the vessel.

When he meant to attack large and strong vessels Angria gathered a fleet of eight or ten grabs and forty to fifty galivats crowded with men and hid in wait in some port or bay. When a large vessel came in sight the boats slipped their cables and put to sea. If there was a breeze they overtook the chase for they were fast sailers. If it was calm the galivats worked their oars and towed out the grabs. When within gunshot of the chase they gathered behind her and the grabs waiting till the three masts of the vessel were in line fired their prow guns. If the chase was dismayed they came nearer and battered her on all sides till she struck. If the defence was sturdy a number of galivats with two or three hundred men in each surrounded the ship and boarded her on all sides sword in hand.¹

SHIPS,
1766-1770.

Of Bombay ships between 1766 and 1770 Forbes (Or. Mem. I. 151-154) writes: 'Near the harbour were three excellent docks and a spacious marine yard amply supplied with naval stores of every description. Here they build vessels of all sizes, from a ship of the line to the smallest grab, and galivats employed in the Company's service. The timber used is chiefly teak, the most valuable of the oriental forest woods and more durable than the oak. The master-builders and shipwrights of the Parsi tribe are very skilful and exact imitators of the best models from Europe.'²

¹ Grose's Voyage, II 211-214

² Regarding the trade of Bombay (1766-1770) Forbes (Or. Mem. I. 153-154) adds: 'Bombay was then one of the first marts in India and employed a great number of vessels in its extensive commerce. Basra, Mohlat, Ormuz, and other ports in the Persian gulf furnished its merchants with pearls, raw silk, Carmania wool, dyes, dried fruits, rose-water, attar of roses, and several other productions. Arabia supplied them with coffee, gold, drugs, and honey. A number of ships annually freighted with cotton and bullion to China returned laden with tea, sugar, porcelain, wrought silks, nankeens, and a variety of useful and ornamental articles. From Java, Malacca, Sumatra, and the eastern islands they brought spices, ambergris, perfumes, arrack, and sugar. The cargoes from Madagascar, the Comoro Isles, Mozambique, and other ports on the eastern coast of Africa consisted chiefly of ivory, slaves, and drugs, while the different parts of India produced cotton, silk, muslin, pearls, diamonds and every precious gem, together with ivory, sandalwood, pepper, cassia, cinnamon, and other luxuries. This valuable commerce was carried on by vessels belonging to the European and native merchants settled at Bombay totally independent and unconnected with the trade of the East India Company. The exports consisted of English woollen cloths of every description, with copper, iron, lead and other European staples purchased at the Company's sales by the native merchants both at Bombay and from the continent. A great deal of cotton imported in boats from Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad, and Jambhavar, was shipped in large vessels at Bombay for Madras, Bengal, and China. The Portuguese from Goa

About 1775 the traveller Parsons left these notes regarding Bombay ships. Near the dock is a convenient place to grave several ships at once which is done as well and with as great expedition as in any dock in England. Ships built at Bombay are not only as strong, but as handsome, and as well furnished as ships built in any part of Europe. The timber and plank of which they are built so far exceeds any in Europe for durability that it is usual for ships to last fifty or sixty years. As a proof of this I am informed that the ship called the *Bombay grab*, of 24 guns (the second in size belonging to the Company's marine), has been built more than sixty years and is now a good and strong ship. This timber and plank are peculiar to India only. The best on this side of India grows to the north of Bombay. What grows to the south, on the coast of Malabar, is however very good and great quantities of it are brought to Bombay. It is called tick and will last in a hot climate longer than any wood whatever. The Company's marine on the Bombay establishment are more than twenty in number; the largest of which is the *Revenge* mounting 28 guns, 20 of which are 12-pounders. The second is the *Bombay grab*. The remainder are from 16 to 8 guns, and as there are several little piratical states both on the north as well as on the south coast of Bombay, the coasting trade could not be carried on in safety without being convoyed by such vessels belonging to the Company. It is usual to see 60 or 80 coasting vessels sail between Surat and Bombay convoyed by one or two of these vessels.¹

As regards the time of year when ships put to sea Parsons notices: Ships belonging to the natives of this part of India (from the Gulf of Cambay to Cape Comorin) do not venture to sea in the south-west monsoon. They have a method or rule which the Hindus pretend is known only to their Bráhmans, to discover when the monsoon is over. When that period arrives, the chief of the Bráhmans attended with others of his tribe and multitudes of other people go in religious pomp from the pagoda to the sea shore, where, after the performance of a religious ceremony, he throws into the sea with all his force a gilded coconut. Great rejoicings are then made and they have liberty to go to sea with their ships and every other kind of vessel. This they never will venture to do until the coconut is thrown which happens either the latter end of October or at least before the 10th of November in every year. This ceremony is not peculiar to Bombay; it is used at every town and port along the sea coast.²

In 1786-87 Franklin says: They build all sorts of vessels. The workers are very ingenious and dexterous not yielding to our best shipwrights in England.³

In 1788 Rennell (Mémor on Map of India, 180-181) speaks of the unpardonable negligence of delaying to build teak ships of war for the Indian seas. Ships of war under third rates constructed in India with moderate repairs last for ages. A ship of European construction can

Appendix II.

SHIPS,
1775.FAIR SEASON,
1776.SHIPS,
1786-87.

1788.

Duman and Europe carried on a trifling trade with Bombay. But the French Dutch and Danish ships seldom touched there. The American intercourse with India was then in its infancy.

¹ Parsons' Travels in Asia and America (1808), 214-215.

² Parsons' Travels in Asia and America (1808), 2, 3. Compare Gioso (Voyage, I 34), 1750: The black merchants have a superstition not to send their vessels to sea until after a festival on the breaking up of the rains when they throw into the sea a consecrated, gilt, and ornamented coconut.

³ Pinkerton's Voyages, IX. 236.

Appendix II.

remain there but a few years. The ships built at Bombay are the best both in point of workmanship and materials or any that are constructed in India. Although fourth rates only are mentioned there is no doubt but third rates may be constructed.

BOMBAY SHIPS,
1736-1837.

The following statement, prepared from details collected by Captain W. Barker, Indian Navy, late Superintendent of Marine, Bombay, shows that 267 ships vessels and boats varying from 23 to 2298 tons were built in Bombay between the opening of the Dockyard in 1731-36 and the year 1837. Of the 267 there were thirty of more than 1000 and of these four of more than 2000 tons. The first steamer built in Bombay was in 1829, the *Hugh Lindsay* of 411 tons, and the first boat made of iron was the steam vessel *Planet* in 1840. The details are:

Bombay Ships, 1736-1789.

No	Year.	Name.	Class	Tons	Guns.	Mit-nal.	Remarks
1	1730	Drake	Schooner	.	.	.	
2	"	Success	Grub	.	.	.	
3	1737	Prince Augustus	Ship	.	.	.	
4	1738	Alconora	Grub	.	.	.	
5	1739	Bombay	Do.	.	.	.	
6	1740	Success	Gally	.	.	.	
7	1741	Dafuco	Ketch	.	.	.	
8	1747	Shaw Pedro	Grub	.	.	.	
9	1749	Nebit	Ship	.	.	.	
10	1750	Bombay	Frigate	.	.	.	
11	"	Mary	Ship	.	.	.	
12	1751	Indian Queen	Do.	.	.	.	
13	1753	Penny	Do.	.	.	.	
14	1754	Revenge	Do.	.	.	.	
15	"	Ingles	Snow	.	.	.	
16	"	Euphrates	Do.	.	.	.	
17	"	Success	Galley	.	.	.	
18	1761	Restoration	Ship	.	.	.	
19	"	Wallace	Do.	.	.	.	
20	1767	Governor	Yacht	.	.	.	
21	1768	Princess Augusta	Grub	.	.	.	
22	"	Princess Royal	Do.	.	.	.	
23	"	Hunter	Ship	.	.	.	
24	1769	Grubh	Do.	.	.	.	
25	"	Alexander	Ship	.	.	.	
26	1770	Skj	Cutter	.	.	.	
27	"	Swallow	Ketch	.	.	.	
28	"	Phoenix	Do.	.	.	.	
29	"	Syren	Do.	.	.	.	
30	"	Wolfe	Do.	.	.	.	
31	1772	Britannia	Ship	.	.	.	
32	"	Louisa	Do.	.	.	.	
33	1774	Royal Charlotte	Do.	.	.	.	
34	"	Nancy	Do.	.	.	.	
35	1776	Byrington	Do.	.	.	.	
36	"	Balah	Snow	.	.	.	
37	1776	Industry	Schooner	140	.	.	
38	"	Nerhudda	Do.	.	.	.	
39	1777	Swallow	Packet	200	.	.	
40	"	Brazil	Snow	.	.	.	
41	1778	Amphitrite	Do.	.	.	.	
42	"	Bancroft	Do.	.	.	.	
43	"	Panther	Schooner	181	14	.	
44	"	Britannia	Ship	747	.	.	
45	"	Sea Horse	Pilot Vessel	183	.	.	
46	"	Mormad	Do.	.	.	.	
47	1780	Hermionis	Ship	.	.	.	
48	"	Delance	Lugga-o-Bout	180	.	.	
49	"	Intrapid	Schooner	.	16	.	
50	"	Horoby	Ship	.	.	.	
51	1786	Millford	Do.	655	.	.	
52	1787	Cornwallis	Snow	.	.	.	
53	"	Johanna	Do.	.	.	.	
54	"	Jay	Do.	70	.	.	
55	"	Shaw Ardenheer	Ship	663	.	.	
56	1789	Cyreno	Do.	.	.	.	
57	1789	Lazbux	Do.	.	.	.	
58	"	Shaw Muncher	Do.	.	.	.	Lost in the French War
59	"	King George	Do.	.	.	.	Lost in the China Sea, burnt in the China Sea

Bombay Ships, 1789-1814.

Appendix II.

BOMBAY SHIPS,
1736-1867.

No	Year	Name.	Class	Tons	Guns.	Material.	Remarks.
60	1789	Romaneau ...	Ship ..	...	...	..	Lost in the Calcutta River
61	"	Hannah ..	Do. .	...	...	..	Lost in the China Sea.
62	1790	Lowjee Family	Do. .	920	...	..
63	1792	Sarah ..	Do. .	935	...	..	Lost in the French War
64	"	Born ..	Do. .	...	...	..	Sold in 1803.
65	1793	Strombolo ..	Ketch ..	69	12	...	
66	"	Bombay ...	Frigate ..	63	12	...	Afterwards H. M. Ship
67	"	Antelope ..	Brig ...	199	12	...	Clyon.
68	"	Fly ..	Do. .	176	...	..
69	"	Upton Castle	Do. .	675	...	..	Burnt at Saugor, 16th Feb
70	1791	Hooghly ..	Pilot Vessel	150	...	..	1817.
71	"	Alcraionby ..	Do. .	147	...	..
72	1793	Albert ..	Brig ..	85	12	...	Lost in the year 1793.
73	1797	Asia ..	Ship ..	730	...	..	Sold.
74	1798	Comet ..	Brig ..	115	10	...	
75	"	Phillip Dundas	Pilot Vessel ..	187	...	..
76	"	Seakby Castle	Ship ..	1210	...	..
77	1799	Teignmouth ..	Do. .	261	18	...	Condemned in Rangoon
78	"	Lord Mornington	Do. .	139	24	...	War.
79	"	Kaikusroo ..	Do. .	1015	...	..	Sold at Public Auction.
80	"	Serimapatani	Do. .	332	...	..	Sold into H. M. Service
81	1800	Cornwallis ..	Do. .	1363	...	..	and called the Camel, 1801
82	"	William	Do. .	303	...	..	Sold into H. M. Service
83	1801	Yacht for Govern	Yacht ..	82	...	..	in 1801 and called Achbar.
84	"	Turnstone ...	Brig ..	260	10	...	
85	"	Supply ..	Water Boat ..	67	...	..	Sold at Public Auction.
86	"	David Scott	..	749	...	..
87	1802	Tazbny ..	..	737	...	..	Sold in England.
88	1803	Pack house ..	Luggage Boat	161	...	..
89	"	Alexander ..	Ship ..	710	...	..
90	"	Charlotte ..	Do. .	672	...	..
91	"	James Sibbald	Do. .	610	...	..	Sold in England and
92	"	Cambrian ..	Do. .	703	...	..	called Doris.
93	"	Estonbule ..	Do. .	111	...	..
94	1804	Adl Raimor	Luggage Boat	102	...	..	Sold to an Arab.
95	1805	Prince of Wales	Ship ..	118	14	...	
96	"	Pitt ..	Frigate ..	872	30	...	Sold at Public Auction.
97	1806	Mercury ..	Ship ..	185	11	...	Condemned in Rangoon
98	"	Nautilus ..	Brig ..	185	11	...	War.
99	"	Sylph ..	Schooner	78	0	...	
100	1807	Hennres ..	Ship ..	230	10	...	
101	"	Salutto ..	Frigate	655	36	...	
102	"	Bombay ..	Ship ..	1126	...	..
103	1808	Thomas Grenville	Do. .	559	...	..	Indiaman, now (1821) in
104	1809	Charles Grant	Do. .	124	...	..	Free Trade.
105	"	Aurora ..	Do. .	217	10	...	Indiaman, China Ship.
106	"	Vestal ..	Brig ..	159	14	...	Condemned in Rangoon
107	"	Amel ..	Do. .	160	...	..	War.
108	1810	Psycho ..	Do. .	180	12	...	Sold at Public Auction to
109	"	Thetis ..	Do. .	195	12	...	an Arab.
110	"	Minden ..	Ship ..	1091	71	...	Condemned from Service
111	"	Balcarras ..	Do. .	1100	...	..
112	1811	Mimra ..	Do. .	935	...	..
113	"	Abelcombie ..	Do. .	1253	...	..
114	"	Hannah ...	Do. .	167	...	..	Sold in England.
115	1812	Ann ..	...	783	...	..
116	"	Herefordshire	...	1270	...	..	Built for H. C Service.
117	1813	Buffalo	Luggage Boat	60	...	..
118	"	Nerbudda ..	Proa ..	...	...	..
119	"	Topsy ..	Do. .	...	...	..
120	"	Erna ..	Timber Ship	559	...	..
121	"	Cornwallis	...	1767	71	...	Sold at Public Auction.
122	"	Eliza ..	Pilot Vessel	159	...	..
123	"	Cecilia ..	Do. .	101	...	..
124	1814	Thames ..	Luggage Boat	103	...	..
125	"	Victor ..	Sloop ..	381	13	...	
126	"	Caroline ..	Ship ..	575	...	..
127	"	Flora ..	Pilot Vessel	180	...	..

Appendix II.

*Bombay Ships, 1814-1836*BOMBAY SHIPS,
1736-1857.

No	Year.	Name.	Class	Tons	Guns	Material	Remarks.
129	1811	Guide	Pilot Vessel	189			
129		Sophia	Do	189			
130	1815	Torch	Light Vessel	174			Converted into Harbour Masters Depot at Calcutta
131	"	Wellkley	Ship	1745	71		
132	"	Zebra	Sloop	365	16		
133	"	Briantina	Do	369	10		
134	"	Sophia	Do	339	12		
135	1816	Supply	Water Boat				
136	"	Planet	Light Vessel	174			Sold in 1833 and called The Bright Planet.
137	"	Canal	Sloop	229	10		
138	"	Amphitrite	Frigate	1064	35		
139	"	Duckinghamshire	Ship	1319			
140	1817	Henry Marston	Pilot Vessel	110			Sold at Calcutta in 1830 and called William
141	"	McVillie	Ship	1707	71		
142	"	Trincomalee	Frigate	1005	33		
143	1818	Malabar	Ship	1035	71		
144	"	Scoringham	Frigate	1152	33		
145	1819	Juno	Pilot Vessel	170			
146	"	Black Albion	Frigate	1111			
147	1820	Vigilant	Arm'd Boat	72			
148	1821	Hastings	Ship of War	566	24		
149	"	Bombay	Gun Boat				
150	1821	Ganges	Ship	2250	74		
151	1822	Palmurus	Sloop of War	192			
152	"	Mudagara-car	Frigate	1164	40		
153	"	Nansary	Brig	163			
154	1824	Elphinstone	Sloop of War	357	19		
155	"	Arcturion	Ship	2250	86		
156	"	Caldonia	Do	742			
157	"	Claraumont	Do	329			Lost in the China Sea, 1833.
158	1825	Amherst	Sloop of War		18		
159	"	Scythia	Pilot Vessel	155			
160	"	Alfred	Do	188			
161	1826	Chio	Sloop of War	420	18		
162	"	Liverpool	Ship		71		Presented by the Imam to King William IV.
163	"	Mount Stewart	Do	611			
164	1827	Elphinstone	Do				
165	1827	Coute	Do	420	18		
166	1828	Panni	Patamar	43			
167	"	Hilima	Do	55			
168	"	Euphrates	Brig of War	257	10		
169	"	Bombay	Ship	2265	84		
170	"	Horinuyi Romanji	Do	777			Lost in China Sea.
171	"	Sir Charles Napier	Do	860			
172	1829	Thomas	Brig of War	255	10		
173	"	Hugh Lindsay	Steamer	111			The first Steamer built at Bombay.
174	"	Royal Tiger	Schooner	129	1		
175	"	Andromeda	Frigate	1166	40		
176	1831	Calcutta	Ship	2203	84		
177	1832	Shannon	Schooner	67	4		
178	"	Earl of Clare	Ship	901			
179	1833	Raparel	Water Boat				
180	"	Do	Warp Boat				
181	"	Sultana	Do	112			
182	"	Jamsetji Jeebhoy	Ship	557			Lost at Quilon in 1836-37. For a Barakia Merchant
183	"	Two Sisters	Brig	277			
184	1831	Tafe	Schooner	207			
185	1833	Arbuckle	Cutter	49			
186	"	Margaret	Do	61			
187	"	Madava	Do	24			
188	"	Caldonia	Do	27			
189	"	Moxney	Do				For river Indus
190	"	Taploe	Pilot Vessel	179			
191	"	Nansary	Brig	179			
192	"	Lady Grant	Do	239			For the Opium Trade
193	"	Sir Herbert Comp-ton	Ship	318			
194	1836	Bombay	Schooner	63			
195	"	Ardmore	Clipper	422			
196	"	John Fleming	Do	514			

Bombay Ships, 1836-1857.

Appendix II.

BOMBAY SHIPS,
1736-1857.

No.	Year.	Name.	Class.	Tons.	Guns.	Materials	Remarks.
196	1830 .	Magna ...	Pilot Vessel	201	..	..
197	" "	Saugor ...	Do.	200	..	..
198	" "	Krishna ..	Do.	200	..	..
199	1837 .	Rajasthan ...	..	600	..	..
200	1838 .	Cavery ..	Pilot Vessel	200	..	..
201	" "	Colleroon ..	Do.	200	..	..
202	1839 .	Mary Gordon ..	..	350	..	..
203	1810 Jan.	Victoria ..	Steam Vessel	714	..	Wood	
204	" Feb.	Planct ..	Do.	335	..	Iron.	
205	" May	Satchite ..	Do.	335	..	..
206	" Sept.	Madina ..	Indus Steamer	132	..	..
207	" Dec.	Aridne ..	Do.	132	..	..
208	1841 Jan.	Auckland ..	Steam Vessel	916	..	Wood	
209	1842 Feb.	Samurais ..	Do.	1031	..	..
210	" "	Coal Boat No. 1	..	..	..	..
211	" "	Do 2	..	..	..	..
212	" "	Do 3	..	..	..	..
213	" "	Do 4	..	..	..	..
214	" March.	Colabrah ..	Light Vessel	158	..	..
215	" Dec.	Coal Boat No 1 for P. & O Co.	..	61	..	..
216	1843 March	Do No. 2 ..	..	61	..	..
217	" Aug.	Mud Boat ..	..	200	..	..
218	" Sept.	1st Do. No 2	..	..	..	Iron	
219	" "	Coil Do No. 5	..	61	..	Wood	
220	1844 March	Do Do No 6	..	61	..	..
221	" April	Bridge boats for to Dec.	..	..	..	..
222	" Sept.	Napier ..	Indus Steamer	115	..	Iron.	
223	" Nov.	Conqueror ..	Do.	259	..	..
224	" Dec.	Mance ..	Do.	203	..	..
225	1845 Jan.	Sutledge ..	..	..	..	..
226	" "	Bacas ..	..	..	..	..
227	" Oct.	Ravce ..	..	..	..	..
228	" Nov.	Gajler ..	Buoy Vessel.	..	..	Wood	
229	1846 Mar.	Coil Boat No. 1	..	..	..	..
230	" Oct.	Water Do No 1	..	..	..	..
231	" Nov.	Coil Do No 2	..	..	..	..
232	1847 Jan.	Steamer to receive Hugh Lindsay's engine.	..	500	..	..
233	" Dec.	Coal Boat No. 3	..	..	..	..
234	1849 May	1st Do.	Steam Vessel.	1110	..	Iron	
235	" Sept.	Pilot Boat No. 6	..	..	..	Wood	
236	1849 Mar.	Coil Do No. 1	..	..	..	..
237	" Oct.	Berance ..	..	616	..	..
238	" Dec.	Pilot Boat	..	..	..	..
239	1850 Feb.	Nerbudda ..	Schooner	..	..	..
240	" April	Ferry Boats ..	..	..	..	..
241	" Dec.	Coal Boat No. 5	..	..	..	..
242	1851 Jan.	Indus ..	Indus Steamer	522	..	Iron.	
243	" Feb.	Jhelum ..	Do	199	..	..
244	" April	Falkland ..	Do	1159	..	..
245	" May	Zanobia ..	Steam Vessel.	1001	..	Wood,	
246	" June	Chand ..	Indus Steamer	499	..	Iron.	
247	1852 Jan.	Coal Boat No 7	..	..	..	Wood	
248	" Feb.	Customs Pilot Do. No 1	..	..	..	..
249	" April	Schooner ..	..	..	..	..
250	" May	Lady Falkland	Steam Vessel.	155	..	..
251	" Oct.	Pilot Boat No. 1	..	..	..	..
252	" Dec.	1st Do.	Curscty.	205	..	..
253	1853 Nov.	Falkland ..	Sloop...	194	..	..
254	" Do	Light Vessel	..	19	..	..
255	" Dec.	Augustus ..	Schooner ..	111	..	..
256	1854 Jan.	1st Ethursey ..	..	274	..	..
257	" "	Pilot Boat ..	..	..	..	..
258	" Mar	Assaye ..	Steam Vessel	1800	..	Wood.	
259	" Nov.	Punjab ..	Do.	1800	..	..
260	1855 June	Georgiana ..	..	90	..	..
261	" Oct.	Emil ..	Pilot Schooner.	90	..	..
262	" Nov.	Goolinn ..	..	215	..	..
263	" "	Governor's Barge	..	61	..	..
264	" "	Admiral's Barge	..	26	..	..
265	1856 May	Charlotte ..	Pilot Schooner	167	..	..
266	1857 Jan.	Pilot Schooner No. 1.	..	..	..	..
267	" "	Cargo Boat ..	..	..	..	..

Appendix II.
SHIPPING DETAILS,
1806-1823.

The following statement compiled in 1824 by Mr. Charles Keys, Master Attendant, Bombay, shows the number of arrivals and departures of ships and vessels for a period of eighteen years from 1st January 1806 to 31st December 1823:

Bombay Shipping, 1806-1823.

Year.	His Majesty's Ships and Vessels.			British Merchant Ships and Vessels.			Foreign Ships and Vessels of War.			Foreign Trading Ships and Vessels.			Grand Total.		
	Arrived.	Departed.	Total.	Arrived.	Departed.	Total.	Arrived.	Departed.	Total.	Arrived.	Departed.	Total.	Arrived.	Departed.	Total.
1806	50	54	64	111	121	232	2	2	7	75	23	63	141	125	368
1807	13	23	46	116	117	233	2	2	0	31	31	62	173	174	347
1808	30	30	72	113	111	224	1	1	1	17	9	6	169	155	324
1809	21	21	42	123	120	243	1	1	7	10	16	26	159	164	323
1810	10	11	21	105	99	204	1	1	1	15	10	5	151	122	273
1811	23	17	40	99	102	201	1	1	2	36	21	53	168	112	280
1812	10	13	23	121	110	230				20	21	41	171	153	324
1813	10	12	22	111	115	226				11	13	27	135	110	245
1814	9	8	17	103	101	204	1	1	1	6	1	9	120	111	231
1815	9	11	20	91	92	183	1	1	1	11	0	20	112	114	226
1816	9	14	23	93	91	184	1	1	1	21	9	30	120	115	235
1817	10	10	20	115	119	234	1	1	1	23	18	41	147	151	298
1818	9	10	19	115	133	248	1	1	1	40	41	81	193	190	383
1819	11	9	20	131	117	248	1	1	1	23	23	43	170	181	351
1820	7	10	17	157	153	310	1	2	3	20	20	42	217	215	432
1821	5	5	10	170	161	331	3	3	0	11	11	25	193	185	378
1822	10	7	17	123	124	247	1	1	8	23	23	45	173	157	330
1823	4	7	11	115	106	221	3	1	2	22	20	45	111	123	234
Total	213	228	501	2153	2179	4,214	33	3	60	773	333	706	2,531	2,763	5,294

MAZGAON MARK
HOUSE,
1758.

Besides the light-house on Colába Point and certain of the Colába tombs which were used as land marks for ships entering and leaving the harbour, a house on Mázgaon hill known as the Mark House was in the early eighteenth century kept whitewashed to serve as a mark for vessels sailing up and down the harbour. To this old Mázgaon Mark House a Bombay letter to the Court, dated the 7th November 1758, has the following reference. The old Mark House on Mázgaon hill was plundered of all the timber and plank by the late supposed proprietors who damaged great part of the walls to get at the timber, and thereby brought the house to a very ruinous condition. This ruined house Mr. Thomas Byfeld proposed in a Consultation, the 23rd of May 1758, to fit up at his own expense for an habitation to live in provided we would permit him to alter the building in such manner as he might think proper and grant him a lease of it and the hill on which it stands for 99 years. To this we agreed on his engaging to whitewash the front of the house annually as usual to continue a mark to the shipping coming in or going out of this harbour. We therefore issued an order to the vereadores and *ahutías* to survey the hill and report what yearly rent Mr. Byfeld ought to pay for it and in agreement with their report we charged Mr Byfeld Rs. 23 a year.¹ In 1761 (April 4th) Government further intimate The renter of the Mark House at Mázgaon has been acquainted that it shall always be in our power to destroy it conformable to your Honours' commands.²

¹ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 5 of 1758, 180-181. Pub. Diary 31 of 1758, 257.

² Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 8 of 1761, 63.

In addition to the Colaba light-house which also served as a signal house, in 1766 a signal house was established on Malabár Point. In their letter of 25th November 1766, paragraph 65, Government write to the Court: It being represented to us that a signal house erected at the point of Malabár Hill, in the same manner and under the same regulations as that at Old Woman's island, would be of great utility, particularly in time of war, we have ordered one to be erected there. The expense will not exceed Rs 2095-2-50.¹

Appendix II.
MALABÁR POINT
SIGNAL HOUSE,
1766.

With a view to improve the light of the Colaba light-house, on the 30th June 1797, the Court of Directors write: Being of opinion that some improvement might be made in the light-house at Bombay we obtained permission for Captain Tasker, our late master attendant at your Presidency, to inspect the plans of the lights exhibited on the light-houses in this country. Captain Tasker having stated to us that upon inspection of the reflectors used at various light-houses on the coast of this kingdom under the immediate orders of the Trinity Board, in order to form an opinion of their use and application for the light-house at Bombay, he does not hesitate to pronounce them far the best in principle he ever saw and extremely well calculated for the Bombay light-house. We have therefore ordered a frame with a complete set of reflectors and lamps to be shipped on the *Belvedere*. At the suggestion of Captain Tasker we now desire that the lantern at present in the light-house be so altered that the reflectors occupy the space from north-north-west by west and south to east-south-east or twenty points, and that the space from east-south-east to north-north-west occupying these points be glazed. We send numbers in the packet of instructions for fixing the iron work for the lamps and reflectors, also instructions for trimming the lamps, and a few copies of the rules ordered to be observed at the light-houses under the management of the corporation of the Trinity House. We likewise send in the same packet instructions framed under our orders which we desire may be particularly attended to. The reflectors being very apt to become dim from the smoke of the lamps we direct the transparent cocoanut oil only be burnt in the light-house at Bombay, as the jingely and other oils in general use are very productive of lampblack and consequently very unfit for this use.²

COLABA
LIGHT HOUSE,
1797.

In reply to the above on the 23rd April 1798 Government write: The superintendent of the marine has been furnished with a copy of these orders for his information and guidance in respect to the improvement of the light-house as directed.³

1798.

Next year on the 29th January Government further write: On receipt of the reflectors forwarded by your Honourable Court on board the *Belvedere* for the use of the light-house, the superintendent of marine was called upon in conjunction with the civil architect to examine how far it was advisable to apply them to the lamps at present in use. It appearing in their report to us that the lantern was not sufficiently large to render this practicable, we have ordered a new one to be built on the present light-house on a more extensive scale for this purpose. An estimate was framed by the civil architect amounting to Rs. 6653-3-51, and the whole of the work in its thus improved state was

1799.

¹ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 13 of 1766, 208

² Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 11 of 1796 - 1799, 139 - 111.

³ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 32 of 1797 - 1799, 211.

Appendix II.

Chart of
Light House,
1799

expected to be completed by the 10th February 1799, during which interval line light, burning at night every hour have been substituted for the benefit of ships in the anchorage. A letter report, however, by the civil architect, of which we have the honour to enclose a copy, apprised us that further materials are still required from Europe and particularly glasses and copper frames which are stated not to be procurable here. The lightning conductor noticed in the civil architect's letter was ordered at the recommendation of the superintendent of marine. The constructing and placing of this seems also to be attended with difficulty, wherefore if your Honourable Court should be pleased to think it necessary we request to be similarly furnished with one of the dimensions required.¹

1800.

In reply to the above on the 25th August 1800 the Court writes to Bombay. The conductor has been sent by the way of Bengal. The copper frame not having been got ready in time to be sent by a ship of last season will be forwarded on one of the first ships of the next season. We sent by the ships *Castle Blarney* and *Phoenix* a small number of glasses and wicks for the new light-house under an idea that such a supply might be necessary. But as we cannot ascertain what number may be required annually we desire that you will in future include in your marine indent such articles as may hereafter be wanted for the use of the light house.²

Wreck,
1826-1872.

The following details compiled from the Wreck Chart of the Bombay Harbour show that during the forty-six years ending 1872, fifty wrecks occurred in and at the entrance to the Bombay Harbour. Of the fifty wrecks eleven were off Aldi, nine round Kenery Island, nine on the Prong's Reefs, eighteen in the Harbour, one off Bicaich Camby, one off Vesava, and one off Manori. It is remarkable that since the establishment of the Kenery and Prong's Light-houses no wreck has occurred. The following statement gives the details:

Bombay Wrecks, 1826-1872.

No.	Date of Casualty.			Name of Vessel.	Place of Wreck.	Remarks.
1	1-28	Nov.	10	India Boat No 1	N. W. Prong's	
2	1-30	Nov.	21	Sunderby	East of Aldi	Arab Colour.
3	1-30	July	11	Two Brothers	1 mile S. Malabar	
4	1-17	June	17		Harbour	Great gale. 11 men shipwrecked.
16	1-10	May	9	Compellent	West of Aldi	
18	1-10	June	17	Lord William Bentinck	S. W. Prong's	Many lives lost.
17	1-10	June	14	Lord Castlereagh	Do	Do
18	1-14	July	22	Loyal Admiral	S. E. Prong's	
19	1-12	June	14	Christiana	Kenery Island	
20-21	1-31	Nov.	1		Harbour	Lives lost for at rule. Two shipwrecked.
22	1-1	June	12	Sub-Lieut. Barry and Jalla	Kenery Island	Lives lost
23	1-1	June	23	Bank of England	Off Aldi	
24	1-1	July	20	Alce	Kenery Island	Lives lost
25	1-1	July	23	Natalie	West of Aldi	Do.
26	1-1	July	20	Lombard	Off Aldi	
27	1-1	July	23	Three Pilot Boats	Off Aldi	
28	1-1	May	11	Beachworth	Harbour	
29	1-1	June	17	James Wilkinson	Off Vesava	
30	1-1	June	14	Nadine	Off Manori	
31	1-1	July	13	Maria Catherine	O. E. Aldi	French Colour.

¹ Pub. Dep. Letters to the Court Vol. 32 of 1797-1799, 329-321.

² Pub. Dep. Court's Letters Vol. 16 of 1800-1803, 37-38.

7

Bombay Wrecks, 1865-1872—continued.

Appendix II.

WRECKS,
1826-1872.

No.	Date of Casualty.			Name of Vessel	Place of Wreck	Remarks
35	1865	Jan	7	Sydenham	S W Prongs.	
36	1865	March	12	Glen Samson	Do.	
37	1866	Feb	2	Steamer Jeddah	Chaul Kudu Reef.	
38	1866	June	20	Diamond	Off Brach Candy.	
39	1866	June	21	Stafford	S. E. Prongs	
40	1866	July	12	Chapman	Off Alibiz.	
41	1866	July	13	Victoria	Alibiz.	
42	1866	July	23	Zenobia	Chaul Kudu Reef.	
43	1866	Aug	1	The Vernon	Off Alibiz.	
44	1866	Aug.	1	Theresa	S. E. of Chaul Kudu Reef.	
45	1867	June	25	Bombay	On Kuranji Shoal	Eight lives lost
46	1867	July	18	Terzah	South of Underi	
47	1867	Aug.	7	Merchant Prince	S. W. end of Chaul Kudu Reef	
48	1867	Aug.	18	Arabistan	S. W. Prongs.	
49	1867	June	4	Buechtur	Do	
50	1872	July	6	England	Off Alibiz	

